JINNAH PAPERS

PAKISTAN: STRUGGLING FOR SURVIVAL

1 January–30 September 1948

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QUAID-I-AZAM
MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH
PAPERS

PAKISTAN: STRUGGLING FOR SURVIVAL
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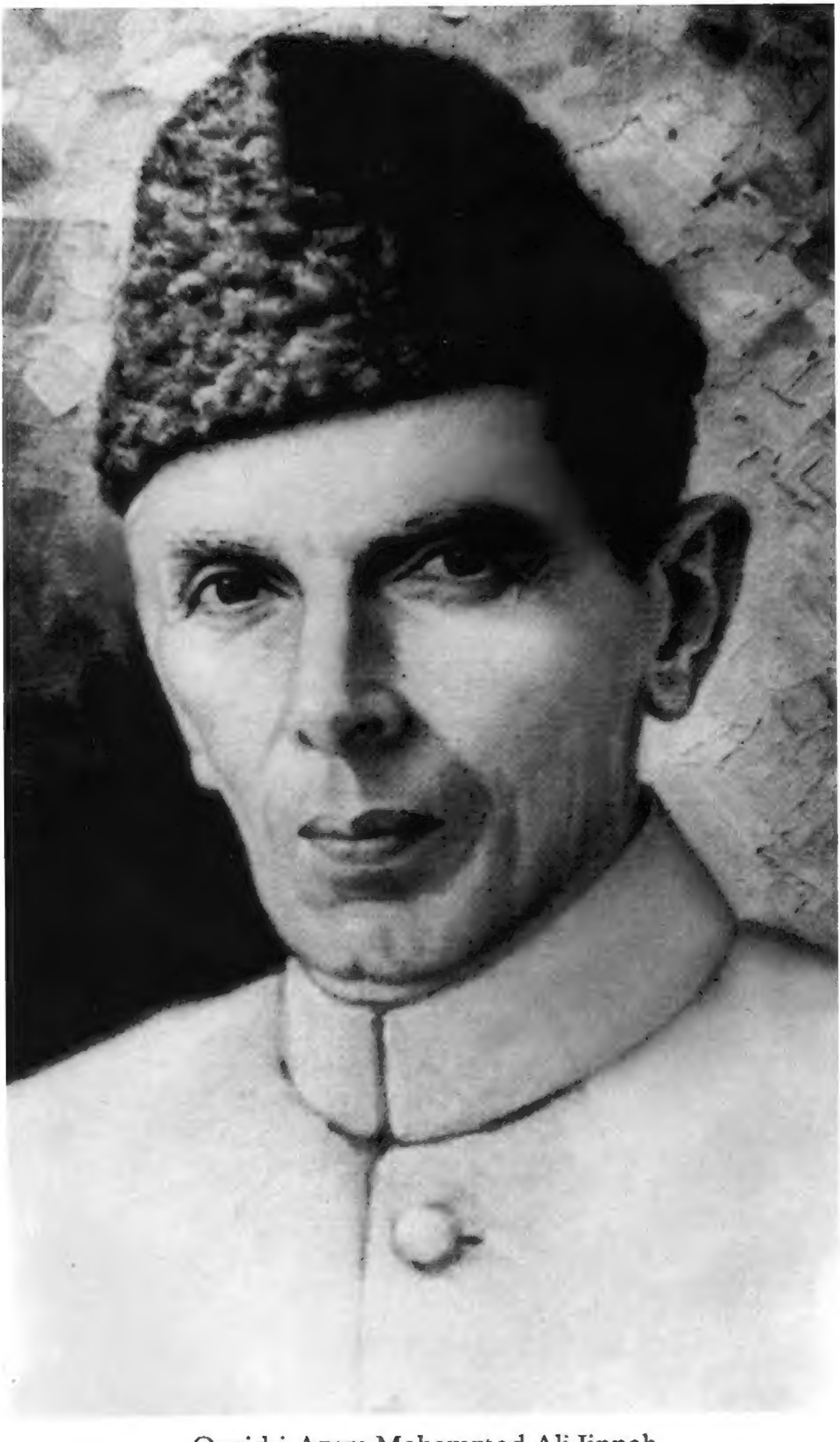

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah

To

My teachers at Muslim University, Aligarh,
JAMILUDDIN AHMAD, but for whose endeavours there might have been no initial literature on Quaid-i-Azam or Pakistan Movement, and SHEIKH ABDUR RASHID, who infused me with an insatiable spirit of inquiry and research.

SIR CYRIL PHILIPS, former Vice Chancellor, University of London, and ex-Director, School of Oriental and African Studies, who provided me with all possible facilities for retrieval of archives relating to All India Muslim League and Quaid-i-Azam.

HASAN ZAHEER, ex-Cabinet Secretary, Government of Pakistan, whose initiative mainly helped establish the Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project.

DR ULRICH SIGWART, famed Cardiologist, who has long looked after my ailing heart and helped keep it pulsating.

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Jinnah and Fatima Jinnah arriving at a garden party in Lahore

Jinnah and Fatima Jinnah at a garden party in Lahore

Foreword

The present volume, subtitled *Pakistan: Struggling for Survival,* which is the seventh in the First Series of the *Jinnah Papers,* covers the last phase of Jinnah's life when he was battling against terminal illness. Pakistan was then beset with both external threats and internal dangers. Having achieved Pakistan, for which he had worked obsessively and with steely determination, he had wished "to take a vacation, to retire", but there was "too much work—too much nursing—to be done". He hoped "to step down" as soon as the nation had "settled down under the new constitution".[1] However, the remorseless problems and difficulties he had to contend against without respite did not allow him to breathe a sigh of relief, and the embattled leader, working away till the very end of his days, died in harness.

The first four volumes, subtitled *Prelude to Pakistan,* in two parts, *Pakistan in the Making, On the Threshold of Pakistan,* and *Pakistan At Last,* respectively, which together covered the period from 20 February to 14 August 1947, reflect Jinnah's critical and decisive role during the final phase of the Pakistan Movement. The fifth and sixth volumes, subtitled *Pakistan: Pangs of Birth* and *Pakistan: Battling Against Odds,* focus on the redoubtable challenges the fledging state had to face during the formative phase.

The present volume presents a fascinating portrait of Jinnah as a statesman endeavoring earnestly to build bridges of understanding between Pakistan and the world at large and pegging away, against daunting odds, with the supreme and stupendous task of national consolidation. His exacting visits to and unstinting activities in the provinces, which inevitably exacerbated his illness, are also covered at length.

The volume contains 512 documents, embracing a period of some nine months, and is supplemented by three appendices. Two of these, relating to the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund and Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy's odyssey, pick up these themes from the last volume, while the third deals with the controversial choice of Karachi as federal capital. Documents relating to the princely states have not been included in this volume; they have been grouped into two separate volumes, the eighth and ninth in the current series, which should be out in the near future. Jinnah's statements, and speeches, given their relevance to the contemporary national issues, have been included in the main text in the present volume. Primary documents as well as appendices have been arranged in chronological order and numbered sequentially as before. These have been referred to in the text by the appropriate series notation, followed by the number of the relevant file, collection or volume, and where available, the page number(s). Documents included in the main text

have been drawn from the *Quaid-i-Azam Papers* (e.g. *F. 85/45*) and the *Governor-General Papers* (e.g. *F. 2-GG/18-20*), available in the National Archives of Pakistan, as well as from the Foreign Office Archives (e.g. *FOA, P.8/3/3/38*). Supplementary material has been assiduously culled from foreign and domestic archival sources such as the Oriental and India Office Collection of British Library (e.g. *IOR, L/P&J/10/119*); the *Mountbatten Papers* (e.g. *F. 84-B*); the United States National Archives, Washington, D.C. (e.g. *U.S. National Archives, 845 F. 00/3-948*); the National Documentation Centre, Islamabad (e.g. *NDC, CF/232/48*); contemporary newspapers and publications. Documents from the *Transfer of Power 1942-7* and the previous volumes of the *Jinnah Papers* have been identified by the document number, volume and page number, e.g. No. 164, *TP*, XII, 233-49 or No. 17, Vol. VI, 22. Appendices to the present volume have been referred to by indicating the Appendix notation followed by the document number.

Material of repetitive character, such as requests for autographs, interviews, messages for personal favours, congratulatory letters and applications for employment, or representations relating to individual problems and grievances, have not been included.

The volumes published hitherto, continue to evoke interest amongst scholars, academics and the intelligentsia. We are extremely grateful for the continuing interest shown in the work of the Project by Madam Dina Wadia, Jinnah's daughter, and President of Pakistan, Pervez Musharraf. In continuation of the earlier volumes, a copy of Volume V of the *Jinnah Papers* was presented by the Editor-in-Chief to Madam Dina in London on 9 September 2001. The volume had been autographed by the President.

In keeping with the policy of bringing out potted versions of the *Jinnah Papers* in Urdu, the fourth volume is ready for printing. It will be distributed free to the Universities and Degree Colleges as before.

The transfer of administrative control over the Project from the Culture Division to the Cabinet Division in 1996 did not yield the desired results and has had to be reversed. The Cabinet decision of December 1996 regarding conversion of the Project into an autonomous body has not been implemented even more than five years on.

Pursuant to the Government decision to observe the year 2001 as the Quaid-i-Azam Year, seminars and symposia were held across the country, climaxed by a colloquium held at the Quaid's Mausoleum on 25 December 2001, which the President himself inaugurated. Educational institutions and the media also organised a variety of activities. The Quaid-i-Azam Year was celebrated according to the programme approved by the National Committee headed by Syed Sharifuddin

Pirzada, eminent jurist and writer on Quaid-i-Azam and the Pakistan Movement. Plaques displaying significant excerpts from Quaid's speeches are being installed at venues around the country where those speeches had been made. Selection of the excerpts has been, and is being made, by the Editor-in-Chief as co-Convenor of the National Committee.

I should conclude by thanking Mueen Afzal, Secretary-General, Finance and Economic Affairs, who, as in the past, all too readily extended whatever assistance was requested of him for the Project.

Z. H. ZAIDI

Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project
Culture Division
Islamabad
5 October 2002

[1]See Jinnah's interview to Weldon James, 25 August 1947, No. 112, Vol. V, 118-20.

Introduction

When the year 1948 commenced, the nascent State of Pakistan was still going through the 'pangs of birth'. The formidable problems, baffling in their variety and complexity, which attended the birth of Pakistan had continued to threaten the survival of the new country. In his address at the Sibi Darbar on 14 February 1948, Jinnah aptly described this troubled beginning, a baptism of fire as it were, in these words: "During this period we have not so far seen a single day of peace. We have had to face calamities, the parallel of which is not known in the history of the world."[1] At Dacca University, he said, "hardly had the new State come into being when came the Punjab and Delhi holocaust. Tens of thousands of men, women and children were savagely butchered and millions uprooted from their homes. Over fifty lakhs of these arrived in the Punjab within a matter of weeks."[2] Yet Pakistan survived because of the steely determination and indomitable spirit of its founding father and his devoted followers who had implicit faith in his leadership.

Among numerous problems, there was the acute food shortage in the NWFP. Premier Abdul Qaiyum Khan telegraphed: "position extremely grave and explosive .... trouble already brewing in Khyber and matter may come to head any time".[3] In Baluchistan, wheat ration had to be cut down by 50 per cent.[4] Floods in Chittagong necessitated extensive relief work.[5] On 21 March 1948, the Quaid, addressing a public meeting, stated: "Never throughout history was a new State called upon to face such tremendous problems."[6]

The relief and rehabilitation of millions of refugees was a huge drain on the fully stretched resources of the country. The people of Pakistan made willing sacrifices, bending over backwards to accommodate their homeless and impecunious brethren arriving in huge numbers from the other side of the new political divide to seek refuge in the new country. Shorn of all their belongings, many of them trudging long distances, reached Pakistan and safety, utterly exhausted and in dire need of relief and succour. Tens of thousands of Kashmiri Muslims, forced to flee their homes, as a result of the brutal repression let loose by Dogra troops, had also to seek refuge in Pakistan.[7] Jinnah did not want the refugees to be "a drag on society"; he urged them "to live as self-respecting, self-relying and useful members of society."[8] Muslims the world over, contributed generously to Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund which, by 13 January 1948, had passed the ten million rupee mark.[9] Besides other munificent donations, Aga Khan remitted a sum of five lakh rupees.[10] Jinnah acknowledged "generous contributions by the Iranis" as well.[11]

Since a very large number of refugees had streamed into Sind from Kathiawar, Rajputana, East Punjab and other parts of India, it was

suggested that a limited quota of refugees be fixed for settlement in that province.[12] There was such an influx of refugee policemen that their proportion was reported to have reached 80 to 85 per cent of the total number of policemen in Sind.[13] In East Bengal also, refugees secured most of the government jobs, as reported by the US Consulate-General at Calcutta in a report to the State Department: "The East Bengal Muslim is notorious for his educational backwardness....The newcomer has in consequence procured almost all of the government jobs."[14] Because of "the scarcity of area, shortage of capital, and non-availability of building material, the housing of refugees" had become a problem, as reported by an architect.[15]

Despite the efforts made by the Government to rehabilitate and resettle the refugees, there were outbursts of frustration by the refugees. One such disenchanted person protested: "the Muslims in this place should not be treated like dogs, otherwise ... this may create hatred in place of love towards everybody in power."[16] A refugee wrote to Jinnah: "Thousands of widows, orphans and young men ... were forced to migrate to Eastern Pakistan ... you do not know their plight."[17] Nevertheless, there were also those who felt grateful for all that was being done for them: "We are taking this opportunity of publicly thanking the Pakistan and Sind Governments for giving us—the oppressed of Kathiawar—this protection."[18]

Muslims of the minority provinces had to bear the wrath of the Hindu majority for having stoutly supported the Pakistan Movement. Horrendous reports regarding the appalling plight of Muslims in parts of India were pouring in. Shadan Gangohi, a refugee, complained to Jinnah: "Believe me, Sir, Muslims in India are passing a life in hell. They are being forced either to migrate in destitute condition to Pakistan or to give up their religion."[19] An Indian Muslim leader lamented that the Muslims there were "still facing untold sufferings and troubles and that "most of our prominent leaders are in jail."[20] Secretary, Ikhwan-ul-Muhajireen, reported, "Within a month, Muslims, including women and children, have been twice massacred and burnt alive ... near Calcutta by mob attacks."[21]

* * * *

In striking contrast with the egregious treatment of Muslims in India, the minorities in Pakistan were afforded due protection. Jinnah urged the Muslims to follow the noble example set by Prophet of Islam [PBUH] who had treated the minorities generously.[22] He had assured them that they would be dealt with as equals to Muslims in all respects.[23] For all the precautions taken by the Government, however, incidents of stabbing and looting of non-Muslim refugees took place in

Karachi.[24] Jinnah, accompanied by his sister Fatima, visited and sympathized with the affected persons. He admonished the miscreants: "Pakistan must be governed through the properly constituted Government, and not by cliques, fifth-columnists, or a mob."[25] However, "Strong action by the military and police kept the Karachi situation well under control.... Both the military and police had orders to shoot at the looters on sight." Seven miscreants were killed by police and military firing.[26] Abdur Rab Nishtar, a Central Minister, then on a visit to Sri Lanka, averred that "the policy of the Pakistan Government is not only to treat minorities fairly but generously."[27] At Chittagong, Jinnah affirmed that " the minorities in Pakistan have had a better deal than elsewhere."[28]

* * * *

Jinnah's firm assurances about just and generous treatment of the minorities earned him their trust and admiration. The President of Pakistan Isai Ittehad, a Christian organisation, wrote to Jinnah, "5,00,000 Christians of Western Punjab...desire to present an address written with their blood to Your Excellency."[29] The Parsi High Priest of Karachi invoked divine benediction: "Lay Thy hands, we beseech Thee, in blessing over the head of our beloved Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the illustrious founder of Pakistan. Give him soundness and durability of body, alertness of mind, and tranquillity of heart to shoulder the heavy responsibilities in these days of anxiety."[30] The Buddhists of Chittagong affirmed, "we shall remain ever faithful to the Dominion of Pakistan, of which you are the father and guardian, and... if need be, shall defend it with our blood."[31] Chittagong Scheduled Class Association hoped, "we shall cross the waves and storms around us and peace and prosperity shall abound in this land of our birth."[32] The Seventh-Day Adventists lauded the unselfish and inspiring leadership of Jinnah for "the many benefits, including those of religious liberty."[33] The Quetta Parsis expressed their loyalty and promised "to strive for the ideals of greatness and equity for which Pakistan stands."[34] In response, Jinnah reassured them that "every member of every community, irrespective of caste, colour, creed or race, shall be fully protected with regard to his life, property and honour."[35]

* * * *

When the Muslims of the subcontinent, under the charismatic leadership of Jinnah, launched their epic struggle for a national homeland, they had somewhat romantic visions of a land of promise, a safe

haven, a bastion of democracy and of freedom to order their lives in consonance with the principles and precepts of Islam. Muzaffar Hussain from Kushtia in East Bengal hoped that Pakistan "will flourish" and that "our glorious Quaid-i-Azam" would make the State quite free from "corruption, dishonesty and malpractices, and transform it into one like that of Hazrat Omar."[36] A prince from Kalat predicted a bright future for Pakistan where the poor and hapless will prosper and become richer with knowledge and where trade and industry will flourish.[37] The Ikhwan-ul-Muhajireen hoped that Pakistan "shall be the refuge of not only the helpless Muslims of India but of all the high ideals for which Islam stands in the world."[38]

Almost no sooner had Pakistan come into being than the spirit of selfless service, so much in evidence earlier, all but evaporated, and jockeying for power, jobbery, corruption and graft began surfacing in the provinces. Disillusionment and frustration had not been long coming. Geti Ara Bashir Ahmad lamented in March 1948: "My heart bleeds to see corruption and dishonesty all around us."[39] A. Qasim from Rawalpindi bemoaned: "alas, the trend of affairs has marred all hopes of a true Islamic conception and a vision of kingdom of *Allah* on earth."[40] From Karachi, M. Siddiq Khan complained of "the general discontent ... caused by the high-handedness and ... unsympathetic attitude of ... state officials towards the people."[41] The Editor of the *Frontier Traders,* Peshawar, regretted that "the Province is shifting from bad to worse. And one feels pain to see the clouds of nepotism, jobbery, corruption."[42]

* * * *

The situation in West Punjab was both disturbing and unedifying. Iftikhar Husain Mamdot had taken over as Chief Minister on 16 August 1947 with Mumtaz Daultana, Shaukat Hyat and Karamat Ali among his ministers.[43] In-fighting and squabbling within the Cabinet started early in 1948, and both Daultana and Shaukat submitted their resignations complaining that the Ministry was functioning in "a most irregular and haphazard manner" and that there was no clear programme due to "vague, ill conceived and frequently divided purposes and cross-purposes."[44] Mamdot not unfairly maintained that formulation of policies and programmes was the joint responsibility of the Cabinet.[45] The Governor, however, felt that Mamdot had to go.[46] Mamdot had promised to refer the dispute to Jinnah after it had been deliberated in a party meeting[47]—a promise he did not keep. The Punjab ministerial muddle was vividly described in Abdur Rahim's report: "In the West

Punjab, all officials, high or low, with few exceptions, are like a kind of *Alibaba & Chalis Chaur* and the administration is going to dogs."[48] Five MLAs wrote to Jinnah: "Punjab today is...being governed by people who have neither ability nor intelligence, nor the vision .... Our administration has all but broken down." Jinnah's intervention was requested.[49]

Although Jinnah was persuaded that Mamdot was scarcely fit to remain Premier,[50] he nevertheless had told the Governor, "I do not wish to intervene .... You will adhere to your position as a constitutional Governor."[51] Earlier, he had offered to help with co-ordination between the Governor, the Ministers and the people.[52] Daultana made a bid for the premiership, hoping that Mamdot would support him. But much to his chagrin, he learnt that "Mamdot was doing everything possible to obtain the support of MLAs for himself."[53] The Governor reported on 1 June that "Mamdot this morning changed his mind and refused to abide by his agreement with Mumtaz."[54] By procrastination and manipulation, Mamdot somehow managed to cling to the premiership. To beef up support for himself, he inducted four new ministers, one of whom was not even a member of the West Punjab Assembly.[55]

Not all was well in Sind either. Differences had developed between Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan and the Sind Premier, Ayub Khuhro, over the functioning of the Central Government in Karachi.[56] The Governor, Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, was at odds with Khuhro as well; he even reallocated cabinet portfolios without consulting the Premier.[57] Although Jinnah had earlier rated Khuhro as "the most efficient Minister I have seen,"[58] he saw fit to support the Prime Minister and the Governor and suggested that Khuhro resign and stay away from politics for a while.[59] On 26 April, the Premier sent his resignation to Jinnah,[60] but the same day the Governor issued orders of his dismissal on charges of maladministration and gross misconduct.[61]

In the NWFP, the divisive and sinister demand of the Red Shirts for Pathanistan had been stultified by the overwhelming popular verdict for Pakistan in the referendum held in July 1947. By 1946 the influence of the Khan Brothers in the Frontier politics had begun to wane and, as stated by Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress was taken aback when Nehru was shown "Black-Flags" and asked to "Go-Back" at the Peshawar airport on 16 October.[62] Abdul Ghaffar Khan took the oath of allegiance to Pakistan on 28 February 1948, under probable pressure from his moderate party colleagues. He, nevertheless, visualized an autonomous 'Pathanistan' within Pakistan to be carved out of the NWFP and adjoining tribal areas.[63] On 9 March, he in concert with G. M. Syed and some other nationalist Muslim leaders formed an All Pakistan Peoples' Party declaring that "the Muslim League had outlived its

usefulness." They visualised Pakistan as a federation of autonomous republics with economic equality.[64] Following a meeting with Jinnah, Ghaffar Khan addressed him as "My dear Quaid-i-Azam" and wrote on 18 April that his *Khudai Khidmatgars* "shall spare no efforts in strengthening and safeguarding the interests of Pakistan and they shall be prepared to make every sacrifice for this cause."[65] However, there was no reconciliation between Ghaffar Khan and the Frontier League leaders who had attempted to persuade him to join the League rather than forming an opposition party.[66] Due to serious differences with the Government, Ghaffar Khan was arrested on 17 June for alleged collusion with the Faqir of Ipi as well as India and sentenced to a three-year term in prison.[67] G. M. Syed was simultaneously interned by the Sind Government.[68] The Muslim League itself was not free from in-fighting. Someone anonymously wrote to Jinnah that Premier Abdul Qaiyum Khan and Pir Sahib Manki Sharif were at loggerheads to the detriment of both the province and the people.[69]

A tussle for power of a different sort was going on in Baluchistan as well, where tribal chieftains, enjoying traditional privileges, were pitted against the Provincial Muslim League led by Qazi Muhammad Isa, a proponent of expanded franchise. Instead of a limited franchise comprising the Shahi Jirga and members of the Quetta Municipality, he was in favour of adult suffrage.[70] After independence, Baluchistan Muslim League expected a major say in the provincial affairs. In its February 1947 resolution, it staked its claim to being "the sole authoritative and representative political body" and referred to the *Sardars* as people without public backing who had been rewarded by the British for services to the colonial power. It suggested that the province be administered by a panel of advisers, half of whom were to be nominated by the Muslim League.[71] The rift between the *Sardars* and Qazi Isa, who lampooned them as "The Born Flatterers and Beggars,"[72] became increasingly bitter. In June 1948, C.A.G. Savidge, Agent to Governor-General, informed Jinnah that "The cleavage between these two parties has become wider in recent months" with "deplorable effects ... on the administration."[73] On Jinnah's instructions, Savidge warned Qazi Isa to desist from his disruptive activities and cooperate with the Government—or face disciplinary action.[74]

* * * *

When Pakistan emerged into being, the people of Sind spontaneously opened their doors and their hearts to the personnel of the new Central Government coming over from Delhi and other places in India. With the

increasing demands of the Central Government, Sind began to have fears of being edged out of their capital city. On 1 January 1948, the Central Cabinet considered locating the capital at either Rawalpindi or Karachi and decided for Karachi which was to become "a centrally administered area."[75] Sind, on the other hand, was keen to retain it under provincial control.[76] In protest against the projected take-over of Karachi by the Centre, processions were taken out and demonstrations held outside the houses of some Central Ministers and even the Governor-General.[77] On 10 February, the Sind Assembly resolved that "Karachi must not be handed over to the Central Administration at any cost."[78] On 24 February, Khuhro informed Chundrigar, the Central Minister concerned, that his Ministry was not willing to discuss shifting the Provincial headquarters from Karachi.[79] On 12 June, the Sind Muslim League Assembly Party registered its opposition to the Constituent Assembly's resolution regarding Karachi being put under Central control.[80]

This potentially explosive issue was peacefully resolved through Jinnah's political sagacity. On 21 June, a deputation of the Sind Muslim League called upon him at Ziarat. He wished that "the Sind Government and the leaders would not fight for the shadow but the substance—namely to secure from the Pakistan Government fullest compensation by financial adjustment."[81] The Sind Government had reckoned the amount of compensation at around Rs. 60 crore.[82] In the end, the Sind Muslim League acquiesced in the take-over of Karachi by the Central Government, which in any case was a fait accompli, and passed another resolution stating that "there is no other alternative but to gracefully accept the advice of the Quaid-i-Azam."[83]

* * * *

Although the Muslim League had decided to swallow the bitter pill of a divided Bengal, H. S. Suhrawardy, the Bengal Premier, had continued to strive against the partition of the province on the ground that, if split, both parts will be "weak and negligible" and that the eastern part will have an acute food deficit.[84] In this bid, he was opposed by the Bengal Muslim League leaders, such as Maulana Akram Khan, Hamidul Haq Chaudhri and Nurul Amin,[85] who believed that the Muslims of Bengal could not isolate themselves from Pakistan.[86] Suhrawardy attempted to persuade the opponents that he had always visualised Bengal, for good and sufficient reasons, as a sovereign state. In April 1947, he met the Viceroy and promised that he would obtain Jinnah's consent to a united Bengal.[87] Mountbatten, however, seemed

sceptical, though he had himself had two speeches recorded by the BBC, one favouring division of India into two Dominions and the other into three, the third being Bengal.[88] However only the first version was actually broadcast.[89] In May, Suhrawardy, along with Abul Hashim, Fazlur Rahman and Abdul Malik, reached an agreement with Sarat Chandra Bose and other Bengal Congress leaders for the province staying united. Eventually the proposal did not find favour with either the Muslim League or the Congress.[90]

According to Terence Shone, the British High Commissioner in India, Suhrawardy was expected by both Jinnah and Liaquat to be elected Premier of East Bengal. The election of Khwaja Nazimuddin instead came as a shock not only to them but also to Suhrawardy himself. When invited to become an ambassador-at-large by Jinnah, he declined. Ousted from the East Bengal politics, he started working for amelioration of the lot of the minorities under Gandhi's tutelage,[91] to whom he complained that the Muslim refugee trains were still being attacked whereas those of the Hindu refugees were no longer harmed, and that for every Hindu, ten Muslims had been killed.[92] He pleaded with both the Dominions for a joint declaration on matters like peaceful co-existence, avoidance of war, protection of communities, etc.[93] When he started a tour of East Bengal for promoting communal harmony, the Government of Khwaja Nazimuddin, suspecting that he had ulterior motives, had him detained under the Public Safety Ordinance.[94]

* * * *

Muslim Bengal had been in the vanguard of the struggle for Pakistan. On 23 March 1940, A. K. Fazlul Huq had moved the famous Lahore Resolution.[95] In the 1945-46 elections, Muslim League received overwhelming support from the Muslims in Bengal. Undivided Bengal had a Muslim majority but the Hindus dominated its economy as well as the government services.[96] Muslims voted for Pakistan expecting to be rid of this domination, but after Pakistan had come into being, they found Hindu bureaucrats supplanted largely by non-Bengalis.[97] At the outset, the Pakistani establishment, dominated by West Pakistanis, favoured a strong Centre, regarding Urdu as a symbol of Muslim culture, and believing that the opposition groups in East Bengal had links with the communists and fellow-travellers as well as with the Bengali Hindus. Their concept of defence—that East Pakistan could be defended from West Pakistan—was somewhat bizarre, which led to the concentration of military strength in the west, leaving the eastern wing virtually unprotected. "These narrow premises ... coupled with a sense

of racial and cultural superiority in the West Pakistan elite, prevented the evolution of a dynamic and equal relationship between the two Wings." The fact that the top and middle echelons of the Central hierarchy were manned largely by non-Bengalis exacerbated the imbalance.[98] Dissatisfaction resulting from the causes aforementioned was eagerly exploited by the Hindus in East Bengal who, no doubt, perceived a threat to their economic dominance from the new dispensation.

A movement for declaring Bengali as one of the State languages was launched, in which students played a major role. While affirming their unswerving loyalty to Pakistan, they assured Jinnah that the demand was underpinned by a consensus in East Bengal.[99] A Joint State Language Committee of Action was formed, which reasoned that it was "impossible for four crores of people of Bengal to change their mother-tongue."[100] The language agitation spread like wildfire throughout the province. Police firing on students on 21 February 1952[101] sealed the fate of the Muslim League in East Bengal, which was to suffer an ignominious electoral debacle before long. Relations between the two Wings were embittered, irreversibly as it turned out later.

Jinnah had been able to perceive the alarming signals emanating from Pakistan's distant province and, despite his failing health and gruelling work schedule, paid a visit to that province to assess the situation for himself. He reproached the students, warning them that "Freedom ... does not mean licence." He did concede, though, that "For official use in this Province, the people of the Province can choose any language they wish." However, he did not decide on Bengali being a State language, along with Urdu, because he, too, had identified Urdu with Muslim India's cultural ethos as well as the freedom movement itself.[102]

* * * *

The state of agitation in East Bengal notwithstanding, Jinnah reposed trust in the collective wisdom and patriotic spirit of his people. He said at Chittagong, "the sooner our mind's eye is capable of piercing through the horizons to see the limitless possibilities of our State ... the better ... to realize the great ideals of human progress and social justice."[103]

In his *'Id al-Fitr* message on 6 August 1948, Jinnah said, "what sustained us during these dark days was our unity of purpose and firm resolve .... We have weathered the worst storms, and the safety of the shore, though distant, is in sight."[104]

* * * *

Jinnah knew full well that economic development was of the essence not only for improving the standard of living and quality of life of a people but also for political clout and diplomatic leverage in world affairs. As early as in August 1944, he had appointed a committee to draw up a comprehensive plan for socio-economic development of the future Pakistan.[105] Though beset with multifarious problems after the emergence of Pakistan, he remained seized of the imperative of economic and industrial development and progress and had such steps taken as were necessary and possible to that end. In a broadcast to the people of the United States, he said that his aim was "the improvement of living standards of my people by harnessing ... the natural ... resources of the country, and to assure them freedom from want and fear."[106] In a broadcast to the people of Australia, he voiced a similar wish.[107] During his visit to Chittagong, he pointed to the need of "harnessing of your pretty Karnafully river to control floods and silt, to irrigate fields and to develop cheap hydro-electric power." He expressed his confidence that "Chittagong is destined to be the eastern mighty queen and gateway of Pakistan."[108] Although he was ailing and exhausted, he none the less travelled from Ziarat to Karachi to inaugurate the State Bank of Pakistan, for he believed that "The opening of the State Bank of Pakistan symbolizes the sovereignty of our State in the financial sphere."[109]

* * * *

In the field of international relations, Pakistan followed a policy of peace and understanding with the world at large, of amity with the neighbouring countries, and fraternal cordiality with the Muslim States. Even before Pakistan came into being, Jinnah had developed strong bonds of friendship with prominent personalities of the Muslim world, especially the Middle East and Turkey, and with the heads of organisations like the Arab League and the Akhwan-al-Muslimeen.[110] These bonds were further cemented as a matter of State policy.

Jinnah had implicit and robust faith in the universal brotherhood of man as symbolised by the United Nations, its imperfections notwithstanding. When asked to comment on the Kashmir question, he said, "I cannot say anything on the Kashmir issue as UNO is dealing with the issue."[111] In an address to the officers of H.M.P.S. *Dilawar*, he stated, "The war-weary humanity is watching with fear and hope the evolution of the United Nations Organisation, for on its ability to successfully deal with the causes of war and threats to world peace will depend the salvation of mankind and the future of civilisation."[112] In his broadcast to America, he

was optimistic that "through organisations such as United Nations, Pakistan, with all other countries, will one day emerge into a better world."[113]

When the Turkish Ambassador expressed the hope that "Pakistan will render invaluable services to humanity in the cause of peace and civilisation,"[114] Jinnah reciprocated: "Turkey ... has drawn our admiration for the valour of your people and the way in which your statesmen ... fought almost single-handed in the midst of Europe for your freedom and sovereignty which have been happily maintained."[115] Felicitating Burma on its independence, he observed, "It marks the closing of an era of colonial empire and the exploitation of the East by the West. It ushers a new phase of promise and hope for the down-trodden masses of your country and ours."[116] He expressed similar sentiments on the achievement of Dominion status by Sri Lanka.[117] To the hope voiced by the American Ambassador that "Pakistan will ... play the important role to which it is entitled by the size and energy of its population and its potential resources",[118] Jinnah responded that "the people of Pakistan desire ... nothing more than the goodwill and friendship of all the free nations of the world."[119]

Afghanistan, which had questioned the validity of the Durand Line as international frontier and the incorporation of north-western tribal areas into Pakistan,[120] continued to harbour revanchist ambitions over the trans-Indus areas inhabited by Pathans. When Pakistan Government declared that it regarded the "tribesmen as an integral part of the State," Afghanistan remonstrated.[121] However, Pakistan's relations with its north-western neighbour improved somewhat as a result of Jinnah's diplomatic initiative in sending Saidullah Khan as his Personal Representative to Kabul to try and resolve differences with that country.[122] Eventually, diplomatic relations between the two countries were established, and the King's uncle, Shah Wali Khan, was appointed Afghan Ambassador on 25 February.[123] He expressed the hope that "all matters concerning the two countries will be settled in a happy way and to the advantage of both the countries."[124]

* * * *

In spite of Jinnah's sincere desire for peace and amity, especially with its eastern neighbour, Pakistan's relations with India were bedevilled by the latter's intransigence on many issues, including payment of Pakistan's share of the cash balances held on the eve of partition by the Government of British India and transfer of military stores and equipment. The Kashmir dispute, over which the two nations have gone to war three times, is still a festering sore. Indeed, the recent military stand-off

and concomitant tension between them over the core issue of Kashmir appeared at times to come precariously close to the flashpoint.

Though Pakistan's share of the cash balances should, in fairness, have been one billion rupees, India refused to pay more than 200 million rupees.[125] Pakistan's Finance Minister saw little hope of India paying Pakistan its due share of the cash balances.[126] However, on 21 January 1948, an additional sum of 500 million rupees was transferred to Pakistan, reportedly on the intervention of Gandhi.[127]

Piqued and slighted by Jinnah's refusal to accept him as Governor-General of Pakistan, Mountbatten played a palpably partisan role, unfairly benefiting India at the expense of Pakistan, in apparent connivance with the British Labour Government. He was slammed for his unabashed partiality by Pakistan's Finance Minister, Ghulam Mohammed, at a press conference held in London on 5 July 1948. Referring to the communal pogroms in East Punjab, in particular, he charged that "almost the whole blame in not having prevented these events rests upon the shoulders of Lord Mountbatten." He also blamed Mountbatten for "forcing Partition in two months," which he said, "was an error of judgement." He added that Pakistan had been particularly wronged in the distribution of military stores and equipment although "Lord Mountbatten pledged his word. So did Nehru and Baldev Singh." What Pakistan actually got, he said, was No. 12 shoes and other so-called military stores which were no good.[128]

Pakistan's High Commissioner even declined British Premier's invitation to a dinner for Mountbatten saying, "Lord Mountbatten's policy has completely alienated the people of Pakistan who feel he has done immense harm to Pakistan during his regime".[129] Referring to the holocaust in East Punjab, Firoz Khan Noon said, "It is a very poor defence to say that Lord Mountbatten was misled by Sir Evan Jenkins, the then Governor of the Punjab."[130]

Jinnah was keen to mend fences with India. When Gandhi died tragically on 30 January 1948, Jinnah acknowledged magnanimously: " Whatever our political differences, he was one of the greatest men produced by the Hindu community, and a leader who commanded their universal confidence and respect."[131] He sent a message of condolence to Mountbatten as well.[132] The Government of Pakistan announced a public holiday as an expression of their sympathy and grief over the tragic loss of the Indian leader.[133] On the appointment of C. Rajagopalachari to replace Mountbatten, Jinnah telegraphed his "warm congratulations" on his appointment as Governor-General. He desired that: "Under your guidance I hope will come real friendship between the two Dominions. It is no less essential to India than to Pakistan."[134] In reciprocity, Rajagopalachari affirmed "the

essentiality of utmost friendship and mutual help between India and Pakistan."[135] Despite the unfriendly Indian attitude, Jinnah did not despair of the prospects of peaceful co-existence with India. When asked by a Swiss journalist if such co-existence was possible, he replied, "Yes, provided the Indian Government will shed the superiority complex and will deal with Pakistan on an equal footing." In his sincere desire for peace and amity with India, Jinnah even contemplated mutual cooperation for defence and security.[136]

* * * *

Jinnah had a rather special concern for Baluchistan, not only because it was directly under the Governor-General's domain, but also because it was the most neglected and least developed part of Pakistan. He instructed the civil officers in Baluchistan to "forget, as far as is possible, your pleasures and put in as much time and as much work as you can."[137] He stated at the Sibi Darbar that "The administration handed over to us was ... quite impervious to the desires and wishes of the people" and "impatient of criticism and oblivious of the necessity of political reforms." To put the administration of Baluchistan on an even keel, he formed a Governor-General's Advisory Council.[138] At a press conference in Sibi, he said, "my soul and my pulse ensure that I shall be very useful to Baluchistan in its present condition."[139]

* * * *

Jinnah visualised Pakistan as a modern, enlightened and progressive democracy, underpinned by the principles of Islamic social justice and an egalitarian society free from all forms of exploitation.[140] In his message on the birthday of the Holy Prophet[PBUH], he declared that "Islamic principles today are as applicable to life as they were 1, 300 years ago .... Islam is not only a set of rituals, traditions and spiritual doctrines, Islam is also a code for every Muslim which regulates his life and his conduct..."[141] While addressing the Sibi Darbar, he emphasised, "our salvation lies in following the golden rules of conduct set for us by our great law-giver, the Prophet of Islam [PBUH]."[142] In a broadcast to Australia, he made it clear that Pakistan was not a theocracy but a modern democracy, a welfare state.[143] In the field of economy, he wanted Pakistan to be guided by Islamic precepts and principles and believed that "The adoption of Western economic theory and practice will not help." Pakistan had to evolve "an economic system based on true Islamic concept of equality

of manhood and social justice."[144]

* * * *

Mohammad Ali Jinnah had been endowed by nature with exceptional qualities of head and heart. He had an incisive mind, razor-sharp intelligence and subtle wit, and his political discourse was marked by cogency of argument, perspicacity, clarity of vision, and lucidity of expression. An atypical politician of immaculate integrity, impeccable honesty and sincerity of purpose, he had an innate and unerring sense of right and wrong. He had unique legal acumen and acuity. Given to unquestioning deference and adherence to the constitution and the law, he was also especially particular regarding his civic obligations. As a quintessential democrat, he was opposed to anybody, including himself, holding office simultaneously in a political party and the government. He rejected the gratuitous suggestion that a solitary exception be made in his case.[145] He considered it wholly incompatible for him to head a political party while holding the office of Governor-General. On his relinquishing the office of President of the Pakistan Muslim League, Chaudhri Khaliq-uz-Zaman was appointed Organizer of the party.[146] Finding scarcely any role for a uniformed political militia in the new democratic dispensation, he advised the dissolution of the Muslim National Guards.[147]

As a committed constitutionalist, Jinnah withheld his assent to a legislative bill because he thought one of its clauses "strikes at the root of the sanctity of contracts under the existing laws and is, therefore, constitutionally and legally unsound."[148] When the Punjab Governor, Francis Mudie, sought Jinnah's views on a bill, he was advised that "It is for the Governor to deal with the Bill and it is for him to consider whether he should give his assent to it or not. The Governor-General is not required, nor does he wish, to express any opinion ... as this is not the function assigned to him by law."[149] When the Governor suggested that the Governor-General's order had overridden an existing law, Jinnah replied, "I am still more surprised when you say that my order overrides provisions of Government of India Act. ... I do not find any authority or power vested in me to decide whether Bill is *ultra vires* or not? In these matters, I wish you to be a little more precise and take legal advice properly."[150]

That all institutions of the State must function within the ambit of the Constitution was an article of faith for Jinnah. He exhorted the officers of the Armed Forces to study the Pakistan Constitution and understand its implications.[151] Wary of transgressing the limits of the Central authority and intruding into the Provincial domain, Jinnah's reply to the Maharaja

of Kapurthala, who had requested his intervention for the return of his cars stranded in Pakistan, was: "I regret very much indeed that this is not one of the subjects with which I can normally deal with under the Constitution of Pakistan, and it is entirely for the West Punjab Government to decide."[152] Emboldened by Jinnah's firm and unwavering commitment to the rule of law, a *Tapadar* served notice on the Governor-General himself: "Take notice that the ground rent ... and local cess ... you are hereby required to pay ... before 5-7-48, failing which you will be proceeded against according to law."[153] In a rejoinder to America's *Life* magazine, the Editor of the *Dawn* wrote tersely, "*Life* calls Jinnah Pakistan's 'Creator-Dictator'. Creator he undoubtedly is, dictator he is not."[154]

* * * *

Scrupulously honest himself, Jinnah was extremely particular about the propriety of expenditure from public funds. He had set a trend of thrift and frugality. He was a stickler for proper and strict maintenance of public and institutional accounts and paid special attention to the receipts into, and disbursements from, such funds as well as their audit. He upbraided the Treasurer of Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund for not sending in a weekly balance sheet.[155] Beset as he was by a host of problems, he still found time for scrutinizing Bank statements and wrote to his Banker, "I find that 28 cheques and drafts which I had sent you from time to time for realization and crediting to Pakistan Fund account are still lying outstanding in my books."[156] He asked the Bank to send in daily statements of the Pakistan Fund which had not been submitted due to the disturbances, from August to October 1947.[157] Jinnah's regard for his own civic obligations was quite remarkable. Before leaving India for good on 7 August 1947, he had paid his telephone bill[158] and income tax[159] in advance. He took pains to explain his tax liability to the Income Tax Officer in Delhi: "the 10 Aurangzeb Road property ... was purchased by me ... by selling my securities....The income from the property was nil as it was never let."[160] Before leaving for Ziarat on account of illness, he insisted on paying for all his personal expenses during his stay there.[161] This sense of propriety in financial matters was also reflected in his refusal to permit his "full-time Legal Adviser" to also teach at a Law College.[162]

* * * *

Jinnah's dealings with people were even-handed and firm with a tinge of politeness. When Syed Wajid Ali, a close friend, invited him to dinner,

he told him somewhat plainly, " if I start accepting private invitations from friends, it will be impossible for me to manage it .... If I were to discriminate, it will surely annoy the person whose invitation I may not be able to accept." However, as if to mollify his would-be host, he asked him and his wife to tea.[163]

* * * *

Jinnah's exceptional attributes excited almost universal admiration, even adoration. Muslims of Natal, South Africa, sent him a warm message of good wishes on his 71st birthday.[164] Dorothy Higgins from Australia enthused about Jinnah's broadcast to the people of her country, "I have been listening in to the radio for over fifteen years, and never was I so ... stirred by a speech. When at the end you said 'Peace be upon you', I felt as if a noble and holy man had given me his blessing."[165] Another Australian, Frank Clune, said of the same broadcast, "I must say, Sir, that this was one of the most eloquent orations that I have ever heard on the radio.... one of my friends said, 'Mr. Jinnah is surely the Demosthenes[166] of the modern world!' "[167]

* * * *

In the political annals of the South Asian subcontinent, Mohammad Ali Jinnah towers above his contemporaries. He was a pillar of moral strength, an apotheosis of probity in public life which he regarded as a trust never to be betrayed. He doggedly defied his insidious, wasting disease, and continued to bend his declining energies to the Herculean task of resolving the formidable problems confronting the fledgling state until he was burnt to a frazzle.[168] After a visit to Baluchistan in February 1948, he undertook a nine-day tour of East Bengal, in March, during which he addressed a mammoth public meeting of over 300,000 people at Dacca,[169] delivered the convocation address at the Dacca University, visited Chittagong for on-the-spot study of its problems, and met with a large number of individuals and delegations. After a whirlwind tour of the NWFP in April, he left for Quetta in May to finalise the formation of an Advisory Council for Baluchistan. He was then moved to Ziarat for rest and recuperation, from where he hopped back to Karachi to inaugurate the State Bank of Pakistan on 1 July. His frail body was beginning to wilt under these gruelling pressures.

Fatima Jinnah has it that the event which probably caused Jinnah's health to get worse critically, was a public meeting held at Peshawar in April 1948, when it began to rain but thousands of people kept sitting. She

says, "My brother could not disappoint them .... He was drenched to the bone, but he sat throughout the meeting, braving the inclement weather. That night he had a running nose, cold and chill, cough and high temperature." After his return to Karachi, his health showed little improvement. Miss Jinnah pleaded with him to leave Karachi for a place like Quetta or Ziarat with a salubrious climate and bracing air. She was supported by Jinnah's personal physician, Dr. Rahman, who warned that "unless he gave up work completely for at least two months and took complete rest, he would only be doing irreparable damage to his health."[170] On 25 May 1948, he travelled to Quetta[171] where, after a few days, there was a perceptible improvement in his condition.[172] On 17 June, he was shifted to Ziarat for stay at the Residency.[173] However, only fifteen days later, he decided to go to Karachi to perform the opening ceremony of the State Bank of Pakistan. Miss Jinnah tried to dissuade him because of the strain of travel to Karachi and back. His reply was vintage Jinnah: "We must prove that we have the talent to run our country not only in the field of politics, but also in finance and banking. So my presence is necessary. ...Why worry about my health. This is a duty I have to perform. I can't put it off, and say I am afraid to take risks."[174] The effort took its toll and in the course of his speech, writes Miss Jinnah, he was "scarcely audible, pausing, coughing, as he proceeded with the text of his speech. When we returned to the Governor-General's House after the ceremony, he went to his bed with his clothes and shoes on. Within the emaciated body that lay in bed, there burnt the dazzling flame of genius."[175] He then returned to Quetta on the way to Ziarat.[176]

Back at Ziarat, Liaquat Ali Khan and Chaudhri Mohammad Ali, Secretary-General, paid him a visit.[177] The latter suggested that Col. Ilahi Bakhsh, an eminent physician, be called from Lahore to attend Jinnah. When, after his arrival, the physician enquired how he felt, Jinnah maintained, with his customary defiance, that there was nothing wrong with him except his stomach: "I have been working fourteen hours a day for the last fourteen years. I have never known what sickness really is. However, for the past few years I get frequent attacks of fever and coughing."[178] After a thorough examination, the physician pronounced, "Sir, I am afraid results of the clinical tests show that you have an infection of the lungs." Jinnah heard the news quietly, almost impassively, and spoke after a few minutes' silence: "This means that I am suffering from tuberculosis." He wanted his sister not to know about his affliction, but when he learnt that she had already come to know of it, he spoke to her, "Fati, so you see, you were right ... I should have consulted specialists earlier ... But I am not sorry. Man can only struggle ... the tongue of destiny is always dumb ... I will stand my post as long as I can."[179]

His friend and confidant, M.A.H. Ispahani, Pakistan's Ambassador in Washington, who visited him at Ziarat on 25 July, "broke down in tears. He could not bear to see that veteran of many fights lay helpless in bed, struggling feebly for his life."[180] He wrote soon after from Washington, "I beg of you not to return to Karachi before the end of September... You must, however, take complete rest and keep away from work ... until you regain the strength that you have lost through over-exertion and over-work."[181] Jinnah reassured him, "you need not worry that I will be unwise to hasten my return. Besides, the doctors do not allow me to do so. Thank you ... for all your concern. There is nothing to worry."[182]

In the second week of August, doctors noted a swelling in Jinnah's feet, which they feared might affect his heart. They also felt that the Ziarat height was rather too much and that the patient had better be moved to Quetta.[183] However, as Fatima Jinnah says, when it was decided to send him to Quetta, on 13 August, "He insisted that he would not travel in pyjama suit, saying he had never done that in his life ... I brought out a brand new suit ... a tie to match, put the kerchief in his vanity pocket, and made him wear his shining pump shoes."[184] Towards the end of August, Jinnah seemed resigned to his impending fate. On 7 September, the doctors decided on shifting him to Karachi.[185] During this period, Miss Jinnah recalled, he rambled in his sleep about Kashmir, Constitution and refugees.[186]

As the disturbing news of his rapidly failing health began to spread, the world braced itself for the approaching finale of Jinnah's eventful and, in many ways, extraordinary life. When he was being taken back to Karachi, he protested: "Don't take me to Karachi on crutches.... I dislike being carried on a stretcher from the car to my room."[187] He was, typically, defiant even as the end seemed imminent. In an effort to get him the best medical attention, Dr. Mistry was called from Karachi. A cable was sent to Ispahani as well to arrange immediately for a specialist to fly out from the US.[188] On 10 September, having obtained advice from top-flight medical specialists, Ispahani selected Dr. Riggins, a "very renowned chest and lung specialist," to fly to Pakistan.[189] In the event, it was too late; on 11 September, Jinnah was flown to Karachi in a precarious condition. His physician recalled, later, that when he was being taken to his plane, the crew gave him a salute which he duly returned. He had become so weak that he found it difficult to "even cough without an effort." This was "symbolic of his sense of duty and discipline even on the verge of death."[190] The road journey from the airport to the Governor-General's House took several hours because the ambulance broke down on the way.[191] The same night, the light that had shone so brightly for some five eventful decades went out after a last flicker. His devoted sister was at his bedside when

he breathed his last and witnessed his final moments. "He made one last attempt and whispered 'Fati, *Khuda Hafiz ... Laa Ilaha Illallahu Muhammadur Rasullullah.*' His head dropped slightly to his right, his eyes closed."[192] Thus, the bell tolled for the charismatic leader of the epic struggle that culminated in the emergence of an independent Muslim state in South Asia. He is regarded by many as the brightest star in the political firmament of the subcontinent.

The news of Jinnah's passing away was received with shock and grief in Pakistan, as elsewhere, bringing forth poignant messages of condolence from the world over, only a few of which could find a place in this volume because of space constraint. Princess Abida Sultan, the erstwhile heir-apparent of Bhopal State, telegraphed, "Stunned by tragic news. The great leader, architect and father of nation has passed away leaving a baby nation an orphan."[193] The message from Pakistan Air Headquarters read: "A great man and a lovable personality has passed away, leaving life itself poorer."[194] Kharadar Ismailia Ladies wrote, "Today Pakistan has lost its architect, the Muslims their greatest leader."[195] The message from the city of Bombay, to which Jinnah had imparted much lustre, said, "He was a member of the Corporation for about two years, an eminent lawyer and a great statesman, indomitable and incorruptible."[196] The Muslim University, Aligarh, which had given wholehearted and unwavering support to Jinnah and had carried his call for a Muslim national homeland to the four corners of India, recorded in a resolution, "a great Indian, a great statesman and a great leader and one of the most prominent members of the Aligarh Muslim University Court."[197] The Karachi Parsis lamented: "Leaving us in unspeakable sorrow, the cruel, icy hand of death has snatched away our beloved Quaid from our midst at a time when we needed him the most .... That Bombay's legal luminary who caused many a legal miracle, that lion of Pakistan who floored many an adversary and father and architect of our young state lies today in peaceful slumber."[198]

Among the large number of condolence messages received from various parts of the world was one from Jordan sympathizing with the people of Pakistan in "their bereavement on the death of the leader of Muslim World whose remembrance will go through history and will be a symbol not only for Pakistan and the Muslim World but also for all humanity."[199] The Embassy of Iran wrote to Fatima Jinnah: "How shocking that a great thinker, a great Muslim leader, the founder and the architect of the largest Islamic State in the world ... has slept in eternal peace."[200] The Indian Association of Tanganyika [now Tanzania] wired their "heartfelt condolences and deepest sympathies at the irreparable loss."[201] Karmali Hiridjee wrote from Tananarive, "This pain has plunged the entire Muslim community of Madagascar in a state of gloom."[202] Stafford Cripps, a British

Cabinet Minister, who knew prominent leaders of the subcontinent well, broadcast this obituary: "one of the outstanding personalities in Eastern political life. ... he stuck with a single-minded intensity to his determination to create a free Muslim State....He was a man of the highest standard of probity and honour."[203]

The mortal remains of the great leader are enshrined in a grand mausoleum in Karachi around which the grateful nation has laid out a magnificent garden. When he visited the mausoleum in October 1992, the great South African leader, Nelson Mandela, wrote in the visitors' book: "Jinnah's museum [mausoleum] is a source of tremendous inspiration to all those who struggle against all forms of racial oppression."[204]

Z. H. ZAIDI

Notes

[1]Speech by Jinnah, 14 February 1948, No. 79.
[2]Draft Speech by Jinnah, 24 March 1948, No. 184.
[3]Abdul Qaiyum Khan to Jinnah, Telegram, 30 January 1948, No. 56
[4]S. M. Yusuf to Pirzada Abdus Sattar, 16 February 1948, Enclosure to No. 82
[5]Fazlul Qadir Chaudhry to Jinnah, 24 March 1948, No. 188.
[6]*Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Speeches and Statements as Governor-General of Pakistan 1947 8*, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Islamabad, 1989, 175.
[7]See Introduction to Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund, Appendix I.
[8]Speech by Jinnah, 2 February 1948, No. 65.
M. Arshad Husain to F Amin, 13 January 1948, Enclosure to Appendix I. 2.
[10]Yaqub Shah to F. Amin, 8 April 1948, Annex to Appendix I. 11.
[11]Jinnah's interview with Iranian Goodwill Mission, 10 April 1948, No. 255.
[12]M. A. Khuhro to Jinnah, 13 January 1948, No. 20.
[13]Agha Shahi to S. M. Yusuf, 5 February 1948, No. 75.
[14]Syed Karimuddin Ahmed to Jinnah, 20 March 1948, Annexure to Annex to No 156.
[15]S. Moin Ud Din Chishty to Jinnah, 23 March 1948, No. 177.
[16]Mohammad Ibrahim Khiji to Jinnah, 14 January 1948, No. 23.
[17]Umar Yasir Asim to Jinnah, 12 March 1948, No. 135.
[18]Z. A. Khan to F. Amin, 28 January 1948, Enclosure to No. 54.
[19]Shadan Gangohi to Jinnah, 15 January 1948, No. 28.
[20]S. M. Fazal Haq Qadrie to Jinnah, 21 March 1948, No. 166.
[21]S M. Nauman Zaidi & Others to Jinnah, 28 March 1948, No. 211.
[22]See Introduction to Vol. V, xiv.
See Introduction to Vol. VI, xii.
[24]Report on Jinnah's Visit to Riot-Affected Areas, 10 January 1948, Annex II to No 18.
[25]Ibid., No. 18.
[26]Ibid., Annex I to No. 18.
[27]A. Hilaly to S. M. Yusuf, 21 February 1948, Enclosure to No. 92.
[28]Speech by Jinnah, 26 March 1948, No. 202.
[29]Ghulam Maseeh to Jinnah, 26 January 1948, No. 49.
[30]M. N. Dhalla to Jinnah, 4 February 1948, Enclosure to No. 71.
Memorandum by the Buddhist Association, 25 March 1948, No 194
[32]Dhirendra Narayan Das to Jinnah, 25 March 1948, No. 195.
[33]A. Floyd Tarr to Jinnah, 25 May 1948, No. 382.
[34]Address by Quetta Parsi Anjuman to Jinnah, 13 June 1948, No. 421.
[35]Address by Jinnah, 13 June 1948, No. 422.
[36]M. Muzaffar Hussain to Jinnah, 15 January 1948, No. 27.
[37]Mir Dost Mohammed Ahmedzai to Jinnah, 28 January 1948, No. 52.
[38]See note 21 above.
[39]Geti Ara Bashir Ahmad to Jinnah, 4 March 1948, No. 117.
[40]A. Qasim to Jinnah, 29 March 1948, No. 214.
[41]M. Siddiq Khan to Jinnah, 9 April 1948, No. 251.
[42]A. B. Yusufi to Jinnah, 14 April 1948, No. 269.
[43]Humayoon Adeeb, *Tehrik e Pakistan Punab Aur Mandot* (Urdu), Society Books, Lahore, 1987, 327.
[44]Jinnah to Francis Mudie, 28 April 1948, Annex I to No. 321.
[45]Ibid., Annex II to No. 321.
[46]Francis Mudie to Jinnah, Telegram, 14 April 1948, No. 268.
[47]Ibid., 31 May 1948, No. 389.
[48]Abdur Rahim to Jinnah, 14 April 1948, No. 270.
[49]Muhammad Husain & Others to Jinnah, 19 June 1948, No. 443.
[50]Francis Mudie to Jinnah, 3 June 1948, Enclosure 2 to No. 399.
[51]Jinnah to Francis Mudie, 18 May 1948, No. 371

[52]Ibid., 28 April 1948, No. 321.
[53]Francis Mudie to Jinnah, 14 May 1948, No. 363.
[54]Ibid., Telegram, 1 June 1948, No. 392.
[55]Ibid., 2 June 1948, No. 393.
[56]Hamida Khuhro, *Mohammed Ayub Khuhro A Life of Courage in Politics*, Ferozsons, Lahore, 1998, 330.
[57]Ibid., 343.
[58]Ibid., 328.
[59]Ibid., 346.
[60] Ibid., 346-7.
Notification of Dismissal of M Ayub Khuhro, the *Dawn*, 27 April 1948.
[61] M. S. Korejo, *The Frontier Gandhi: His Place in History*, Oxford University Press, Karachi, 1994, 42-3.
Abdul Ghaffar Khan to Jinnah, 18 April 1948, Annex I to No 294
[64]Ibid., Annex II to No. 294.
[65]Ibid., 18 April 1948, No. 294.
[66]Ibid., Annex IV to No. 294
[67] Ibid., Annex III to No. 294.
[68]Ibid., Annex IV to No. 294.
[69]Note by Anonym, n.d. April 1948, No. 328.
[70]See Introduction to Vol. II, xviii.
Resolution by the Baluchistan Provincial Muslim League Council, 13 February 1948, No. 78.
[72]C.A.G. Savidge to Jinnah, 3 June 1948, Enclosure to No. 400.
Ibid., No. 400.
[74]Ibid., 20 June 1948, No. 444.
Extracts from Minutes of the Meeting of the Cabinet, 1 January 1948, Appendix II 2.
M. A. Khuhro to I. I. Chundrigar, 16 January 1948, Appendix II. 3
Hamida Khuhro, *Khuhro*, 339.
[78]Resolution by the Sind Legislative Assembly, 10 February 1948, Appendix II. 6.
M. A. Khuhro to I. I Chundrigar, 24 February 1948, Appendix II. 10.
[81] Resolution by the Sind Muslim League Assembly Party, 12 June 1948, Appendix II 13
[82] Press Note by Governor-General's Office, 21 June 1948, Appendix II. 18.
[83]Hamida Khuhro, *Khuhro*, 334.
[84] Resolution by the Sind Muslim League Assembly Party, 6 July 1948, Appendix II. 21
[85]H S. Suhrawardy to Liaquat Ali Khan, 5 May 1947, No. 387, Vol. I, Part I, 696.
[86] Hasan Zaheer, *The Separation of East Pakistan: The Rise and Realization of Bengali Muslim Nationalism*, Oxford University Press, Karachi, 1994, 11.
[87] H. S. Suhrawardy to Liaquat Ali Khan, 5 May 1947, No. 387, note 3, Vol I, Part I, 697.
[88] See note 85 above.
[89]The Viceroy's Broadcast, 31 May 1947, *TP* XI, No. 1, 1.
[90]Ibid., 3 June 1947, Ibid., No. 44.
[91] Zaheer, *The Separation*, 12.
[92] Note by Terence Shone, 10 October 1947, Appendix III. 10, Vol. VI, 701.
[93]H. S. Suhrawardy to Gandhi, 21 September 1947, Appendix III. 3, Vol. VI, 674-5
[94]H. S. Suhrawardy to Jinnah, 8 October 1947, Appendix III. 8, Vol VI, 690.
[95]Khwaja Nazimuddin to S M Yusuf, 11 June 1948, Enclosure 1 to No. 416
[96] Zaheer, *The Separation*, 6.
[97&98]Ghulam Kibria, *A Shattered Dream*, Oxford University Press, Karachi, 1999, 169 & 170.
[98]Zaheer, *The Separation*, 16-7.
[99]Mohammad Toaha & Others to Jinnah, 22 March 1948, No. 171.
[100] Memorandum by Joint State Language Committee of Action, 24 March 1948, No 186
[101]Zaheer, *The Separation*, 26-7.
[102]See note 2 above
[103]See note 28 above.
[104]*Id* Message by Jinnah, 6 August 1948, No. 474.
[105]Waheed Ahmad, ed., *The Nation's Voice*, Vol. III, Quaid-i-Azam Academy, Karachi, 1997, 557-8.

[106]Draft Broadcast by Jinnah, 17 February 1948, No. 86.
[107]Broadcast by Jinnah, 19 February 1948, No. 88.
[108]See note 28 above.
[109]Speech by Jinnah, 1 July 1948, No. 452.
[110]See Introduction to Vol. I, xxxvii.
[111]Replies by Jinnah at a Press Conference, 15 February 1948, No. 81.
[112]Address by Jinnah, 23 January 1948, No. 47.
[113]See note 106 above.
[114]A. Hilaly to S. M. Yusuf, 24 February 1948, Enclosure to No. 97.
[115]Speech by Jinnah, 4 March 1948, No. 119.
[116]Jinnah to Sao Shwe Thaik, 1 January 1948, No. 1.
[117]Message by Jinnah, 4 February 1948, No. 70.
[118]Speech by Paul Alling, 26 February 1948, No. 101.
[119]Speech by Jinnah, 26 February 1948, No. 102.
[120]See Introduction to Vol. II, xvi.
[121]M. Ikramullah to Liaquat Ali Khan, Telegram, 15 January 1948, No. 30.
[122]See Introduction to Vol. VI, xviii.
[123]Mumtaz Hasan Kizilbash to A. S. B. Shah, Telegram, 25 February 1948, No. 98.
[124]A. Hilaly to S. M. Yusuf, 7 May 1948, Enclosure 1 to No. 346.
[125]See Introduction to Vol. IV, xx.
[126]S. Osman Ali to Cabinet Ministers, 13 January 1948, Enclosure to No. 21.
[127]Ibid., 21 January 1948, Enclosure to No. 38.
[128]Report on Ghulam Mohammed's Press Conference, 5 July 1948, No. 456.
[129]Habib I. Rahimtoola to Clement Attlee, 3 July 1948, No. 455.
[130]Statement by Firoz Khan Noon, 6 July 1948, No. 458.
[131]Statement by Jinnah, 30 January 1948, No. 58.
[132]Jinnah to Louis Mountbatten, Telegram, 31 January 1948, No. 60.
[133]*The Gazette of Pakistan Extraordinary*, 31 January 1948, No. 59.
[134]Jinnah to C. Rajagopalachari, Telegram, 4 May 1948, No. 336.
[135]C. Rajagopalachari to Jinnah, 5 May 1948, No. 337.
[136]F. Amin to F. D. Douglas, 10 March 1948, Enclosure to No. 129.
[137]Address by Jinnah, 12 February 1948, No. 77.
[138]See note 1 above.
[139]See note 111 above.
[140]See Introduction to Vol. II, xxxv.
[141]Address by Jinnah, 25 January 1948, No. 48.
[142]See note 1 above.
[143]See note 107 above.
[144]See note 109 above.
[145]Constitution and Rules of the Pakistan Muslim League, 25 February 1948, Annex to No. 99.
[146]See the *Dawn*, 25 March 1948.
[147]I. A. Mohajer to Jinnah, 31 March 1948, No. 221.
[148]S. M. Yusuf to Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, 10 April 1948, No. 253.
[149]S. M. Yusuf to S. Ghiasuddin Ahmed, 18 May 1948, No. 369.
[150]Jinnah to Francis Mudie, Telegram, 3 June 1948, No. 396.
[151]Address by Jinnah, 14 June 1948, No. 425.
[152]Jinnah to Jagatjit Singh, 10 June 1948, No. 415.
[153]Notice by the Deputy Collector's Office, 21 June 1948, No 446.
[154]Altaf Husain to F. Amin, 29 January 1948, Enclosure 2 to No. 55.
[155]Jinnah to Yaqub Shah, 2 December 1947, Appendix I. 33, Vol VI, 594.
[156]Jinnah to Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi, 22 January 1948, No. 43.
[157]Ibid., No. 44.
[158]F. Amin to Director of Telephones, Delhi, 1 January 1948, No. 5.
[159]Reserve Bank of India to Jinnah, 27 January 1948, Enclosure to No. 50.
[160]Jinnah to P.L. Machave, 6 April 1948, No. 240.
[161]Aftab Ahmed to Jinnah, 10 June 1948, No. 414.

[162]F. Amin to M. N. Kotwal, 7 April 1948, No. 244.
[163]Jinnah to S. Wajid Ali, 8 March 1948, No. 125.
[164]E. A. Timol to Jinnah, 6 January 1948, Enclosure to No. 9.
[165]Dorothy Higgins to Jinnah, 7 May 1948, No. 343.
[166]Athenian statesman and orator who denounced Philip of Macedon for his attempts to annex the independent Greek city-states.
[167]Frank Clune to Jinnah, 15 June 1948, No. 428.
[168]See Introduction to Vol. V, xx.
[169]Stanley Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan*, Oxford University Press, Karachi, 1989, 359.
[170]Fatima Jinnah, *My Brother*, Sharif al Mujahid, ed., Quaid-i-Azam Academy, Karachi, 1987, 18.
[171]S. M. Yusuf to M. Ikramullah, 20 May 1948, No. 377.
[172]Fatima Jinnah, *My Brother*, 19.
[173]S. M Yusuf to Major Hashmi, Telegram, 15 June 1948, No. 426.
[174&175]Fatima Jinnah, My *Brother*, 21 & 23.
[176]See the *Dawn*, 5 July 1948.
[177]See the *Dawn*, 29 July 1948.
[178]Fatima Jinnah, *My Brother*, 25.
[179&180]Ibid., 27 & 28.
[181]M. A. H. Ispahani to Jinnah, 17 August 1948, No. 489.
[182]Jinnah to M. A. H. Ispahani, 1 September 1948, No. 500.
[183]Ilahi Bakhsh, *With the Quaid-i-Azam During His Last Days*, Quaid-i-Azam Academy, Karachi, 1978, 15.
[184-6]Fatima Jinnah, *My Brother*, 31, 34 & 35.
[187]Bakhsh, *With the Quaid-i-Azam*, 28.
[188]Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan*, 368.
[189]M. A. H. Ispahani to M. Ikramullah, Telegram, 10 September 1948, No. 507.
[190]Bakhsh, *With Quaid-i-Azam*, 45.
[191&192]Fatima Jinnah, *My Brother*, 36-7 & 38.
[193] Abida Sultan to Fatima Jinnah, Telegram, 12 September 1948, F. 1151/24, *QAP*.
[194]M. K. Janjua to Fatima Jinnah, 13 September 1948, F. 1336/123, *QAP*.
[195]Mrs. Mariam Ali Dina to Fatima Jinnah, 14 September 1948, F. 1153/78, *QAP*.
[196]M. U Mascarenhas to Fatima Jinnah, 15 September 1948, F. 1336/59, *QAP*.
[197] Azmat Elahi Zobairi to Fatima Jinnah, 22 September 1948, F. 1335/27, *QAP*.
[198]J. N. T. Hazari to Khwaja Nazimuddin, 24 September 1948, F. 233-GG/165.
[199]Mohammed Alshuraiki to Government of Pakistan, Telegram, 13 September 1948, F 1152/110, *QAP*.
[200]Foroobar to Fatima Jinnah, 12 September 1948, F. 1336/136, *QAP*.
[201] Indian Association, Moshi, Tanganyika to Fatima Jinnah, Telegram, 13 September 1948, F. 1152/6, *QAP*.
[202]Karmali Hiridjee to Khwaja Nazimuddin, 12 September 1948, F 233-GG/120.
[203]Broadcast by Stafford Cripps, recorded on 13 September 1948, F. 1338/28-9, *QAP*.
[204]Tribute by Nelson Mandela, 2 October 1992, in the Visitor's Book at the Quaid-i-Azam's Mausoleum, Karachi.

Abbreviations

AGG	Agent to the Governor-General
API	Associated Press of India
APP	Associated Press of Pakistan
ARP	Air Raid Precautions
BL	Bachelor of Laws
BN	Battalion
BOAC	British Overseas Airways Corporation
CAO	Chief Administrative Officer
CEMS	Church of England Missionary Society
CID	Criminal Investigation Department
CPWD	Central Public Works Department
CrPC	Criminal Procedure Code
DDI	Deputy Director, Intelligence
DIG	Deputy Inspector-General of Police
DM	District Magistarate
EAC	Extra Assistant Commissioner
EBR	East Bengal Railway
FA & CR	Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations
GIP	Great Indian Peninsular Railway
HEH	His Exalted Highness
HMPS	His Majesty's Pakistan Ship
ICS	Indian Civil Service
IES	Indian Educational Service
IGP	Inspector-General of Police
INA	Indian National Army
JCO	Junior Commissioned Officer
MC	Military Cross
MD	Doctor of Medicine
MIE	Member of the Institute of Engineers
MLA	Member, Legislative Assembly
MLC	Member, Legislative Council
MNG	Muslim National Guards
PBUH	Peace Be Upon Him
PCS	Provincial Civil Service
PMA	Pakistan Military Academy
PNS	Pakistan Naval Ship

POA	Pakisan Olympic Association
QAP	*Quaid-i-Azam Papers*
RI	Rigorous Imprisonment
RIN	Royal Indian Navy
RPAF	Royal Pakistan Air Force
RSS	Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh
UNRRA	United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration

Note. Abbrevations usually given in the dictionaries have not been included.

All India Muslim League Working Committee[1]

OFFICE BEARERS

President	Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah
Secretary	Liaquat Ali Khan
Treasurer	Muhammad Amir Ahmad Khan (Raja of Mahmudabad)
East Bengal	M. A. H. Ispahani Khwaja Nazimuddin Mohamed Akram Khan Huseyn Shaheed Suharwardy
West Punjab	Mian Bashir Ahmed Sheikh Karamat Ali Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot
Sind	Mohammad Ayub Khuhro Ghulam Hussain Hidaytullah
NWFP	Abdur Rab Nishtar Muhammad Aurangzeb Khan
Baluchistan	Qazi Mohammad Isa

[1]In December 1947, All India Muslim League was divided into Pakistan and Indian Union Muslim League. On 25 February 1948, the Pakistan Muslim League Council decided to bar members of the Central and Provincial Cabinets from holding any party office.

Principal Holders of Office

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S OFFICE

Governor-General	Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah
Private Secretary	S. M. Yusuf
Assistant Private Secretary	Farrukh Amin
Military Secretary	Colonel E. St. J. Birnie / Colonel G. Knowles
Aides-de-Camp	Lt. (N). S. M. Ahsan / Lt. (N) Mazhar Ahmad
	F. Lt. M. A. Rabbani / F. Lt. Aftab Ahmed
	Capt. Gul Hassan / Capt. N. A. Husain

Cabinet

Prime Minister and Minister of Defence	Liaquat Ali Khan
Minister of Commerce, Industries and Works	I. I. Chundrigar (up to May 1948)
-do-	Fazlur Rahman
(with additional charge of Education)	
Minister of Finance	Ghulam Mohammed
Minister of Communications	Abdur Rab Nishtar
Minister of Refugees and Rehabilitation	Ghazanfar Ali Khan (up to July 1948)
Minister of Law and Labour	Jogendra Nath Mandal
Minister of Interior, Information and Broadcasting	Khwaja Shahabuddin (from May 1948)
Minister of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations	Muhammad Zafrulla Khan
Minister of Food and Agriculture; Health	Pirzada Abdus Sattar

Constituent Assembly of Pakistan

President	Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah
Deputy President	Tamizuddin Khan
Secretary	M.B. Ahmad
Private Secretary	Hasan A. Sheikh

Joint Defence Council[1]

Louis Mountbatten

Liaquat Ali Khan — Baldev Singh

Provincial Governors

East Bengal	Frederick Bourne
West Punjab	Francis Mudie
Sind	Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah
N.W.F.P.	George Cunningham (Up to April 1948) Ambrose Dundas (From April 1948)

Agent to the Governor-General

Baluchistan	Ambrose Dundas (Up to March 1948) C.A.G. Savidge (From April 1948)

Chief Ministers

East Bengal	Khwaja Nazimuddin
West Punjab	Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot
Sind	Mohammad Ayub Khuhro (Up to April 1948) Pir Ilahi Bukhsh (From May 1948)
N.W.F.P.	Abdul Qaiyum Khan

[1] Under Joint Defence Council (Amendment) Order, 1947, the Council was expanded to include an additional Minister from each Dominion and the senior most Commander of Defence Services of each Dominion as Advisor. The Council was abolished in March 1948.

Chronology of Important Events
1 January to 30 September 1948

January

1 Government of India withhold part of Pakistan's share of cash balances amounting to 55 crore rupees.

6-8 Clandestine arrival of Sikh evacuees in Karachi sparks communal disturbances; curfew imposed and order restored after nine Muslim looters shot dead.

8 Afghan Premier, Shah Mahmud Khan, arrives in Karachi.

9 Jinnah visits riot-affected areas in Karachi; condemns law-breakers; exhorts Muslims to protect their Hindu neighbours.

14 Liaquat defines government's Frontier policy promising treatment of Frontier tribesmen "on an equal footing with the people of settled districts".

15 Government of India decide to release Pakistan's withheld share of cash balances.

21 Burmese Ambassador U Pe Kin presents credentials to Jinnah.

23 Jinnah says the cause of peace can best be served by making Pakistan strong; lays stress on faith, discipline and sacrifice.

25 Jinnah declares, "Islamic principles today are as applicable to life as they were 1300 years ago" when the Prophet laid the foundations of democracy.

30 Jinnah condoles M. K. Gandhi's assassination.

February

2 Jinnah inaugurates Bengal Oil Mills in Karachi; regards it as a step forward on the road to economic stabilization.

3 Mohamedali Habib advises Jinnah about the modalities of floating government loans, and advances five crore rupees for that purpose.

Jinnah reiterates to the Parsi community government's pledge to accord equal treatment to all its citizens.

4 Jinnah congratulates the people of Ceylon on the attainment of Dominion status; sends Abdur Rab Nishtar to attend the independence celebrations.

Sind Women Muslim League eulogizes Jinnah for carving a new State and affording women the opportunity of leading their lives according to Islamic principles.

12 At Sibi, Jinnah exhorts civil officers of Baluchistan to work hard to make Pakistan a great country; meets some members of the Shahi Jirga.

13 Baluchistan Muslim League demands parity in constitutional status with other provinces.

14 Jinnah addresses Sibi Darbar, announces the setting up of a Governor-General's Advisory Council for Baluchistan.

Muslim members of the Indian Constituent Assembly from East Punjab plead for Pakistan Constituent Assembly membership.

15 Jinnah addresses a Press Conference at Sibi; returns to Karachi.

16 Central Muslim League Bihar Relief Committee proposes to wind up their work in Bihar; offers to send their surplus clothing, blankets and motor vehicles to Pakistan.

17 Jinnah records a broadcast message to the people of USA introducing the land and the people of Pakistan.

19 Ambrose Dundas puts forward his suggestions about the proposed Governor-General's Advisory Council for Baluchistan.

21 Addressing anti-aircraft units at Malir, Jinnah observes that while the battle for independence has been won, the grimmer battle for its preservation goes on.

24 Warren Austin, US delegate to the UN Security Council, declares his country's readiness to consult other Members should the Council decide to use armed forces in Palestine.

25 Pakistan Muslim League adopts the Party's constitution and rules providing for separation of party and government offices.

26 Jinnah quits as President of the Pakistan Muslim League to mark the segregation of Party and State offices; Chaudhury Khaliq-uz-Zaman succeeds him as Chief Organiser of the Party and later as President.

US Ambassador Paul Alling presents credentials to Jinnah.

27 Afghan Government appoints Shah Wali Khan as Ambassador to Pakistan.

28 Finance Minister Ghulam Mohammed presents Pakistan's first budget showing a small surplus.

Abdul Ghaffar Khan takes oath as Member of Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

March

4 Turkish Ambassador Yehya Kemal Beyatli presents credentials to Jinnah.

5 Abdul Ghaffar Khan forms All-Pakistan People's Party.

9 Draft memorandum and constitution of All-Pakistan People's Party published.

10 Jinnah perceives Indian leadership's hauteur and unwillingness to deal with Pakistan on an equal footing as impediments to a peaceful settlement between the two Dominions; links such settlement to joint defence by the two countries against external aggression.

15 Jinnah inaugurates the Pakistan branch of Red Cross Society.

18 Pakistan and India agree on the dissolution of Joint Defence Council.

19 Jinnah arrives in Dacca from Karachi.

Khwaja Shahabuddin appointed Pakistan's acting High Commissioner in India.

20 At a ceremonial army parade in Dacca, Jinnah hopes the martial spirit of Muslim Bengal will find expression in independent Pakistan.

21 Congress Parliamentry Party member Dhirendranath Datta complains to Jinnah about difficulties faced by his community.

At a public meeting in Dacca, Jinnah eulogises the people and government of East Bengal for speedily organising the new administration, averting an impending famine and maintaining peace and harmony; deprecates discrimination between locals and immigrants; declares Urdu will be the State language.

22 Addressing gazetted officers at Dacca, Jinnah exhorts them to behave as servants of the people, act impartially and keep aloof from politics.

Muhammad Toaha and some other student representatives regard Pakistan as dearer "than our blood", say they will have no truck with disruptive elements, and demand that Bengali be one of two State languages.

24 Jinnah delivers convocation address at Dacca University; criticizes India for economic blockade of East Bengal; regards provincialism and the language controversy as enemy-inspired.

Sylhet MLAs highlight anomalies in the Radcliffe Award and complain that Hindus were taking out money and materials from the district.

Dacca students form State Language Committee of Action to demand that Bengali be a State language.

Pakistan and Ceylon agree to exchange High Commissioners.

25 Chittagong Buddhist and Scheduled Caste Associations and Chiefs of Hill Tracts petition Jinnah for resolution of problems faced by their communities.

Muslim Ladies Association of Chittagong apprises Jinnah of their fund-raising activities for flood and riot victims; requests facilities for girls.

Jami'yyat al-'Ulama-i-Islam, Chittagong, urges introduction of *Sharia* and *Nizam-i-Islam;* welcomes Jinnah's declaration about Urdu being the State language.

A deputation of *Muhajireen* voices distress and dismay over the difficulties facing them.

Jinnah advises gazetted officers of Chittagong to do their duty as servants of the people and show patience in dealing with their grievances.

26 Jinnah welcomes formation of Pakistan Medical Association.

Chittagong Bar Association welcomes Jinnah's declaration on the State language; demand separation of judiciary from executive and locating of Supreme Court at Dacca.

Chittagong Reception Committee paying tributes to Jinnah hope that the edifice of the State will be raised on the foundation of Islamic social justice and nepotism and corruption be eradicated. Jinnah promises embarkation of Haj pilgrims from Chittagong.

Chittagong Chamber of Commerce proposes development of maritime and naval facilities and industrial infrastructure.
Jinnah presides over a meeting at Chittagong to review movement of jute to and from the port and fire protection arrangements.

Dacca Muslim Chamber of Commerce pays tribute to Jinnah's peerless leadership; regrets lack of representation in the provincial and central legislatures.

27 Shah Muhammad Azizur Rahman apprises Jinnah of rifts in the ranks of the Bengal Muslim Students League over the State language issue.

28 On the eve of his departure, Jinnah thanks the people and the government of East Bengal; compliments the administration on its handling of food shortages as well as the Chittagong cyclone.

Jami'yyat Ikhwanul Mohajireen wal-Ansar defines their aim as integration of *Mohajirs* and *Ansars* and development of Pakistan into an ideal democracy.

29 Jinnah leaves Dacca for Karachi.

30 Indian Prime Minister promises to "gladly consider the question of joint defence with Pakistan when time is ripe for it."

31 Nizam of Hyderabad appoints Mushtaq Ahmad Khan as Agent-General in Pakistan.

April

1 Finance Minister Ghulam Mohammed presents Pakistan's first coins and currency notes to Jinnah.

7 Pakistan and Italy agree to exchange diplomatic missions.

8 Bengali adopted as official language as well as medium of instruction in East Bengal.

9 Jinnah receives credentials from French Ambassador.

Ambrose Dundas takes over as Governor, NWFP.

Jinnah receives a goodwill mission from Iran.

11 Jinnah arrives in Peshawar on a visit to the Frontier.

12 Jinnah sends a message to the First Pakistan Olympic Games.

13 Jinnah arrives at Risalpur; emphasises Pakistan's need to build up a strong Air Force; renames training school at Risalpur as Pakistan Air Force College.

Jinnah visits 3rd Armoured Brigade and Armoured Corps Centre at Nowshera.

14 Jinnah advises civil officers in Peshawar not to yield to political pressure; criticizes provincialism.

15 Frontier Muslim League Assembly Party demands that no member of the Opposition be appointed a Minister.

Jinnah presents colours to 2/15 Punjab Machine-gun Regiment at Peshawar.

16 Jinnah visits Dera Ismail Khan and Bannu.

17 Jinnah emphasizes the need for solidarity to the tribal *jirgas*.

18 Khudai Khidmatgars promise to safeguard the interests of Pakistan and not to obstruct the Government.

Jinnah advises students to criticise the government honestly and constructively

20 Jinnah recounts the role of the Muslim League in rescuing NWFP from Hindu Raj; asks the people to eschew provincialism.

Agricultural Adviser, Roger Thomas, writes to Jinnah about salient features of the Sind Government Hari Committee Report.

21 Jinnah leaves Peshawar for Karachi; pays homage to the memory of poet-philosopher of the East, Muhammad Iqbal, and urges dissemination of his message.

22 I.I. Chundrigar appointed Pakistan's Ambassador to Afghanistan.

23 Jinnah performs opening ceremony of the First Pakistan Olympics.

Sadiq Hasan, a West Punjab legislator, complains to Jinnah about deteriorating economic and social conditions in the province.

26 Governor of Sind removes M. A. Khuhro from Premership on charges of gross misconduct.

Jinnah debunks the notion of Pakistan surrendering to India or seeking union with it.

28 Haji Abdul Sattar H. Essak Sait appointed Pakistan's Ambassador to Egypt.

30 Justice Muhammad Ismail appointed Pakistan High Commissioner in India.

May

1 Amjad Al Zahawri, an Iraqi, seeks Jinnah's help with money, arms and men in rescuing Palestine.

3 Jinnah felicitates Rajagopalchari on appointment as India's Governor-General; looks forward to friendship between the two Dominions.

Pakistan discusses canal waters issue with India; agrees to exchange envoys with USSR; opposes partition of Palestine in UN General Assembly.

Pir Iahi Bakhsh sworn in as Sind Premier.

5 Rajagopalachari reciprocates Jinnah's desire for inter-dominion friendship.

6 Jinnah's broadcast to Australia, introducing the land and the people of Pakistan, is favourably received.

George Cunningham, former Frontier Governor, proposes administrative reforms in the province.

8 Khwaja Shahabuddin joins Pakistan Cabinet as Minister for the Interior.
Afghan Ambassador, Shah Wali Khan, presents credentials to Jinnah.

10 Jinnah greets inauguration of Pakistan-Afghanistan, Pakistan-Iran, Pakistan-Arab and Pakistan-Turkey Cultural Associations as a step towards cementing bonds of friendship between Pakistan and the Muslim world.

12 Having heard the squabbling members of the West Punjab Cabinet, Jinnah decides not to intervene and directs Governor Mudie to take such steps as deemed necessary.

16 Ghazanfar Ali Khan appointed Pakistan's Ambassador to Iran.

18 Mohammad Yunus of Central Muslim League Bihar Relief Committee apprises Jinnah about harassment of Muslims in Bihar.

19 Pakistan's first ocean-going vessel is registered in Karachi.

21 C.A.G. Savidge, Agent to the Governor-General in Baluchistan, reports to Jinnah on the activities of discontented elements in Baluchistan and Baluch States.

22 Constituent Assembly adopts a resolution making Karachi the permanent capital of Pakistan.

A correspondent of *The Economist* weekly, appraising Pakistan's performance, concludes that the country has come to stay and forecasts a symbiotic relationship in trade and investment between Pakistan and Britain.

25 Jinnah arrives in Quetta at the start of his second visit to Baluchistan.

Floyd Tarr, a Seventh-Day Adventist, lauds Jinnah's leadership and the religious liberty enjoyed by the Christian community.

Pakistan and Saudi Arabia decide to exchange diplomatic missions.

26 Pakistan's Ambassador Mohammed Ali presents credentials to the President of Burma.

28 Three new Ministers join East Bengal Cabinet.

31 West Punjab Governor Mudie accepts resignations of Mumtaz Daultana and Shaukat Hyat from the Cabinet.

June

3 Three new Ministers are sworn in the West Punjab Cabinet.

C.A.G. Savidge, apprises Jinnah of the widening rift between Baluch Sardars and Qazi Isa.

H.S. Suhrawardy, on a tour of East Bengal, is detained by the provincial administration under the Public Safety Ordinance.

13 In an address to Parsi Anjuman of Quetta, Jinnah ascribes constitutional stagnation in Baluchistan to a century of neglect by an alien regime; reiterates government's policy of giving full protection to all minorities and hopes they would remain demonstrably loyal to Pakistan.

14 Addressing officers of the Staff College Quetta, Jinnah emphasises vital role of the defence forces, reminding them of their oath of allegiance to the Constitution.

15 Jinnah is reported to be in improved health after his 3-week sojourn at Quetta.

Jinnah addresses the city fathers and leading citizens of Quetta appreciating their contributions to the Quaid-i-Azam Relief Fund, and exhorts compatriots to rid themselves of the curse of provincialism.

Abdul Ghaffar Khan is sentenced to a 3-year term in jail for anti-Pakistan activities.

18 Jinnah wants Qazi Isa to shun anti-Sardar and anti-administration activities; Isa promises not to cause difficulties for the government.

25 Zahid Husain is appointed first Governor of the State Bank of Pakistan.

July

1 Jinnah inaugurates the State Bank of Pakistan at Karachi; regards the event as a symbol of financial independence.

3 Habib Rahimtoola, Pakistan's High Commissioner in London, declines invitation to Attlee's dinner in honour of Mountbatten, who had demonstrated palpable partiality towards the Indian side in the partition; Attlee defends Mountbatten.

4 Jinnah leaves Karachi for Quetta.

5 Finance Minister Ghulam Mohammed slams Mountbatten's biased role in the division of India; Commonwealth Relations Office denies the charge of partiality.

6 Firoz Khan Noon also criticises Mountbatten, the Punjab Boundary Award, and withholding Pakistan's share of the defence stores.

Jinnah leaves Quetta for Ziarat.

7 Pakistan's Foreign Office slams Mountbatten's defence by the Commonwealth Relations Office.

11 Jinnah thanks King Abdul Aziz of Saudi Arabia for his message of goodwill and greets the arrival of Syed Abdul Hamid el-Khatib, Charge d' affaires.

19 Jinnah receives Transjordanian Minister Mohammad Al-Shuraiki.

21 Jinnah's health takes a turn for the worse; he agrees to Dr Ilahi Bukhsh, a Lahore physician, being sent for to treat him.

25 Dr Ilahi Bukhsh, after preliminary tests, summons three specialist doctors, along with the necessary equipment, from Lahore for Jinnah's treatment.

26 After further investigations by the specialist doctors, Jinnah is confirmed to "have an infection of lungs."

Ambassador in Washington, M. A. Hassan Ispahani, who had arrived in Ziarat to look up the ailing Jinnah, leaves.

28 Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan and Secretary-General Mohamad Ali also arrive in Ziarat for a day's visit.

29 Jinnah approves a new managing body for the Pakistan Red Cross Society.

30 Jinnah receives Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Ambassador-designate to Iran.

31 F. Amin tells Ambassador Ispahani that Jinnah is much better.

August

5 Dr. S. S. Alam, Radiologist, is summoned to Ziarat.

6 On the eve of *'Id al-Fitr*, Jinnah greets Muslims the world over; recalls the preceding year as one of continuous struggle; looks forward to the future with robust confidence; and urges unity and discipline in all ranks.

13 Jinnah moves down to Quetta on medical advice.

14 On the first anniversary of independence, Jinnah felicitates public leaders, government officials and defence personnel for their achievements; thanks the people for their support; visualises a bright future for Pakistan and urges fellow-citizens to keep building it; the event is also celebrated in London by Pakistani diplomats and expatriates.

17 F. Amin cables Ambassador M.A.Hassan Ispahani in Washington about satisfactory improvement in Jinnah's health; Secretary-General Mohamad Ali arrives in Quetta to call on Jinnah.

24 Sale deed relating to purchase of Mohatta Building in Karachi by Jinnah is presented for registration.

26 Dr Ilahi Bukhsh urges Jinnah to move to Karachi but to no avail; Dr Ghulam Mohammad, Clinical Pathologist, is summoned from Lahore.

27 Finance Minister Ghulam Mohammed arrives for a brief meeting with Jinnah; given the grave threat to Pakistan's economy posed by the mass migration of people across the divide, Jinnah proclaims a state of emergency.

30 Jinnah assents to promulgation of ordinances amending the West Punjab Code of Criminal Procedure and the Police Act.

September

1 Jinnah feels better and so tells correspondents seeking information about his health, but his condition continues to cause anxiety to his doctors.

3 Jinnah develops slight fever; his doctors suggest that he take a fortnight's rest at Malir before returning to Karachi.

4 Jinnah does not approve of his doctors' suggestion to engage a night nurse but acquiesces later.

Munir Maliki, envoy of the Syrian President, and Secretary-General Mohamad Ali make brief calls on Jinnah.

5 Doctors diagnose Jinnah has developed pneumonia.

6-8 Jinnah's condition continues to worry doctors, and Ambassador Ispahani is cabled to arrange to rush an American lung specialist to Quetta; in the meantime, Dr. Mistry is summoned from Karachi for consultation.

10 Ispahani, having obtained advice from top-flight medical experts, arranges for Dr McLeod Riggins of New York to fly out to Karachi on 14 September.

11 Ispahani specifies medical data on Jinnah that Dr Riggins would require on arrival. Jinnah's condition improves slightly but doctors ask for his Viking aircraft to fly him to Karachi in case of emergency; later in the morning, he suffers a relapse and in the afternoon is flown to Karachi, where he breathes his last at 10.25 p.m.

12 The Father of the Nation is buried with full imilitary honours at Karachi; the Government of Pakistan pay him glowing tributes and announce official mourning for a period of 40 days. A meeting of residents of Mozang in Lahore urges the Pakistan Cabinet to nominate Miss Fatima Jinnah as Governor-General of Pakistan.

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1

M. A. Jinnah to Sao Shwe Thaik

F. 185-GG/5-6

KARACHI,
1 January 1948

Your Excellency,

It gives me very great pleasure and genuine satisfaction to send you, Mr. President, and through you to the people of Burma, the warmest and most sincere felicitations on behalf of the people of Pakistan and myself on the occasion of the achievement of complete independence by your great country. The people of Pakistan rejoice with the Burmese people in their celebrating today[1] their day of independence. On this historic occasion I have specially chosen my Foreign Minister, Sir Mohammad Zafrulla Khan, to represent Pakistan and to participate in the celebrations.

The attainment of freedom by Burma is the culmination of the process of emancipation of the Indian subcontinent which started with the establishment of the self-governing Dominions of India and Pakistan in August last. It marks the closing of an era of colonial empire and the exploitation of the East by the West. It ushers a new phase of promise and hope for the down-trodden masses of your country and ours, that freedom from foreign domination will lead to the attainment of the Four Freedoms.[2] I am fully conscious that the leeway to be made up is enormous and the obstacles in our way are numerous and formidable, but we must go forward undaunted by the magnitude of our task towards the achievement of our goal.

Pakistan has every goodwill towards Burma. Apart from contiguity there are so many other bonds—social, cultural, historical and economic—which must draw Burma and Pakistan closer and thereby lead to lasting peace, friendship and mutual cooperation. We wish Burma a very happy, peaceful and prosperous future.

Finally, I take this opportunity of sending you, Mr. President, my best wishes.

I remain,
With sincere regards,
Your Excellency's sincere friend,
M. A. JINNAH

His Excellency Sao Shwe Thaik,
President of the Union of Burma,
Rangoon

[1]Burma became independent on 4 January 1948.
[2]Freedom of speech and religion and freedom from want and fear were specified as foreign policy goals by President Roosevelt in a message to the Congress on 6 January 1941.

2

Deane Dickason to F. Amin

F. 120 (Vol. IV)-GG/221

FAIRMONT HOTEL,
SAN FRANCISCO 6,
CALIFORNIA, USA,
1 January 1948

My dear Sir,

Thank you for your note No. 147-GG/47, dated 29th September 1947.[1]

When I filmed[2] the Quaid-i-Azam in Karachi last January, he corrected me for using the word Mohammedan. He said *Muslim* was the correct term—not Moslem. Could you perhaps give me his authority for this?

(a) What is the derivation of the word *Muslim*? (b) What does it mean? (c) And why is it more correct than Mohammedan or Moslem?

I am frequently asked, and would like an authoritative answer.[3]

Respectfully yours,
DEANE DICKASON

[1]F. 120 (Vol.IV)-GG/220. Not printed.
[2]At old Government House on 31 January 1947. See F. 120 (Vol IV)-GG/215. Not printed.
[3]See No. 45.

3

Zafrulla Khan to Mohamad Ali

F. 179-GG/10

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
AND COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS,
KARACHI,
1 January 1948

My dear Mohamad Ali,

I write to confirm the oral message that I conveyed to you on behalf of His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal, regarding the arrangements with Hurbert Williams & Sons.[1] His Highness desired that the amount of one instalment for a quarter may be paid over to the firm in full satisfaction of their claim and that the amount of the second instalment may be remitted back into the account of His Highness with the Chartered Bank.[2] As it has now been decided to return the whole amount to His Highness, I would suggest that the method adopted should not be to issue a cheque in favour of His Highness as that would involve forwarding the cheque to him and his having to send it back to Karachi to his Bank after endorsement. The simplest method would be for the Quaid-i-Azam to write a letter to the Bank in which the amount is in deposit at the moment, directing that the amount may be transferred to the credit of His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal, with the Chartered Bank,[3] Karachi.

Yours sincerely,
ZAFRULLA KHAN

[1]See No. 262, Vol. VI, 415-8.
[2]See No. 11, ibid. 14.
[3]See No. 12.

4

S. A. Ghafur to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. IV)-GG/62

6 NEW SQUARE,
LINCOLN'S INN,
LONDON, W.C.2,
1 January 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah,

I understand that the All India Muslim League Council under your

guidance has decided to divide All India Muslim League into two organizations, one exclusively for Pakistan and the other for Muslims of the Indian Union. If so, may we have the copies of proceedings of both the Council meeting[1] and the Working Committee;[2] or what is your advice to me, the Hon. Gen. Secretary, Muslim League Branch, Great Britain, which covers 17 different branches in the United Kingdom. Though we are forgotten and forsaken, yet we have been continuing our work here as we know of your great task of Pakistan affairs there.

We are also included in this vital matter. Whatever is your instruction, kindly let us have it at your earliest convenience.

May I also ask you to put in a kind word to Sir Zafrulla Khan, Foreign Minister, as you know me and my activities here since I received your letter of encouragement in 1944 and your personal appreciation when you came here as H. M. Government's guest in December 1946. I am a prospective candidate for diplomatic service post at your and his disposal, if it is not too much to ask.

Yours sincerely,
S. A. GHAFUR

[1]No. 273, Vol.VI, 439-40.
[2]See Annex II to No. 267, ibid. 426-8.

5

F. Amin to Director of Telephones, Delhi

F. 85/45

1 January 1948

Dear Sir,

I am desired by the Quaid-i-Azam to enclose herein trunk call bill No. ND 8832 A & B, dated 19-12-47,[1] received from the Administrative Officer, Delhi Telephone District, and to refer you to my letter No. 1760-GG/47, dated 10-10-47 (copy enclosed),[2] in which the position was clearly explained. As requested therein, it will be appreciated if you will kindly take steps to adjust the advance paid by the Quaid-i-Azam up to the end of August, and remit the balance to him at an early date.

Will you also please give instructions to the officer concerned that bills for the period beginning with the 1 of Sept. 47, should be sent to the party now in possession of the house.

Yours faithfully,
F. AMIN
Assistant Private Secretary to GG

The Director of Telephones,
Delhi Telephone District

·Not traceable.
[2]See No. 45, Vol. VI, 69.

6

S. Shahamat Ali to the Superintendent of Police, Ajmer
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)
F. 120 (Vol.IV)-GG/80

KARACHI,
2 January 1948

Sir,

It is with deep regret and sorrow that I have to bring to your notice that my house 'Syed Manzil' situated in Mohalla Hathi Bhata, Ajmer, had been looted and property valuing Rs. 55,000 had been taken away on and between the 15th and 17th December 1947, during the recent riots. The case was duly reported to the police on the day of occurrence by Mr. Chait Ram s/o Virumal, a tenant of the house. An inventory showing full particulars of articles looted is enclosed herewith[1] from which it will be observed that the total loss sustained by me may be well over rupees one lakh.

I may state that I had no intention of leaving Ajmer as I had opted provisionally for Pakistan and my two unmarried daughters, who were living with me and were in service of the Indian Union, had given their final choice for India. My both daughters were employed in the Government Girls High School, Ajmer, and owing to the prevailing tension they came down to Karachi recently on leave. For the reasons mentioned above I left my entire kit at Ajmer, my daughters were teaching Hindu girls, mostly residents of the locality where my house was situated. I did not belong to any political party and when I left Ajmer on transfer, a grand send-off was given to me by my Hindu

colleagues who in their speeches on the occasion spoke highly about my being free from communal feelings.

To help the refugees and to ensure the safety of my luggage, I let out the ground portion of my building to a few Sindhis. It is a pity that I should have been treated in such a manner by my neighbours and friends. The property so mercilessly looted represents my life's entire savings, ancestral inheritance and the articles intended to be given in the dowry of my daughters who were soon to be married. I am at the fag end of my service and cannot recoup the loss. This makes the situation extremely hard, painful, and unbearable for me.

I am firmly of opinion that if sincere efforts are made, a good deal of my looted property can still be recovered. On most of the articles my name or the names of my children are written or inscribed. I hope you will kindly do the needful in the matter and inform me early [of] the result of the police inquiry.

Thanking you in anticipation,

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
SHAHAMAT ALI,
B.A.
Assistant Director, P. & T.,
Sind & Baluchistan Circle

The Superintendent of Police,
Ajmer-Merwara, Ajmer

[1]For the list of articles, see F. 120 (Vol.IV)-GG/82-91. Not printed.

7

A. Hilaly to S. M. Yusuf

F. 125-GG/4-5

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
AND COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS,
KARACHI,
3 January 1948

My dear Yusuf,

We have just received information from His Excellency Sardar Najibullah Khan, Envoy Extraordinary of Afghanistan, that His Royal Highness Sardar Shah Mahmud Khan Ghazi, Marshal and Prime Minister of Afghanistan, accompanied by the party whose names are given

in the attached list,[1] will be leaving Bombay by steamer on the 6th January and will be arriving at Karachi on the 8th instant. They will stay two or three days here before they proceed to Afghanistan by train via Quetta or Peshawar.

To avoid the serious inconvenience caused on the last occasion by the arrival of the Transjordan Royal Mission without notice, this Ministry is informing you about this visit in due time so that you may inform the Quaid-i-Azam and take his orders regarding:

i. Will the Quaid-i-Azam put His Royal Highness and his son Sardar Zalmay Khan up at Governor-General's House? (If this is done we will put up the rest of the party at Palace Hotel as State guests. If it is not possible to put up the Prime Minister at the Governor-General's House, I am afraid we will have to put up the whole party at the Palace Hotel, which would be a little embarrassing as it is known that on other occasions other Prime Ministers, like the Prime Minister of Burma and the Prime Minister of Ceylon, have been put up at the Governor-General's House).
ii. What social function it is proposed to hold at the Governor-General's House in honour of the party?

It is only after getting this information from you that I will be able to inform the Foreign Minister and make up the rest of their programme. It is going to be difficult as both our Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister will be away to Lahore for the whole period of this party's visit. Hence it is absolutely essential that Governor-General's House should hold some kind of function in their honour. Foreign Office will probably hold a reception also or a tea party depending on what Governor-General's House do.

I am arranging for a saloon to send the party by train on the 11th or so when they will be due to leave for Afghanistan.

His Excellency Sardar Najibullah Khan hinted that it will contribute considerably to the establishment of cordial relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan if we show our usual friendship to distinguished Afghan visitors as we have been doing all along. We have heard from our representative in Kabul that our warm reception of the Afghans in Karachi since the birth of Pakistan has already been cordially appreciated by the Government, and the Foreign Minister has personally thanked him on behalf of the Afghan Government for all that we have done.

I will be grateful if you could endeavour to send me a reply at your earliest possible convenience.

Yours sincerely,
A. HILALY
Deputy Secretary

[1]Not traceable

8

S. M. Bapna to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. IV)-GG/106-8

UDAIPUR, MEWAR,
4 January 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

It may be a presumption on my part to address you in Your Excellency's present position and at this critical time, but it is exactly for this reason that I venture to place my views before you. I do not wish to enter into the past history and apportion responsibility for the present happenings. The fact is that the most reprehensible form of communal tension has replaced the brotherly feelings that until a few years ago united the two communities. The present conflict of arms is still more reprehensible and I may say it is not likely to benefit any party and much less Pakistan. The Kashmir raid has no justification whatsoever under the common law or the international law. So much blood of the poor and innocent has already been shed there and elsewhere. I repeat that it is a presumption on my part to bring this aspect to the notice of the learned Quaid-i-Azam. It is only to emphasise my views. I feel that even with the division of the country, the two communities can live happily and with mutual advantage socially, politically and economically; and if you take the lead to bring about this happy state, your name will go down to posterity and in history as the greatest benefactor.

Now something personal. About a year ago, I fell seriously ill and had to undergo a major operation in Bombay. This kept me confined to bed for about 7 months but, thank God, I have survived it and am almost normal now. I retired from the Alwar service on this account soon after my illness and am now living in retirement. I came here about 4 months ago as Udaipur is my home, but I am thinking of living in Indore with my sons and may go there in February or March next. Please remember me to your sister.

I hope you both are in the enjoyment of excellent health.

I am,

Your Excellency's sincerely,

S. M. BAPNA

9

E. A. Timol to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. IV)-GG/332

36 CATHEDRAL ROAD,
DURBAN, NATAL,
SOUTH AFRICA,
6 January 1948

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

We have great pleasure of informing you that we had the good fortune of celebrating your birthday in Durban, on Friday the 26th December 1947, at the Albert Park.

A resolution passed at the meeting is enclosed herewith, together with a programme[1] of the meeting.

Once again, may I take the opportunity of praying to *Allah* that He may grant you long life to lead and guide your people in the State of Pakistan.[2]

We remain,
Yours in Islam,
E. A. TIMOL
Hony. Secretary,
Progressive Muslim Association

[1]F. 120 (Vol.IV)-GG/334-5. Not printed.
[2]Acknowledged by F. Amin on 28 January 1948. See F. 120 (Vol.IV)-GG/336. Not printed.

Enclosure to No. 9
F. 120 (Vol. IV)-GG/333

RESOLUTION

This meeting of Muslims held under the auspices of the Progressive Muslim Association is conscious of its deep debt to Almighty *Allah* that Muslims to-day have the happiness and good fortune of celebrating the 71st birthday of their beloved Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Governor-General and creator of Pakistan and father of the Muslim nation in the sub-continent of India. May the Almighty spare him many more years to lead and guide his people and to complete his

cherished mission of achieving prosperity, greatness and glory for the Muslim nation and their State of Pakistan.

FAROOQI
Manager, Indian Views

10

M. A. Jinnah to Habib I. Rahimtoola[1]

F. 100 (2)-GG/47

7 January 1948

My dear Habib,

Many thanks for your letter of the 9th of December[2] forwarding copies of your letters[3] to the Prime Minister for my information.

Do let me thank you and Mrs. Habib for your very kind concern about my health. I am now quite all right, and I am doing my best to keep well.

I am sending you separately, as promised, two autographed photos of mine for your residence and office.

Thank you very much for your good wishes on the occasion of my birthday and for your greetings for the New Year. I wish you both a very happy New Year and all success in your onerous mission as our representative to Britain. I have been following you very keenly and closely and I am glad to say that you are doing very well.

With very kind regards from Miss Jinnah and myself to both of you,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Habib I. Rahimtoola, Esq.,
High Commissioner for Pakistan,
16 Fitzhardinge Street, W. I.,
London

[1]Copy of this letter was provided by Begum Rahimtoola
[2]Not traceable.
[3]See Nos. 224, 248 & 252, Vol. VI, 350-1, 248-7 & 391-4, respectively.

11

M. A. Jinnah to Abdul Qaiyum Khan

F. 196-GG/4

7 January 1948

My dear Qaiyum,

I have received your letter of the 16th of December,[1] and thank you

very much for it.

The various points that you have raised in your letter can only be satisfactorily dealt with by our personal talk. I believe Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan is going to Peshawar and so you and the Governor had better put your heads together and come to some conclusions. On his return to Karachi, Mr. Liaquat Ali will report to me how the land lies and what we should do with regard to the various matters mentioned in your letter, and then, if necessary, I would trouble you to come down to Karachi and finally decide the line of action which we should adopt.

yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 278, Vol. VI, 464-5.

12

M. A. Jinnah to Mohamad Ali

F. 179-GG/11

8 January 1948

Dear Mr. Mohamad Ali,

Reference my interview with you a few days ago, and Sir Zafrulla Khan's letter dated the 1st of January to you.[1] As I was informed by you that the Pakistan Government has decided to return the whole amount, which was received by me, to His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal, as desired by him, I am now sending a cheque for the total amount of two instalments—namely Rs. 3,50,000, to the Chartered Bank, Karachi,[2] to be credited to the account of His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal.

Please inform the parties concerned, and acknowledge the receipt of this letter.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Mohamad Ali, Esq.,
Secretary-General, Government of Pakistan,
Karachi

[1]No. 3
[2]No. 13.

13

M. A. Jinnah to Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China, Karachi

F. 179-GG/12

8 January 1948

Dear Sir,

As desired by His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal,[1] I am sending herewith a cheque for Rs. 3,50,000 (Rupees three lakh fifty thousand only) to be credited to his account with you.

Please acknowledge the receipt.[2]

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Manager,
Chartered Bank of India Ltd.,
Karachi

[1]See No. 3
[2]The Bank informed Jinnah that the cheque for Rs. 3,50,000 had been credited to the account of Nawab of Bhopal. See F. 179-GG/14. Not printed.

14

E. W. Rodricks to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. IV)-GG/97-8

C/O MRS. W. D. PERKINS,
MOUNTVIEW ANNEX, FORT ROAD,
MAHIM, BOMBAY,
8 January 1948

Dear Sir,

I humbly beg to bring these few lines to your kind consideration. I beg to state that I thought of writing you long before this last year. Again, I kept back thinking that you are busily engaged with the Pakistan affairs and don't want to trouble you and disturb your valuable time. I beg to state that I served under Sir Dinshaw Petit, P. Hall [*sic*] long time as Head Motor Driver when your wife[1] was at the age of five. Every year's season I used to take the whole family to Poona, Punchguny and Mahabaleshwar, etc. There you have seen me along with children, at that time. I know you very well. When the children gone big [*sic*] my services were not required, so the above said family recommended me to Cox & Kings Shipping Company to better my

prospects. There I worked very steadily day and night without making any accident or leave for 16 years as lorry driver and representative. The last I remember I came to your bungalow in Malabar Hill to collect your baggage for England in 1939 or 40. After that, I had no chance to see you. Owing to illness (rheumatism) I was forced to resign the job. Now my dear Sir, I am without a job for the last 7 years, under my poor daughter's protection. The little money I had from Cox & Kings was all spent on my sickness. Thank God, now I am better but full of debts. Hard up, I require nourishment to bring me to normal. I, therefore, humbly beg your kind Sir to consider my sad case to help me in whatever [way] you think proper. If your wife were living, I would not have troubled you. She would have been today Queen of Pakistan in Karachi. May her soul rest in peace. For [your] act of kindness and charity I shall ever pray for your long life and happiness. Same to your dear sister Miss Fatima Jinnah. I am proud to say, you worked very hard and earned a very good name in the world by the blessing of God. May God bless you many more years and give you long life, happiness, etc. The whole world is admired [*sic*].

I beg to remain,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

E. W. RODRICKS

[1]Ratanbai Jinnah, *nee* Petit, was born on 20 January 1900.

15

F. Amin to N. R. H. Rasheed Turabi

F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/246

10 January 1948

Dear Sir,

I am desired by the Quaid-i-Azam to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of the booklet entitled *A Great Historic Document*,[1] which you were good enough to send him, and to say that he will read it with great interest.

Yours faithfully,

F. AMIN

N. R. H. Rasheed Turabi, Esq., MLA,
Public Gardens Road,
Hyderabad, Deccan

[1]Not traceable.

16

M. A. Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 25/2 (Vol-I)-GG/173

51 EZRA STREET,
CALCUTTA,
10 January 1948

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hope you are now feeling better and stronger than when I saw you last time. You should not exert yourself as you have been doing because the nation needs you to guide them.

I did not write to you earlier because there was nothing important for me to report.

I was in Hyderabad and had a heart to heart talk on all matters the results of which *Insha Allah* will be good. The balance due was sent with the help of my man to Delhi which you will get in the usual course.

We are all very disappointed at our press. They act as fifth columnists by giving out news which is not only detrimental to our interests but also puts our friends in difficulties. Both the papers in Karachi as well as in Lahore should be warned that their action in disclosing a top secret[1] to make cheap sensation was most unwise and anti-national.

There are two other matters the negotiation of which will be completed within the course of the next week and then I would like to see you to explain the results and give you a picture of what can be done. If you would kindly drop me a line as to the date convenient I could fly down to see you.

Last time my interview was published.[2] It would be better politics for future if it is not.

You may send me a note[3] through my brother in Karachi.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. ISPAHANI

[1&2]Not traceable

[3]Jinnah informed him that on arrival in Karachi he should contact his PS for fixing an appointment. See F. 25/2 (Vol. I)-GG/172. Not printed.

17

S. Patrick Whaley to M. A. Jinnah

F. 25/2 (Vol. I)-GG168-9

TAJ MAHAL HOTEL,
BOMBAY,
10 January 1948

May it please Your Excellency,

I have been in India since October, charged by my firm Messrs Johnson & Johnson (Gt. Britain) Ltd., of Slough, Buckinghamshire, England, a subsidiary company of Messrs Johnson & Johnson of New Brunswick, U.S.A., medical supply manufacturers and distributors—primarily of Baby Powder of worldwide fame—to report on the possible extension of our trading activities in the Dominion of Pakistan.

It is my Company's intention to seek to combine with the Government of Pakistan in such an extension, comprising in the venture the building of a factory for the manufacture of our Baby Powder in the first instance, and, as soon as possible after, our other commodities.

I am fully alive to the great desirability of the participation of capital from Pakistan in making this a joint undertaking where together we can add materially to Pakistan's prosperity to promote goodwill.

In Your Excellency's public pronouncements there lies a deeply sincere concern to benefit Pakistan by good and lasting understanding with people like ourselves imbued with the same ideals.

I am not quite sure to what extent Your Excellency can see your way to make our path not too difficult and contribute to the conditions under which the goal may be quickly and soundly reached. We shall not be lacking in the attitude necessary or the initiative desirable. If I could have an expression of Your Excellency's views to me personally—I trust it is not impertinent for me to cherish such a hoped for honour—I should be intensely relieved in concluding my reports in such terms as to make sure of our path in Pakistan with brotherly co-operation and businesslike conduct.

Would Your Excellency be too much occupied to grant me the privilege. I am in Karachi from 16th to 24th January, and would wait

upon you anywhere at a time convenient to Your Excellency if you should so desire.[1]

I have the honour to remain,
Your Excellency's obedient servant,
S. PATRICK WHALEY
of Johnson & Johnson (Gt. Britain) Ltd.

[1] An interview was granted by Jinnah on 22 January 1948. See F. 25/2 (Vol. I)-GG/141. Not printed

18

Report on Jinnah's Visit to Riot-Affected Areas of Karachi

F. 188-GG/17-9[1]

KARACHI,
10 January 1948

As Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Miss Fatima Jinnah were being taken along Mission Road in Karachi on Friday, the 9th January, on their tour of the riot-affected areas, Muslim refugees, who had been lodged in one of the schools temporarily, saluted him with vociferous cheers of *Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad*.

Stopping his car, the Governor-General sent a message to the refugees saying that he was grieved to hear the reports[2] that some of the refugees had taken part in the disturbances and had resorted to looting of Hindu property. He had also been informed that there were other Muslim elements and fifth-columnists who resorted to similar unlawful activities. He impressed upon them all and every citizen of Karachi that those who were defying law and order were the greatest enemies of Pakistan; they were playing in the hands of their enemies.

He added, "I quite understand the feeling of the Muslim refugees and those who have suffered, and they have my fullest sympathy, but they must restrain themselves and act as responsible men, and not abuse the hospitality that has been extended to them and forget all that is being done for them to make their lot happier. I once more want to impress upon all Muslims that they should fully co-operate with the Government and the officials in protecting their Hindu neighbours against these lawless elements, fifth-columnists and the cliques who are responsible for creating these disturbances, and restore trust and confidence amongst all the communities. Pakistan must be governed through the properly constituted Government, and not by cliques,

fifth-columnists, or a mob, and the Pakistan Government are going to take the severest possible measures against the offenders, and they shall be dealt with sternly and ruthlessly. I fully sympathize with Hindus, many of whom have been misled by propaganda that is being carried on to pull them out of Sind, with an ulterior motive, and as a result, many innocent Hindus have seriously suffered. With regard to this unfortunate trouble, it is not yet known who was responsible for bringing the Sikhs[3] to Karachi and arranging to lodge them at the *Gurdwara* without involving the Sind Premier, any Sind Govt. authority, or the Police; this is a matter which requires thorough investigation. At present it seems somewhat mysterious, but it is going to be fully investigated."

Within an hour of the re-imposition of the curfew, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Miss Fatima Jinnah were taken round the riot-affected areas of the city and the Hindu refugee camps by Mr. M. A. Khuhro, the Premier of Sind.

Included in the party were Major General Akbar Khan, G.O.C., Sind Area, Mr. Kazim Raza, Additional Inspector-General of Police, Karachi, Mr. R.A. Mahamadi, who will be taking over as District Magistrate, Karachi, Mr. Jamshed Nusserwanjee Mehta, and other high civil and military officers.

Throughout the route men, women and children cheered the Quaid-i-Azam from their houses, as the streets and roads had been kept clear of people by the Police, and troops were imposing the curfew in a rigid manner.

The party was taken by Mr. Kazim Raza along Victoria Road and Bundar Road up to the Bihar Colony on Clayton Road. The procession then came back along Bundar Road where Quaid-i-Azam was shown some of the looted shops. He was then taken to the Swami Narayan Mandir where about two thousand Hindu refugees had taken shelter after having been evacuated by the Pakistan Army and the Sind Police from the exposed areas of the city. On his arrival, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah was garlanded by three *Swamis* of the Ramkrishna Mission, while the other refugees greeted him. Acknowledging their greetings, Quaid-i-Azam expressed his grief and sorrow that they had to evacuate their homes out of a sense of insecurity and pledged every help and protection. Miss Fatima Jinnah also expressed her deep sense of sympathy and sorrow for the losses suffered by the Hindu refugees.

The Governor-General and his sister also visited two other Hindu refugee camps. At the latter, which was in the premises of the D. J. Sind College, he made enquiries about food arrangement for the refugees and

satisfied himself that they were satisfactory. He directed the officers present to attend to the other wants of these people who had suffered in the riots.

[1]Also see the *Dawn*, 11 January 1948.
[2]See Annex I.
[3]See Annex II.

Annex I to No. 18

CURFEW EXTENDED TILL 8 A.M. ON FRIDAY [9 JANUARY],[1] 9 LOOTERS SHOT DEAD BY POLICE, OVER 1000 ARRESTED

Hindus taken to safe places: Soldier and policeman arrested: Khuhro and Raza tour city

Strong action by the military and police kept the Karachi situation well under control throughout Wednesday [7 January]. Both the military and police had orders to shoot at the looters on sight and they did not hesitate to do so. The authorities decided to impose a forty-hour curfew on the city from 4 p.m. on Wednesday to 8 a.m. on Friday.

The city was heavily guarded and mobile units of military and police patrolled the city. Some cases of looting were reported from Jacob Lines, Ranchor Lines, Juria Bazar and Bundar Road. But in every case the military soon retrieved the situation.

Three Muslim looters were killed on Tuesday [6 January] night while another four were killed by military firing on Wednesday morning. A few more lost their lives when another crowd attempted to loot some houses after the curfew was lifted for two hours between 2 p.m. and 4 p.m.

The number of Muslims killed by police firing, however, did not exceed 9 while those injured were 21. The rumours current in the city that there had been a heavy death *toll* of Muslims by military and police firing were found on investigation to be entirely baseless.

The authorities took severe action against a soldier and a policeman found guilty of dereliction of their duties. The soldier, who was caught red-handed sharing some loot, by the Sindh Premier, Mr. M. A. Khuhro, was taken under "close arrest" immediately. The armed policeman on duty near the Imperial Cinema on the Bundar Road, who failed to shoot at the looters, was publicly disarmed by the Additional Inspector-General of Police, Mr. Kazim Raza, and sent to the Police lock-up.

OVER 1000 ARRESTED

Over 1,000 persons were arrested on charges of looting. The number of persons arrested for breach of curfew order exceeded 1,500. They were

summarily tried at the Garden Police Station and fined.

Hindus were evacuated to safe areas under police and military protection and those who preferred to stay in their homes were provided guards. A large number of Muslims gave protection to their Hindu friends and neighbours and some even fought against looters who tried to enter the house by force.

The following list of casualties was supplied by the API:

Casualties on Tuesday were 64 killed and 120 injured but 7 have since died of injuries.

In disturbances, as a result of attacks, or police or troops firing, 51 people, including 9 Muslims, have been killed in the city since Tuesday and 106 people have been injured including 21 Muslims.

The *Dawn*, 8 January 1948.

Annex II to No. 18

SIKHS ARRIVAL IN CITY WITHOUT INFORMATION WAS CAUSE OF TROUBLE[1]

Khuhro says timely warning would have enabled Police to take Protective Measures

The Premier of Sindh , Mr. M. A. Khuhro, in a statement to the API on [6 January] Tuesday's trouble in Karachi, said: The trouble arose because of the arrival of about 186 [Sikhs] in Karachi by the early morning train.

Because of the massacre, loot and rape committed by the Sikhs on Muslims in the East Punjab, Delhi and other places, public feeling runs very high against them. The Sindh Government had, therefore, opposed the idea of bringing Sikhs from the outlying parts of the Province into Karachi, for purposes of evacuation to India.

The Premier was repeatedly approached by the local Hindu Congress and the High Commissioner for India in Pakistan, but he declined to accept the proposal not only because of the risk involved, but also because these were Sindhi Sikhs and they had a right to stay in this Province.

The Premier said: However, on account of the constant pressure from the above mentioned sources, it was stipulated by the Sindh Government that if these Sikhs were to be brought into Karachi a timely warning should be given to the Police to enable them to make arrangements for their protection, and that the Sikhs should not be made to stay in Karachi.

It was further stipulated that the Sikhs should be brought into Karachi during the night and taken straight to the docks.

NO INTIMATION

The Sikhs involved in yesterday's trouble were not the first party of Sikhs to arrive in Karachi. There were three or four previous parties who were safely conducted to the boats because timely intimation was given to the Police on those occasions.

There was no intimation whatsoever of yesterday's arrival of the Sikhs and the Police came to know about their arrival only when the trouble had already broken out.

The second mistake made by those responsible for bringing the Sikhs was that the latter were carried in open horse carriages to the local *gurdwara* which drew public attention to their arrival. Thirdly, the *gurdwara* selected was in the heart of the city.

REFUGEES EXCITED

The city is full of refugees from India who have suffered grievously at the hands of the Sikhs and militant Hindus. As soon as the refugees came to know of the arrival of the Sikhs they surrounded the place, stoned it, and tried to set fire to it.

They also attacked the Sikhs although they had nothing more than sticks or small pieces of wood in their hands. But because of their overwhelming numbers, they succeeded in killing a number of Sikhs.

According to reports the assailants did not attack women or children and if there are any casualties in this category they must have arisen because of the stampede and confusion which arose.

POLICE TAKEN UNAWARES

The police, although taken completely unawares, soon mustered strength and called in the military to its aid. Curfew was at once clamped on the city and the severest measures possible have been taken to ensure and restore order.

There has been pilferage of property left in tenements or shops by people who had deserted them in panic. The police and military opened fire at times and killed several miscreants. Many houses and shops of Muslims were looted. Several Muslims have also been killed.

More than 1000 bad characters have been rounded up and put in jail. The situation is now under control.

[1]The *Dawn*, 8 January 1948.

19

Ali Muhammad Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. IV)-GG/198

4603/3 ANANDPURA,
GAWALMANDI,
RAWALPINDI,
12 January 1948

Long live the Quaid-i-Azam!

My respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I, Ali Muhammad Khan, President, Muslim League Branch, Great Britain, was deputed by that League to tour western zone of Pakistan and I venture to submit herewith a report[1] containing an account of what I felt about the tour with a few suggestions for your kind perusal.

Incidentally, I may also take this opportunity of enquiring whether, after the appointment of the Pakistan High Commissioner in London, it is any longer necessary to continue the activities of the Muslim League in U.K. as heretofore. I do not consider my sacrificial stay in U.K. any more necessary and I ought to devote my attention now to my family affairs. My family and other relatives have been uprooted from Ludhiana and, besides other losses, my brother, Azmat Ali Khan, is no more ready to keep on supporting my dependants; and so I have yet to settle my family who has not yet got a home to live in, not to speak of anything else.

Despite my newly created difficult position I must say that I can sacrifice any and every dear thing that I possess for the service of Islam if, now or ever, required to do so. My future, therefore, is in your hands and I await your orders.[2]

Yours respectfully,
ALI M. KHAN

[1]F. 120 (Vol. IV)-GG/199-203. Not printed.

[2]F. Amin acknowledged the report with thanks, and drew his attention to the resolution passed by the AIML at its session in Karachi See F. 120(Vol IV)-GG/204. Not printed.

20

M. A. Khuhro to M. A. Jinnah

F. 167 (3)-GG/12-4

PREMIER'S SECRETARIAT,
BLOCK No. 12, NAPIER BARRACKS,
KARACHI,
13 January 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I think the time has come when we should review the entire position with regard to the exodus of minorities in both the Dominions, and to come to a clear-cut and definite policy for our own guidance. As things stand at present, we do not discern any end or abatement of the refugee problem and despite our best efforts to confine the exchange of population to limited regions in both the Dominions, it is steadily embracing wider and wider zones, with the result that we do not know what we should expect in the future and how to provide for the speedy absorption of an ever-increasing number of immigrants. For us in Sind, the problem is particularly complicated by the presence in this Province of a large and fair sized minority whom we earnestly wish to retain, and our commitments in respect of refugees from the East Punjab whom we have agreed to receive in accordance with the decision of the inter-provincial refugee conference held in Lahore on 20th December 1947.[1] In my discussions with the Prime Minister of Pakistan, the Governor of the West Punjab, and Raja Ghazanfar Ali, I have been consistently maintaining that the allotment of a quota of refugees to Sind must be decided with reference to our absorptive capacity, of which we can give a fairly reliable indication; and in determining this quota, full regard must be paid to the presence of Hindus who are still here, and whose continued existence all over the Province will become extremely doubtful if the refugees in large numbers, quite unmanageable for our resources, are spread everywhere in refugee camps.

Besides, I find that the scope of rehabilitation in Sind is being constantly narrowed by the continuous influx of Muslim refugees from Bombay and Kathiawar Ports by boat and from Rajputana and other places in India by train via Jodhpur, and I feel that unless we take some prompt and energetic action, we would some day find ourselves

completely overwhelmed by the problem. If the Indian Union, despite their assurances of protection to Muslim minorities, appear to encourage the exodus of Muslims from one zone after another, we, on our part, must devise some effective measures to counteract this dangerous game.

I, therefore, respectfully suggest that a conference, to be presided over by your goodself or Mr. Liaquat Ali, should be called at Karachi as early as possible, to which the representatives of the West Punjab and Sind could be invited and which would discuss the following matters:

1. The future policy with regard to the Hindu minority in Sind, whose presence in the Province appears to be the only factor which will interest the Indian Union in our minorities in their charge, since by now Hindu minority does not exist in any other part of West Pakistan except Sind. We still have in Sind at least eight to nine lakhs of Hindus and Sikhs living in villages and towns.
2. To discuss the influx of refugees into Sind from all places which are outside the scope of inter-Dominion understanding on the question of exchange of minorities and to determine how far Pakistan is committed to accept this uprooted population.
3. To determine the number of refugees from East Punjab that could be settled in Sind and the actual manner and time of their arrival.

I may also state for your information that Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan has convened a meeting at Lahore on the 21st to discuss the problems arising out of the care and management of evacuee property in both the Dominions. I was proposing to attend this conference myself but, in view of the recent unwholesome developments in Karachi, it will not be possible or desirable for me to leave the Province, particularly when the heavy and delicate matters arising out of the disturbances would need my constant personal attention.

I would, therefore, request that the scope of the conference called by Raja Ghazanfar Ali be enlarged so as to include the subjects indicated by me in this letter, and the venue of the conference changed to Karachi where, in my respectful view, your guidance and advice in these most vital deliberations would be of inestimable value. The date of the conference may remain unchanged. I am requesting Raja Ghazanfar Ali also to agree to the course indicated by me here, but it would greatly facilitate matters if you very kindly agree to take initiative in the matter and arrange for a conference at the highest level, to be held

in Karachi on 21st of this month. I can assure you that it is only my realization of the grave importance of the refugee problem and its repercussions on the stability of our State that has prompted me to request you to take the trouble of convening this conference.

I should be most grateful for an early reply to this letter.[2]

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. KHUHRO

[1] See the *Pakistan Times*, 21 & 22 December 1947, for details.
[2] On this letter, F. Amin recorded "Quaid-i-Azam has discussed this matter with Mr. Khuhro No action. File."

21

S. Osman Ali to Cabinet Ministers

NDC, F. 64/CF/6

SECRET

CABINET SECRETARIAT,
KARACHI,
13 January 1948

The undersigned is directed to circulate to the Hon'ble Ministers for their information a copy of the minutes and decisions, as finally approved by the Hon'ble Prime Minister, of the Cabinet meeting held on 31st December 1947.

S. OSMAN ALI
Deputy Secretary to the Cabinet

The Ministers
Secretary, Ministry of Finance
Private Secretary to the Prime Minister

Enclosure to No. 21

NDC, F. 64/CF/7-8

SECRET

MEETING OF THE CABINET HELD ON 31 DECEMBER 1947 AT 11 A.M.

CASE NO. 225/36/477 CASH BALANCES OF THE PAKISTAN GOVT.

PRESENT

Quaid-i-Azam
Prime Minister
Minister for Foreign Affairs & Commonwealth Relations
Minister for Commerce, Industries & Works
Minister for Finance
Minister for Communications
Minister for Refugees & Rehabilitation
Minister for Law & Labour
Minister for the Interior, Information and Education
Minister for Food, Agriculture and Health
Secretary to the Cabinet
Deputy Secretary to the Cabinet

Hon'ble Minister for Finance said that he had little to add to the summary which fully explained the case. He saw little hope of India giving us, in the near future, our share, namely fifty-five crore, of the cash balances. We had, however, obtained securities worth Rs. twenty crore from Hyderabad[1] and a ways-and-means advance of Rs. ten crore from the Reserve Bank. The two alternatives open to us now were (a) the extreme measure of breaking away from the monetary arrangements with India, and (b) the sale of such Indian Government securities as were held by the Centre and the Provinces. In anticipation of the former course being adopted he had placed an order on an English firm for Rs. forty crore worth of notes. He was also making arrangements to get blanks for metallic currency, but dates of delivery were unsatisfactory. He proposed to place before the Cabinet at a later date a note on these two alternatives. Meanwhile, he wished to emphasize that he desired the active cooperation of his colleagues in seeing that rigid economy was observed and that no decisions involving financial commitments were taken without the prior approval of the Finance Ministry.

The Hon'ble the Prime Minister said that on behalf of his colleagues he extended to the Hon'ble the Finance Minister an assurance of their

anxiety to cooperate with him to the fullest extent. He was, if anything, even more anxious than the Hon'ble the Finance Minister to see that the Finance Ministry was consulted at the appropriate stage in every case involving financial commitments. He suggested that in preparing his note on the alternatives to which he had referred, the Hon'ble Finance Minister should proceed on the assumption that India would not give us our share of the cash balances.

[1]Mir Laik Alı, under intense pressure from India, asked the Pakıstan Government not to put the securities in question on the market during the one-year currency of the Standstill Agreement signed by Hyderabad on 29 November 1947. See H-57, Volume on *States*.

22

Ali Muhammad Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. II)-GG/82-4

4603/3 ANANDPURA,
GAWALMANDI,
RAWALPINDI,
14 January 1948

My respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Moved by the spirit of service to the cause of Islam, I look up to you alone as the saviour of Muslims whom God ordained to be instrumental in freeing a whole nation, otherwise apparently destined to eternal servitude; for it was through the force of your personal magnetic influence and unsurpassed talent that we now see Pakistan as an accomplished fact. Also, the future destiny of Pakistan has been placed by God in your hands. The responsibility is great and the future of the State will take its colour and shape just as your mental vision sees it.

2. I wish that your honourable name should go down to posterity not just as a symbol of national freedom but also as one who caused a religious and spiritual renaissance among Muslims who had degenerated to the point of breaking down.

3. I desire to rejuvenate the Muslims on a spiritual and religious basis because I am fully convinced of the need for a magnetic group of common sentiments [*sic*] which should enliven and sustain the whole nation. My deep study of human psychology leads me to believe that such sentiments are provided only by Islam and so they can best be developed,

strengthened and kept alive on the basis of religious renaissance aiming at an all round unity among Muslims who should clench [*sic*] fast the "rope of God", and steadfastly uphold the unifying basis of Islam, viz.:

i. one God
ii. one Apostle
iii. one Book
iv. one *Ka'ba*
v. oneness of all apostles
vi. negation of further apostles to avoid sentiments being extended causing ultimate disunion in the nation; and
vii. *jehad* for existence and self-defence in which you fall as martyrs and live as *ghazis*.

4. To this end, I venture to suggest that a department of *Ihtisab* may be set up by the Central Pakistan Government, comprising a board of at least five recognised and top-ranking *Ulema*. The president of this board may be given the status of a Minister of Government so that he may be able to enforce his "reformation" schemes into all departments. This department should be entrusted with the gigantic task of religious renaissance and reformation and the Education Department, Radio and Cinema also made the vehicles of this department to the extent necessary.

[*Paras 5 to 8 omitted*]

9. *Language*: In our case, Pakistan has diverse local dialects and as many as three main languages are spoken and understood in this country. They are English, Urdu and Persian. English is an international language but in Pakistan it cannot be the language of the people for a long time to come. The other two should also be discarded as secondary in favour of Arabic which has got the following advantages:

i. it is the language of the *Qur'an*.
ii. it is the international language of Arab world.
iii. it has a very glorious past in which it reigned as the mistress of learning and it still possesses the essentials of being a scientific language.
iv. it will have the effect of rallying the sons of Islam round the banner of Islam—Pakistan—if it is introduced into schools as a compulsory subject.

[*Paras 10 to 14 omitted*]

15. Hoping that this finds the Hon'ble Miss Jinnah and the Quaid-i-Azam in best of health.

Wassalam

Respectfully yours,
ALI M. KHAN

23

Mohammad Ibrahim Khilji to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. IV)-GG/245-50

KARACHI,
14 January 1948

Most respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I, as a citizen and a servant of Pakistan, wish to bring a few facts to the notice of Your Excellency.

I read in yesterday's *Dawn* that Your Excellency has given Rs. 25,000 to the Hindu refugees in Karachi out of Relief Fund, collected from penniless, poor and most humble type of Muslims of Pakistan, while there was also news since day before yesterday in the same newspaper and other papers of the town, that Muslim refugees coming from India were not even received at the port [or] airport and were packed like animals in goods wagons and sent to middle Sind and other places. These refugees were deprived of food and water as if they were prisoners convicted to life imprisonment. Could something not be done for them out of Rs. 25,000 wasted on millionaire Hindus. I wonder what attitude Your Excellency's Government have taken towards already suppressed Muslims. I and many others think that Your Excellency is bent upon crushing the already crushed. Your Excellency knows pretty well that the Muslims have given whatever they had, including their lives, for Pakistan on your words of honour that Muslims in Pakistan will have free life as every other country's people have got, but they were not aware of the fact that they will be deprived of food and water when they reach Pakistan, their beloved country.

I request that Your Excellency should at once interfere, for the benefit of Muslims and Pakistan, so that the Muslims in this place should not be treated like dogs, otherwise, the public opinion may change one day and this may create hatred in place of love towards everybody in power.

Muslim is already crushed to zero and now there is hardly any life left in him to face the difficulties in his own house.

Our morale is high, our hearts are beating and keenly watching to see the fate of our other brothers in India, and now is the time, Your Excellency, that we should treat every Muslim alike and try to wipe out hatred, where it lies, and be prepared for the worst to befall us.

I am attaching a cutting[1] from Urdu paper, *Anjam*, just for your favour to see how the public opinion is going.

I, as a citizen, wish that my Muslim brothers should have not done what they did on 6th,[2] but at the same time they are paying a very high price for their deeds.

I wish that this letter should reach[3] our beloved Quaid-i-Azam and not held back by others in power.

Praying to *Allah* for the betterment of Muslims in Pakistan and stability of Pakistan and long life for our beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

I have the honour to be a humble citizen of Pakistan

MOH[AMMA]D IBRAHIM KHILJI

[1]See F. 120 (Vol.IV)-GG/251-2. Not printed.
[2]See Annex I to No. 18.
[3]The letter was shown to Jinnah on 22 July. See F. 120 (Vol.II)-GG/244. Not printed.

24

Abdur Rabb to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120-GG/166

RAILWAY PUNJABI SCHOOL,
SUKKUR,
14 January 1948

Beloved Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I have read your statement[1] in the press after Karachi riots declaring to haul up the persons responsible to bring Sikhs to Karachi without informing the authorities. As a faithful citizen of Pakistan and also as a staunch supporter and believer in it, I regard it my sacred duty to help you and the Govt. of Pakistan in all possible ways. A silent worker as I am, I am doing the service without any platform.

In this particular case, I would submit that a Communist organisation with a Hindu Afghan exile (under detention at Sukkur) named Baba Deo Das (or so) as its patron, is working in a building right in front of

the court of City Magistrate, Sukkur. One of the workers of this organisation, most probably its Secretary named Mr. K. J. Advani and another member, a science teacher in the local M. Tilak High School, brought some Lanbha Sikh peasants from the suburbs of Shikarpur during the last week of Dec. 47, and were trying to evacuate them to Karachi by getting them train accommodation. This organisation and particularly the above said Advani and the science teacher, would come out to be the real culprits involved in sending the Sikhs of Shikarpur to Karachi, if a proper enquiry was instituted. This Mr. Advani also professes to be an unofficial Inspector of peasants condition [*sic*], appointed by the Govt. This can, I hope, prove the hold he must have on the Hindu and Sikh peasants of the upper Sind.

I am sure this information would enable you to have the culprits hauled up, and also the full investigation of the case.[2]

I am submitting this information to you in my personal capacity although I am a Govt. servant.

May I request you kindly to acknowledge receipt of this letter to convince me of its safely reaching you. *Taslim*.

With best prayers,

In the service of God and Pakistan,

I am, yours truly,
SYED ABDUR RABB
M.A., C.T.
Head Master

[1]See No. 18.
[2]F Amin forwarded the letter to the Premier of Sind. See F. 120-GG/165. Not printed.

25

Sardar Shah Mahmud Khan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 11-GG/25

IMMEDIATE

KANDAHAR,
14 January 1948

Accept my sincerest thanks for all your kindness and hospitality shown to me during my stay[1] in Pakistan. My prayer is always for the unity of Islam and prosperity of Pakistan.

SHAH MAHMUD
[*Prime Minister of Afghanistan*]

[1]See No. 7.

26

M. Y. Butt to S. M. Yusuf

F. 124 (3)-GG/6

CARLTON HOTEL,
KARACHI,
14 January 1948

Sir,

I have the honour to present to His Excellency the Governor-General of Pakistan the greetings of the Indonesian Representative, Mr. Idham, and to request that Mr. [J.] Idham and Dr. (Mrs.) S. Sukonto, the Indonesian woman leader now in Karachi, may have the privilege of calling upon the Quaid-i-Azam.

May I request that the interview be arranged and that I be notified[1] of the time and date suitable to the Quaid-i-Azam to receive Mr. Idham and Dr. Sukonto.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
M. Y. BUTT
Secretary to the Indonesian Representative

[1]F. Amin informed M. Y. Butt that Jinnah would receive the delegation on 20 January 1948. See F. 124 (3)-GG/7. Not printed.

27

M. Muzaffar Hussain to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. IV)-GG/273-84
[Extract]

KUMARKHALI, KUSHTIA,
EASTERN PAKISTAN,
15 January 1948

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

Sir,

We first pray to *Allah*, the Merciful, for your long life. May He help

you in the fulfilment of the mission you have come with to this world. At the auspicious moment of your taking the charge of the administration of our long-cherished Pakistan Dominion as the Governor-General, you declared that all sorts of corruption would be uprooted from the Pakistan Dominion in all possible ways. We also expect that the Pakistan State will flourish quickly and the people shall remain peaceful and ever happy under the administration of our glorious Quaid-i-Azam, the man of strength and most strict principles, and of greatest politics [*sic*] in the world. He is sure to make the State quite free from all sorts [of] corruption, dishonesty and malpractices, and transform it into one like that of Hazrat Omar, within a very short time. But the people have become so accustomed to corruption, dishonesty and malpractices for a long period under the British rule in India that they have formed [*sic*] into their nature and it will be a very serious task to change their nature unless and until the system of administration of every department is thoroughly upset [*sic*] and remoulded....

Dr. John Matthai, the Member in charge of Finance of the former Interim Government, showed a deficit of twenty-eight crores of rupees when putting up the last Railway budget, and proposed to make good the deficit by levying an extra charge of one *anna* per rupee of the freight and fare, but no inquiry as to the cause of such deficit was made, and no endeavour made to remove the cause. All the officers from top to bottom will be enriching themselves by taking bribe and the poor passengers will be compensating the loss by paying extra charge.

Railway earning depends mainly upon the goods traffic, and saving (profit) depends upon the expense of the Engineering Department. It is a hearsay that Mr. H. St. G. Gilmore, formerly the Traffic Manager of the E. B. Railway, once said in earnest by sorrowful tone that if the Engineering Department had not robbed [*sic*], he could have made the sleepers of the E. B. Railway of gold. From his version it can be easily imagined how large is the income of the Railway and how the Engineering Department robs, and what a great loss the Railway Department sustains every year thereby.

It came to our notice that at almost all stations illegal contracts are made between the station staff... and the local merchants. The officers engaged in booking book every consignment underweight, for which they get a lump sum from the merchants as bribe; and such is the daily occurrence taking place at every station and the Railway Department is to sustain a heavy loss thereby which amounts to some lakhs, even some crores per year....

Malpractices prevail also in the Medical Dept. of the Railway.... We see bribery... in every Dept. of the Railway and which is inter-connected. Malpractices also prevail in the courts, civil or criminal....

Next comes the Civil Supplies Dept. where bribery has surpassed all other Departments, even the Railway Department....

With the exception of Postal Dept. there is a furious current of corruption flowing with an uninterrupted force...

From my practical experience I put forth the following suggestions:

i. all the officers in every Dept. should be warned by issue of official circulars every now and then against all sorts of corruption;
ii. promotion be given in consideration of merit whereby honesty will prevail and money-making will go for ever;
iii. some Inspectors should be appointed from outside in each Dept. who should watch and detect corruption in disguise. Some Administrative Officers may also be appointed from outside the Dept. to supervise the work of these Inspectors. Their decisions should be final and be given effect by the highest authority of the Dept;
iv. the Railway Dept. like the Postal Dept. should be under direct control and management of the Central Government;
v. promotion of ticket collecting staff, Traffic Inspectors and Transportation Inspectors, etc., should be made depending upon the detection of fraud cases/irregularities by them;
vi. promotion of Traffic Inspectors and Transportation Inspectors as well as of ASIs and SIs of Police should be made on the number of cases of irregularities of station staff and of theft, burglaries, dacoities, murders, etc., respectively, detected by them;
vii. some CID or freshly recruited persons should be appointed in the Civil Supplies Dept. who should check disbursement of cash and stocks by making surprise visits.

[*Next sub-paras omitted*]

Further, I beg to bring to your notice that long ago I schemed out [*sic*] a plan to introduce free high education to every Muslim by collection of *Zakat* and *Ushr* for *Bait al Maal* but I am sorry that for want of sympathy and co-operation from the people, the scheme could not be operated upon. I thought that it could only be operated if taken up by the Government, and so I have put forth the scheme to our Hon'ble Premier, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, for consideration by the Central Government. I am exceedingly glad and hopeful that the Cabinet of the

Frontier Province is also of the same opinion. I am firmly convinced that by the operation of this scheme all the people will be highly educated and my nation will be declared in the near future to be the most educated in the world, and all other nations will look at it in utter amazement.

With best regards and faith ,
I remain,
Yours most obediently,
M. MUZAFFAR HUSSAIN
Secretary, Municipal Muslim League

See Appendix IX. 2, Vol. II, item 4, 535-8.

28

Shadan Gangohi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 888/74-8

KARACHI,
15 January 1948

Most respected Quaid-i-Azam,
After wishing you several happy New Years, I most respectfully request you kindly to refer to my previous letter dated 9-10-47.[1] I am unable to express my gratitude in words for the attention given by the Govt. of Pakistan under your benign guidance to my humble suggestions in that letter, directly or indirectly. Yet some of them still require immediate care [*sic*]. I may be excused for the trouble I have been giving to you in this connection.

2. A brief summary of the suggestions and the action taken by the Govt. will perhaps assist Your Excellency in recalling the case.

3. The nation appreciated the spirit you maintained in explaining the Two Nations Theory in your statement of October 1947,[2] which cleared several doubts. We feel that the bifurcation of the All India Muslim League into India Muslim League and Pakistan Muslim League has driven a wedge in the solidarity and the conception of being a separate nation which, after partition of India, has been proved to be a reality.[3] We admit that this bifurcation was necessitated due to unexpected prevailing circumstances in India, and may be temporary to give some relief to our four crore brethren in India. Our feelings in this respect

have been considerably injured and we wholeheartedly desire that the sooner this unnatural division is brought to an end, the better.

4. How the lives, chastity of Indian Muslim women, wealth and property of Indian Muslims can be saved. From the daily occurrence of murder, massacre and abduction of Muslim women in India and the recent statements of Sardar Patel in Assam [which] appeared in the *Dawn* on 4-1-48,[4] it has become quite clear that there is no room for an honourable life of [*sic* for for] Muslims in India, and that their lives, honour, religion, culture, and language are at stake. Believe me, Sir, Muslims in India are passing a life in hell. They are being forced either to migrate in destitute condition to Pakistan or to give up their religion, social and cultural traditions, and live a life worse than that of a scheduled caste. This is high time that at a very high level the question of exchange of population be raised. In order to facilitate this process, more territory is absolutely necessary. The Govt. of India, if not prepared, should be compelled at international level to agree to the following:

a. exchange of territory of Muslim States with that of non-Muslim States on the border of Pakistan,
b. to give some more territory in East Punjab and western U.P. to absorb all the Muslims,
c. to agree to the natural territorial limits, so that both the communities may live peacefully, independent by of each other.

5. A statement[5] showing the exchange, with a rough sketch[6] of territory to be partitioned, is appended for your favourable consideration.

6. The Indian Union may not agree to this further division, but if the question is taken up at international level, we hope something better will come out. In view of the present circumstances neither Hindus are prepared to live in Pakistan nor the Muslims are in a position to remain in Indian Union. The exchange of entire Muslim and Hindu population from one side to the other is the necessity of the day, and the earlier it is accomplished the better. Pakistani nationality cannot be enforced on the Hindus nor the Indian nationality on the Muslims.

7. Nation feels satisfied to a great extent at the expansion of the Pakistan Cabinet. You have selected a right man to handle the portfolio of F[oreign] A[ffairs] and C[ommonwealth] R[elations] and States. The Defence Ministry on the other side will now be handled satisfactorily by our Prime Minister, whose recent statement on the improvement of Defence has exterminated several doubts from the depressed minds.

8. As suggested in previous letter,[7] we are thankful to you for entrusting the work of the Ministry of Refugees and Rehabilitation to Mr. Ghazanfar Ali, relieving him at the same time from the burden of the Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Health, to enable him to give his entire attention to that arduous task. In this connection, if you pardon me, I submit a suggestion for the solution of the economic problems of the refugees, which will also solve the question of availability of certain commodities. You will agree with me that in the absence of factories, our country is badly in need of certain commodities like sugar, cloth, pulses, etc., for which some time we have to stretch our hands before India and some time before other foreign countries with very little success. While on the other hand sugarcane, cotton and wool are in abundance to supply our needs, if industry is developed. We also do not lack in agricultural farms where pulses can be grown sufficient enough to feed the nationals of Pakistan. In view of the above, if cottage industry is encouraged, we can easily make country sugar, *gur*, *boora* (fine country sugar) with the help of the manpower (refugees) available and willing to be engaged on this job. These very refugees, when factories are installed, can be absorbed after training.

9. Rough country cloth can be produced without much difficulty with the help of cotton available in our country. The nationals of Pakistan can be requested to put on that cloth woven by the refugees, till such time factory cloth can be prepared in the country. I am sure the spirit to help refugees and Pakistan is so strong that ninety per cent of the population will be ready to follow, if the Ministers and the Pakistan officials are also prepared to encourage the country-craft. The proposals, if accepted, will only require building of a number of huts for refugees and shades for the work of spinning, weaving, etc. I fervently hope that the suggestions will be sympathetically considered by the Ministry of Refugees and Rehabilitation.

10. We still wait for some reshuffling in the Ministry of Interior, Education and Information and Broadcasting. Opinions are growing stronger and stronger, whether Mr. Fazlur Rahman is competent enough to shoulder the responsibility of such an important portfolio. We have been satisfied to some extent with the result of the Educational Conference, held last month,[8] but the manner in which the proceedings of the Council [*sic*] were conducted and the way the resolutions were [*sic*] passed by the Conference are being implemented, are far from being satisfactory. The addition of another new Member, Pirzada Abdus Sattar, in the Ministry has served the twofold purpose

of representation of Sind in the Ministry and better handling of the portfolio entrusted to him. It is still doubted that the Members who have been entrusted with three departments in the form of a Ministry will be able to pay as much attention as is required at this stage to push on the State work. It is, therefore, respectfully suggested that such Ministries should be recomposed of two Departments or Divisions only. The Interior or Home with Information and Broadcasting should go to one Member, while Education and Health should go to another. It is believed that some new Members like Chaudhuri Abdul Matin, Mr. Shahabuddin, or Ch. Khaliq-uz-Zaman are under consideration for the new addition in the Ministry as well as replacement of Mr. Fazlur Rahman. If this is done we will trouble you for consideration of some proposals in connection with Education, Health and Information.

11. We understand that the portfolio of Law is being entrusted to a new Member, who will also be the President of the Constituent Assembly. The proposal is welcomed from the bottom of our heart.

12. We also request that the portfolio of Industries and Development should be entrusted to a separate Member, from the view of efficiency and speed the industrial and development schemes require. Mr. Ghulam Mohammed will surely be most befitting to shoulder this responsibility.

13. The State requires badly some top economist and financier to handle the portfolio of Finance who could find out and avail the economic resources of the country and increase the national income as much as possible.

14. People are very much disappointed to see that no heed is given to the repeated demand for a Minister of Islamic Law who will manage to preach Islamic principles and induce people to adopt Islamic mode of life, which will help in uprooting several evils, which no other State law can do. We suggest some names for consideration:

i. Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani
ii. Maulana Syed Sulaiman Nadvi
iii. Maulana Abdul Alim Siddiqui

15. In the end I beg to invite your attention to one of the most important points. It is felt that most of the officers in the Pakistan Ministries are not working with as much enthusiasm as they ought to have worked in the present state of affairs. Sometimes great negligence is shown in disposal of most important matters. No initiative is being taken by any of such officers for the simple reason of their easy-going nature. People generally feel that things are going considerably

slow in Pakistan, with the result that the staff is not fully utilised.

16. It is, therefore, requested that some instructions and frequent surprise visits of offices by Ministers are absolutely necessary to improve the position.

Apologising for the trouble, and praying for your long life and sound health,

I am,

Yours sincerely,
SHADAN GANGOHI

[1]Not traceable.
[2]See Annex I to No. 93, Vol. VI, 150-5.
[3]Annex I to No. 273, Vol. VI, 441-2. Also see Annex to No. 99.
[4]Patel had stated at a public meeting in Shillong on 2 January that he was certain that Hyderabad would tread the path of wisdom and sanity But if it did not, the problem would not remain confined to that State but would have wide repercussions. There were 45 million Muslims in the rest of India who were bound to be affected if Hyderabad unleashed what would in effect be poisoned atmosphere. See the *Dawn*, 5 January 1948.
[5&6]See F. 888/79-80. Not printed. Also see Report on the Migration and Concentration of Muslims in India in Appendix VI, Vol. I, Part II, 124-98.
[7]Not traceable.
[8]See No. 164, Vol. VI, 254-5.

29

Cocoanut Merchants Association to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 25 (Part II)-GG/231

72 VADGADI, BOMBAY,
15 January 1948

Regret for loot, arson and killing in Pakistan. Disturbances in Karachi[1] would have echoed in India but Mahatma Gandhiji intervened and risked his life by fasting. We request Your Excellency to establish calmness. Your Excellency is a great statesman and must be aware of repercussions. Our Association will be obliged if interview granted. Kindly reply.[2]

COCOANUT MERCHANTS ASSOCIATION

[1]See No. 18.
[2]F. Amin informed the Association of Jinnah's advice to see the Premier of Sind. See F. 25 (Part II)-GG/229. Not printed.

30

M. Ikramullah to Liaquat Ali Khan

Telegram, F. 112-GG/35

IMMEDIATE/SECRET KARACHI,
15 January 1948

API report of your speech[1] at yesterday's reception quotes you as saying that Government's policy was "to regard tribesmen as an integral part of the State and to grant them equal rights and privileges with the people in other parts of Pakistan".

Najibullah[2] has protested against description of tribesmen as integral part of State which he says is contrary to facts and also to public statement of Quaid-i-Azam. We propose to reply that we do not regard tribesmen on this side of Durand Line as his concern but before doing so would be grateful for confirmation or otherwise of this portion of press report and also to know whether under agreements actually signed, tribes could now be described as integral part of Pakistan.

[1]See the *Dawn*, 14 January 1948.
[2]Najibullah Khan, Special Representative of the King of Afghanistan in Pakistan.

31

Ruler of Chitral to M. A. Jinnah

F. 5-GG/13

CHITRAL STATE,
16 January 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have sent a Chitrali *chugha* and a cap as small presents for Your Excellency through Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, the Premier, N.W.F.P., and I shall feel most grateful if Your Excellency will very kindly accept them.[1]

With best wishes and sincere regards,

Your most sincere friend,
MUZAFFAR-UL-MULK

[1]The gift was acknowledged with thanks by Jinnah. See F. 5-GG/14. Not printed.

32

Nawab of Chhatari to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. IV)-GG/254

RAHAT MANZIL,
ALIGARH,
16 January 1948

Dear Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,

I venture to write this letter to Your Excellency as I feel that the suggestion that I wish to make will be of great help to the Musalmans of the minority provinces and may result ultimately in creating friendly relations between the Dominions of India and Pakistan.

As Your Excellency is no doubt aware Mahatma Gandhi is undergoing a fast on account of communal tension in the country. In my humble opinion it will be a great gesture, and will create a psychological effect on all the people in India, if Your Excellency contacted Mahatma Gandhi either on the telephone or through your personal representative appreciating the motive underlying the Mahatma's fast and to assure him that Your Excellency has no doubt that the fast will have a ready and hearty response from the people of Pakistan.

Trusting Your Excellency and Miss Fatima Jinnah are in the best of health, and with my kindest regards,[1]

Yours sincerely,
AHMAD SAID
Nawab of Chhatari

S. M. Yusuf acknowledged the letter. See F. 120 (Vol. VI)-GG/253. Not printed.

33

Ali Muhammad Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. II)-GG/81

4603/3 ANANDPURA,
RAWALPINDI,
16 January 1948

My dear and respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I have been told reliably that South Africa offered to let us have

some coal which Pakistan refused to accept on the plea that the Union was not treating Indians well.

2. If so, I have a note of caution to strike. Unluckily I forget his name but I do remember that the leader of the Muslim community in South Africa met me in London in January last year and told me that the Union of South Africa had extended all the privileges of the "whites" to Muslims of all countries, but that under the influence of Gandhi the Indian Muslims there would not accept the offer unless it were extended to the non-Muslim Indians in South Africa.

3. In view of the above, I believe there is everything to gain if we could start negotiations afresh with the Union to grant the same privileges to Pakistan nationals as they have already granted to all our Muslim brethren from other countries.

4. Such negotiations are, I deem, bound to succeed and would bring in their wake such valuable commodities as coal and general mutual trade which we might then enter into with them as an honourable and honoured nation.

5. I hope this note is not inopportune.

Yours respectfully,
ALI M. KHAN

PS. As this is more a concern of the Foreign Department, I am endorsing a copy of this letter to the Hon'ble Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, our Foreign Minister, Lake Success,[1] for such action as he may think necessary.

Seat of the UN Security Council, 1946-50.

34

Syed Shaukat Husain to M. A. Jinnah

F. 25 (Part II)-GG/249-58
[Extract]

KARACHI,
16 January 1948

May it please Your Excellency,

The writer apologises [for] giving this much trouble to Quaid-i-Azam as to go through these few points from a thinker. We are fortunate that Quaid-i-Azam goes with Saadi Shirazi[1] when he hears everybody. Sometimes valuable things come from stray men.

Maj-Gen [Muhammad] Iftikhar [Khan]'s speech[2] in Lahore was due long before. It is heartening and invigorating. If war is inevitable let us start it immediately—Napolean was five minutes late and he lost the battle. Let us not give India any time to train men. This is the keystone of all stratagem.

2. Let us transfer all extra or superfluous persons in Central Government to Army immediately. They have already enlisted as national guards.

[*Paras 3 & 4 omitted*]

5. Manpower and food is another consideration.... As regards food, let us start immediately tractor-farming on Canada model. It is a matter of a few lakhs of rupees guaranteeing safety of our people and army both. I handed over my note on the subject to Ministry of Agriculture during September 1947 through Mr. Muzaffar, Deputy Secretary, Finance, and Government of India entertained such notes. I can give precedent: grocery shop scheme was like that.... Germany came to cannbalism and sustained defeat because Russia betrayed and stopped supply of foodgrains promised through Barter Agreement. Let us manufacture our own ammunition or borrow from neighbours—Turkey; Iran; Afghanistan.

6. Allama Iqbal said about U.N.O. [*sic*] "Some coffin thieves have formed an association to distribute graves". They are deadliest enemies of Middle East and Muslims. It is the gravest insult to entire Muslim population of world to recognise U.N.O. particularly when we see how they have behaved [with] Arabs in the matter of Palestine. [*Rest of the para and para 7 omitted*].

8. Still much water of Indus is allowed to go to sea. I have submitted a scheme to Agriculture Department. We shall have to make tanks some ten miles away from banks of the river, each some 100 sq. miles and we can inhabit some 15 crores of people in Indus Valley alone. Finance means tractor-ploughing and Mint and Reserve Bank. Why be afraid?

9. The question of those 55 crores of cash balances was a matter of one ream of paper only, Sir, unless we can get some consumable goods or machinery or anything of the sort from India or England worth the amount. Mr. Nehru today issues a communique for admitting this credit; so far so good.

10. There is the world-known Keynes'[3] theory of Managed Currency System and of Gustav Cassal[4] on Foreign Exchange. I have my views much more advanced, more scientific, rational and selfless. We do not believe in the "gold" or metallitic reserve. The real reserve behind a paper currency is "manpower"—a people's wealth, will to work, education, economic character. We cannot give up laissez-faire

policy. That 2-*anna* worth of Reserve Bank of India Act is life and blood for the economic activities of a nation (now country). Rediscount and cheque is that theory round which all welfare should revolve. [*Rest of the para omitted*].

With greatest regards,

Very very obediently,
SYED SHAUKAT HUSAIN
(CHAUDHRY)

[1]Celebrated Persian poet and opsimath, Sheikh Muslih-ud-Din Saadi (1184-1291) created such famous and enduring works as *Gulistan, Bostan* and *Pand Nama*.
[2]Not traceable.
[3]John Maynard Keynes (1883-1946), English economist.
[4]Swedish economist.

35

A. Hilaly to S. M. Yusuf

F. 125-GG/12

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
AND COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS,
KARACHI,
16 January 1948

My dear Yusuf,

In continuation of previous correspondence[1] I am sending you a copy of the speech which His Excellency the Ambassador of the Union of Burma proposes to make at the time of the presentation of his credentials on Wednesday, the 21st January 1948.

Yours sincerely,
A. HILALY

[1]F. 125-GG/8. Not printed.

Enclosure to No. 35
Speech by U Pe Kin on Presentation of Credentials[1]

F. 125-GG/16

Your Excellency,

I have the honour to place in your hands the Letter of Credence by which the President of the Union of Burma appoints me to be his Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Dominion of Pakistan.

I am happy to be the first bearer of assurances of constant and cordial good wishes for the welfare and prosperity of Pakistan, and for your own personal health and well-being, from the President of the Union of Burma. I entertain, on entering on my duties, the confident hope that the most cordial and harmonious relations which have existed between the two countries will be rendered still closer and stronger in the coming years.

No higher responsibility or more important mission could be entrusted to an Envoy of Burma than that with which I have been honoured by the President of the Union of Burma. It will be my constant and sincere endeavour to discharge it in such a manner as may best conduce to the lasting benefit of both peoples. In this endeavour I know that I can confidently invoke the friendly cooperation and assistance of those entrusted with the great function of carrying on the Government of Pakistan. That friendly assistance has been rendered without stint to me during my short term of office as High Commissioner for Burma in Pakistan and it is a great source of encouragement to me to know that I can rely on it for the future.

[1]For Jinnah's reply, see No. 40.

36

A. Hilaly to S. M. Yusuf

F. 125-GG/13

KARACHI,
17 January 1948

My dear Yusuf,

In continuation of my letter dated the 16th January 1948,[1] I enclose a draft reply[2] to the speech proposed to be made by His Excellency the

Ambassador of Burma to Pakistan at the time of presenting his credentials on the 21st January 1948, which you might submit to Quaid-i-Azam for his consideration.

Yours sincerely,
A. HILALY

[1]No. 35.
[2]See No. 40.

37

Mirza Jalaluddin to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. IV)-GG/288-90

32 EMPRESS ROAD,
LAHORE,
20 January 1948

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

In my previous letter,[1] I have suggested to you to do away with the western democracy rule of administration in Pakistan. It does not mean to put back the clock and revert to some old methods of administration in Pakistan. I ask you to replace western democracy by Islamic rules of democracy. Islam, in its essence, is a democratic religion and governs its society by rules of democracy. No doubt some rulers in Islamic history deviated from rules of democracy preached by Islam, and assumed autocracy, but in these days of enlightenment, no autocracy is tolerated and we have to dig out from *Shari'at* those golden principles of democracy which govern Muslim society as a national entity.

There is no denial of the fact that western rules of democracy make the administration financially top-heavy; and system of red-tapism under it defeats the ends of justice. Pakistan at present is not a highly developed country and is comparatively a very poor territory and therefore cannot sustain any top heavy administration for its control. A simple but efficient management of the country will ensure its prosperity. It is for you and your Cabinet to simplify the administration in order to save money for the development of the country and for the welfare of its people.

Only a few years have passed when Sind and Frontier Provinces were administered by Chief Commissioners and there were no Governors, with all their paraphernalia, in such provinces. Punjab is now reduced

considerably by partition and its position now is not much different from Sind and Frontier. If Sind and Frontier Provinces were administered by Chief Commissioners, Punjab in its truncated position could equally be administered by a Chief Commissioner. Then why not place these provinces under Chief Commissioners as before. No material advantage has accrued to any of the provinces by creating ornamental offices of Governorship for them. On the contrary, it has burdened the exchequer of each province.

Under present constitutional law of the country read with instrument of instructions issued under it, makes [*sic*] the office of a Governor less useful for a province than that of Chief Commissioner who can effectively supervise the day-to-day working of the executive under it and is directly responsible to the Centre for efficiency of the administration.

With due deference, under the above law even a Governor-General at the Centre is not so much an active participant in the administration of a Dominion as its Prime Minister who is constitutionally fully responsible for the entire functions of the Government. This is what is said of a constitutional Governor-General in the Dominions of British Commonwealth. Your assumption of the high office of Governor-General of Pakistan under rules of western democracy has deprived Muslim nation in Pakistan of your active participation in the day-to-day administration of the country and consequently Pakistan is faced with so many overwhelming problems that no other person excepting you could solve them. It is firmly believed that you are keeping close watch on the working of your executive, but your legal limitations make it difficult for you to interfere frequently in the working of your executive. Moreover, the system of red-tapism causes so much delay in the disposal of the work that by the time a matter comes to your notice its immediate redress is frustrated by lapse of time. If you dispense with the present system of administration the needs of the country and its people will be expedited and will give greater satisfaction to the people under your control. Unless the present system of administration is completely overhauled the bad practices and the corruption in the administration would not be eradicated whatever measures may be introduced to stop it.

Your Cabinet (consisting of illustrious people as suggested in my previous letter to you) under your able guidance should frame a definite policy for the administration of the country and the executive should carry out such policy in letter and spirit with honesty and integrity. The supervision of the working of executive should be direct responsibility of such member of your Cabinet to whom the subject matter is entrusted according to the respective portfolios attached to different Cabinet Ministers. The frequent visits of such Members for inspection will keep the executive more alert and honest in the discharge of

their duties. The separation of executive and judicial functions must also be arranged at the earliest opportunity.

It is strongly hoped that Constitution for Pakistan shall be based on *Shari'at;* and Islamic democracy shall be reflected in all phases of Pakistan administration with complete safeguards of the rights and privileges of the non-Muslims inhabiting Pakistan.

Yours in Islam,
MIRZA JALALUDDIN
Bar-at-Law

·Not traceable.

38

S. Osman Ali to Cabinet Ministers

NDC, F. 64/CF/12

SECRET

CABINET SECRETARIAT,
KARACHI,
21 January 1948

The undersigned is directed to circulate to the Hon'ble Ministers for their information a copy of the minutes and decisions, as finally approved, of the Cabinet meeting held on Sunday, the 18th January 1948.

S. OSMAN ALI

To All Ministers
Secretary, Ministry of Finance
Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations
Copy with a copy of the Enclosure forwarded to the Private Secretary to the Prime Minister

Enclosure to No. 38

NDC, F. 64/CF/13-4

SECRET

MEETING OF THE CABINET HELD ON 18 JANUARY 1948 AT 5 P.M.

CASE No. 37/6/48. RELEASE OF PAKISTAN'S SHARE OF THE CASH BALANCES

PRESENT

Minister for Commerce, Industries and Works
Minister for Finance
Minister for Communications
Minister for Law and Labour
Minister for the Interior, Information and Education
Secretary, Ministry of Finance
Deputy Secretary to the Cabinet

MINUTES

The Hon'ble Minister for Finance said that two communications had been received from the Government of India—(a) a copy of the India Government communique[1] announcing their decision to implement immediately the financial agreement with Pakistan in regard to the cash balances, and (b) a telegram stating that a sum of Rs. fifty crore had been transferred to the Pakistan Government. It was proposed that a press communique should be issued on our side regarding this transfer. He wishes to draw particular attention to the last paragraph acknowledging the influence exercised by Mr. Gandhi in making the Government of India right the wrong of which they had been guilty in withholding our share of the cash balances. He felt it was in the interests of Pakistan, the Muslims of India, and commonsense that such a reference should be made because he was convinced that in the last few months Gandhi had used his influence in the interest of Muslims.

In the course of subsequent discussion, the following points were made:

a. It was not clear whether Gandhi's fast was really responsible for the India Government's change of attitude regarding the allotment to us of our share of the cash balances.[2] It was possible that the India Government had been advised that withholding our share further would give them adverse publicity during the hearing of the

Kashmir case by the Security Council. The press communique should therefore be confined to the point that in allotting us our share of the cash balances the Government of India were merely setting right a wrong they had so far been inflicting on Pakistan.

b. Ministers of the Provincial Governments of Pakistan had already made statements acknowledging Gandhi's services. There was consequently no reason why the Central Government also should not acknowledge the part played by him.

c. Reports were to hand that the India Government had been advised that their action was untenable and they had made use of Gandhi's fast as a face-saving device to undo the wrong they had already done. It would be sufficient if we were to say in our press communique that we would do our best to create an atmosphere of understanding between the two Dominions and to strive to prevent our relations from deteriorating.

DECISION

The Cabinet agreed that the draft press communique[3] should be issued subject to the Quaid-i-Azam's prior approval being obtained, particularly as to the form of the last disapproved paragraph of the communique.

[1]See the *Dawn*, 16 January 1948.

[2]India had informed Pakistan that it was not possible to supply cash and military stores, according to the recently concluded financial settlement, which might be used against India in the Kashmir War. See *US National Archives*, 745. 45 F. /1-248, 2 January 1948. Not printed.

[3]Issued on 19 January. See the *Dawn*, 20 January 1948.

39

M. N. Kotwal to F. Amin

F. 85/4

JEHANGIR KOTHARI BUILDING,
DENSO HALL,
KARACHI, NO. 1,
21 January 1948

Dear Mr. Amin,

With reference to your letter dated the 12th instant,[1] I enclose herein the Special Power of Attorney[2] duly attested by me in advance as a

Notary Public and shall thank you to request the Quaid-i-Azam to sign the same at the place marked 'X' in pencil and to fill up the date for which blank space is left in the last line and to initial the correction appearing on page 1 line 6 from the bottom of the said page 1. I regret I could not send the document earlier as no notarial stamps were available at the Stamp Office for a fortnight. I also enclose herein a copy of the said Power of Attorney for your office record.

Yours sincerely,
M. N. KOTWAL
B.A., LL.B.
Solicitor, Advocate & Notary Public

[1]F. 85/3, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]In the carbon copy of Special Power of Attorney, portions of the document are missing. See F. 85/5-6, *QAP*. Not printed.

40

Reply by M. A. Jinnah to U Pe Kin's Speech

F. 125-GG/17-9

21 January 1948

Your Excellency,

It gives me great pleasure to receive you[1] today in your capacity as the first Ambassador of the Union of Burma to Pakistan.

Your Excellency is no stranger to us as you have already been here for some months as the High Commissioner for Burma.[2] The leaders and the people of Burma are also no strangers to us as in the past, history had brought our destinies together. With the great changes that took place on the 15th August 1947, geography has also brought our future closely together as the borders of Your Excellency's great country are contiguous for hundreds of miles with the borders of Pakistan. As I had said in my message[3] to the President of the Union of Burma, the attainment of complete independence by Your Excellency's country on the fourth of this month gave us in Pakistan the greatest pleasure as it marked the culmination of a process which was initiated in this very sub-continent.

I have no doubt that, as in the past, in future also the many bonds that exist between the Union of Burma and Pakistan will be strengthened to the mutual advantage of both countries. I hope that these two lands, both

ancient in history but both on the road to a new and high destiny, will strive with energy to establish a lasting era of progress and peace.

I welcome Your Excellency's assurance to discharge your duties in such a manner as may best conduce to the lasting benefit of both peoples. I am glad to note that during your short term of office as High Commissioner in Pakistan you have received every assistance from Pakistan. I have no doubt that in the future also these good relations will continue and I assure you of our co-operation with your Government.

On behalf of the Government and people of Pakistan, I once more extend to Your Excellency a most cordial welcome.

[1]See Enclosure to No. 35.
[2]The King had approved conversion of the Burmese High Commission into an Embassy from 4 January 1948. See F. 125-GG/7. Not printed.
[3]No. 1.

41

Jamiluddin Ahmad[1] to M. A. Jinnah

F. 25 (Part II)-GG/259-60

JAMSHED ROAD 4, 110 C. R. DAS ROAD,
BUNDAR ROAD EXTENSION,
KARACHI,
21 January 1948

Quaid-i-Azam,

I hope you have not forgotten me. I arrived here from Aligarh on the 18th instant on my way to Multan where I have to take up an appointment in the West Punjab Educational Service. I will be leaving here on the 26th instant.

I am very desirous, if it is at all possible, to pay my respects to you. Having come only very recently from the Indian Union, I would very much like to give you a first-hand appreciation of the situation there, particularly in reference to the Muslims whose well-being I know is very close to your heart. There are some other important points relating to the inter-dominion situation and the future of Pakistan about which I wish to place my views before you. May I, therefore, request you to grant me an interview on any date and time before the 26th instant. I am anxious to have this opportunity as it would be difficult for me in the near future to go out of Multan. I am emboldened to ask for this favour by the thought

that as a humble and loyal follower I have always been the recipient of the utmost consideration, kindness and encouragement from you.

Yours respectfully,
JAMILUDDIN AHMAD
ex-Convenor, Committee of Writers, AIML

[1]Formerly Professor of English at the Muslim University, Aligarh. He later edited *Speeches and Writings of Jinnah*, Vols. I & II, Lahore, 1960 & 1976, and other works.

42

F. Amin to Mrs. A. A. Quraishi[1]

F. 120 (Vol. IV)-GG/256

22 January 1948

Dear Madam,

I am desired by the Quaid-i-Azam to acknowledge the receipt of your letter[2] and to say that he sympathises with you in your sufferings. I am further to add that with regard to the allotment of a quarter your husband should apply to the Railway authorities directly.

Yours faithfully,
F. AMIN

Mrs. A. A. Quraishi,
Railway Quarter No. 306 A,
Quetta

[1]Her name was Bilqis Jamal Naz.
[2]F. 120 (Vol. IV)-GG/758-61. Not printed.

43

M. A. Jinnah to Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi

F. 157/90

22 January 1948

Dear Sir,

I find that 28 cheques and drafts which I had sent you from time to time for realization and crediting to Pakistan Fund account are still lying outstanding in my books. I am enclosing herewith[1] a detailed list with full particulars of such cheques and drafts, and shall be obliged if you furnish me with full information as to whether you have received these cheques and drafts, and whether any or all of them have been

realized and credited to Pakistan Fund account.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Agent,
Habib Bank Ltd.,
Chandni Chowk,
Delhi

[1]F. 157/42-3, *QAP*. Not printed.

44

M. A. Jinnah to Habib Bank Ltd., Delhi

F. 157/91

22 January 1948

Dear Sir,

According to our arrangment you had been sending to me the daily statement of account of Pakistan Fund, and the last statement that I received from you is of 27th August 1947,[1] after which I think owing to the disturbances, you had to discontinue it. The Pakistan Fund account is [*sic* for was] transferred to your Karachi Branch on 9th October 1947, and, therefore, I want now the daily statement of Pakistan Fund from 28th August 1947 to 8th October 1947,[2] when you have actually transferred the account, which please send me at your earliest.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]See F. 156/316-7, *QAP*. Not printed. Total amount collected up to 27 August was Rs. 4,65,693-12-8.
[2]See F. 156/318-27, ibid. Not printed.

45

F. Amin to Deane Dickason

F. 120 (Vol. IV)-GG/223-5

22 January 1948

Dear Sir,

I am glad to receive your letter of the 1st January 1948,[1] and to note that you have taken so much interest in a matter which by an average man, and especially a Westerner, is not considered to be of much importance.

2. The words "Muslim" and "Islam" have been derived from the Arabic root *"Salm"* which means peace and surrender. Islam, therefore, means surrender and submission to the will of God (*Qur'an* 2:112) and a Muslim means one who surrenders himself to His will (*Qur'an* 2:136); and since God is the ultimate spiritual basis of all life, submission to the will of God virtually amounts to man's submission to his own ideal nature. Technically, Islam means the will of God as revealed to Muhammad [Peace Be Upon Him]—the last of the Prophets to whom His will was revealed—and Muslim means a follower of Islam.

Muhammad [PBUH] was not a founder of a religion: he simply delivered the message of God to mankind. He himself believed in and followed that message—Islam—and was, therefore, the first of the Muslims (*Qur'an* 6:164). It is, therefore, utterly wrong to call the religion preached by Muhammad [PBUH] as Muhammadanism and the followers of that religion as Muhammadans. Europe coined these terms following the practice prevalent among the followers of other religions which take their name either after the name of the one whom they consider its founder—as Christianity or Buddhism—or the name of the people who follow that religion—as Hinduism or Judaism.

It will thus be observed that by the very use of the terms "Islam" and "Muslims", Islam has clearly defined the exact position of the Holy Prophet in the domain of religion—he was only a messenger of God and not the founder of any religion. Muslims including the first of them—Muhammad [PBUH] himself—obey only God and not any man, whoever he may be.

The correct pronunciation is "Muslim" and not Moslem.

Yours faithfully,
F. AMIN

Deane Dickason, Esq.,
Fairmont Hotel,
San Francisco 6,
California, U.S.A.

[1]No. 2.

46

Abdul Qaiyum Khan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 47-GG/15

PESHAWAR,
No. 1495 RP-2/V *23 January 1948*

Food position here most desperate. Only four days supply left. This situation due to neglect, despite reminders, on part of supplying areas. Allotments amounting to 900 tons wheat, 670 tons maize and 200 tons *jawar* from Bahawalpur against December quota have not yet arrived. 375 tons *atta* from Sindh for which advance payment was made in November and balance 1535 tons wheat against January quota have not been despatched. 3000 tons rice was allotted from Punjab in November but Punjab replied on 15 January that supply was not possible till February. MINFAH [Ministry of Food Agriculture and Health] requested telegraphically on 13 January for alloting 20,000 maunds wheat *atta* for Peshawar rationing area to avoid breakdown in rationing but nothing heard in reply. Request MINFAH Karachi be directed[1] to despatch foodgrains immediately by special trains to avert disaster and possible riots.

ABDUL QAIYUM KHAN
Premier, NWFP

Copy forwarded by F. Amin to the Ministry of Food for necessary action.

47

Address by M. A. Jinnah at H.M.P.S. Dilawar

F. 204-GG/5-6

23 January 1948

Gentlemen,

The First World War of 1914-18 was fought to end war. Its horrors quickened the conscience of the world and set statesmen thinking to devise ways and means of outlawing war. This led to the birth of the League of Nations[1] and the idea of collective security, but the League of Nations proved only a pious hope. It failed to avert World War II. The destruction caused by the First World War pales into insignificance as

compared to the devastation and havoc resulting from the last World War and now with the discovery of the Atom Bomb, one shudders to think of the pattern of future wars. The war-weary humanity is watching with fear and hope the evolution of the United Nations Organisation,[2] for on its ability to successfully deal with the causes of war and threats to world peace will depend the salvation of mankind and the future of civilisation. Pakistan, which has been recently admitted to the United Nations Organisation, will do everything in its power to strengthen the Organisation and help it in the achievement of the ideals which have been set up as its goal. While giving the fullest support to the principles of the United Nations Charter we cannot afford to neglect our defences. However strong the United Nations Organization might be, the primary responsibility for the defence of our country will rest with us and Pakistan must be prepared for all eventualities and dangers. The weak and the defenceless, in this imperfect world, invite aggression from others. The best way in which we can serve the cause of peace is by removing the temptation from the path of those who think that we are weak and therefore they can bully or attack us. That temptation can only be removed if we make ourselves so strong that nobody dare entertain any aggressive designs against us. Pakistan is still in its infancy and so is its Navy and other branches of the armed forces. But this infant means to grow up and God willing will grow up much sooner than many people think.

Everyone of you has an important role to play in strengthening the defence of the country and your watchwords should be faith, discipline and self-sacrifice. You will have to make up for the smallness of your size by your courage and selfless devotion to duty for it is not life that matters but the courage, fortitude and determination you bring to it.

I see some of you who constitute the bodyguard at present provided at the Governor-General's residence practically everyday. Today I see you in much larger numbers and I am greatly impressed by your bearing and turn-out. You must remember that your Headquarters, Karachi, the gate-way to western Pakistan, besides being the port of call of ships of other nations, is also on the air route from the West to the East. People from all over the globe pass through Karachi and the eyes of the world are on you. I trust that by your behaviour and deportment you will never let Pakistan down, but would keep up the best traditions of the service and maintain high the honour and prestige

of Pakistan as one of the greatest nations of the world.

[1]The international organization formed in January 1920 to promote cooperation and peace between nations. It proved helpless when faced with the rise of nationalism in Germany, Italy and Japan which led to World War II. It was formally dissolved in April 1946.
[2]The organization of sovereign states, created by the UN Charter drafted at Dumbarton Oaks in 1944 and adopted at San Francisco in 1945, committed to preserving peace and security in the world.

48

Address by M. A. Jinnah to the Karachi Bar Association on the Occasion of the Holy Prophet's Birthday[1]

KARACHI,
25 January 1948

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Governor-General of Pakistan, speaking at a reception given to him on the Holy Prophet's birthday by the Bar Association, Karachi, said that he could not understand a section of the people who deliberately wanted to create mischief and made propaganda that the Constitution of Pakistan would not be made on the basis of *Shari'at*. The Quaid-i-Azam said Islamic principles today are as applicable to life as they were 1, 300 years ago.

The Governor-General of Pakistan said that he would like to tell those who are misled—some are misled by propaganda—that not only the Muslims but also non-Muslims have nothing to fear.

Islam and its idealism have taught democracy. Islam has taught equality, justice and fair play to everybody. What reason is there for anyone to fear democracy, equality, freedom on the [*sic*] highest standard of integrity and on the basis of fair play and justice for everybody. Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah said: Let us make it the future constitution of Pakistan. We shall make it and we will show it to the world.

MARCH IN ONE FORMATION

Of provincialism, the Governor-General of Pakistan said that it was a disease and a curse. He added: I want the Muslims to get rid of the disease of provincialism. A nation can never make progress unless it marches in one formation. We are all Pakistanis and citizens of the State and we should serve, sacrifice and die for the State so that we may make it the most glorious and sovereign State in the world.

TRIBUTES TO THE PROPHET

The Quaid-i-Azam, speaking on this great and historic occasion, said: I thank you for welcoming me. I have known this Bar Association for a

considerable time. Today we have met here in a small body to pay tributes to the great man; for not only he has reverence of millions but also commands the respect of all the great men of the world. What tribute can I, a humble man, pay to this great man.

GREAT LAW-GIVER

The Prophet was a great teacher. He was a great law-giver. He was a great statesman and he was a great sovereign who ruled. No doubt, there are many people who do not quite appreciate when we talk of Islam.

Islam is not only a set of rituals, traditions and spiritual doctrines. Islam is also a code for every Muslim which regulates his life and his conduct in even politics and economics and the like. It is based on the highest principles of honour, integrity, fair play and justice for all. One God and the equality of manhood is one of the fundamental principles of Islam. In Islam there is no difference between man and man. The qualities of equality, liberty and fraternity are the fundamental principles of Islam.

The Governor-General of Pakistan observed that the life of the Prophet was simple according to those times. He was successful in everything that he put his hand to; from as a businessman to as a ruler. He said that the Prophet was the greatest man that the world had ever seen. Thirteen hundred years ago he laid the foundation of democracy.

[1]Khurshid Ahmed Khan Yusufi, ed., *Speeches, Statements & Messages of the Quaid-i-Azam*, Vol. IV, Lahore, 1996, 2669-70. (In subsequent documents this publication has been referred to as Yusufi, *speeches of Quaid-i-Azam*, volume No., page No.)

49

Ghulam Maseeh to M. A. Jinnah

F. 65 (Part II)-GG/328-31

24 LODGE ROAD,
OLD ANARKALI,
LAHORE,
26 January 1948

Pakistan Zindabad! Masscchistan Zindabad!

May it please Your Excellency!

On behalf of the Pakistan Isai Ittehad Federation, Lahore, I have the honour to draw Your Excellency's kind attention towards the 5,00,000 Christians inhabiting the West Punjab, who confidently hoped that Your Excellency shall graciously be pleased to pay considerate attention

to their following requests:

i. That the majority of the Christians in the West Punjab are the supporters of the Federation under my presidentship and voluntarily and faithfully offer their wholehearted cooperation unconditionally to the cause and welfare of Pakistan. I and my partymen cooperated with the Punjab Provincial Muslim League some 3 years back in the formation of the State of Pakistan and had to pass very difficult and trying times in the intervening period and thus possess an unblemished record of meritorious services. The Provincial League workers and the propaganda carried on by me in the press throughout can bear ample testimony to my statements. Now that our cherished goal Pakistan has been achieved, I humbly solicit that my Federation be recognised as the true representative body of the West Punjab Christians.

ii. That I have full confidence and faith in Your Excellency's leadership and I hope that Your Excellency will sympathetically consider over [*sic*] my appeal and thus afford me an opportunity of serving my Pakistan Government and my poor community to the best of my ability and efforts.

iii. That the followers of the Christ in the West Punjab have unanimously resolved and desired to have nothing to do with Mr. S. P. Singha, who is not their true representative, as he, during the days of Khizar Ministry, tried to put hindrances and obstacles in the way of the Muslim League and the Muslim interests and thus proved himself a traitor to the community. Mr. S. P. Singha has lost all confidence of the Christian masses. This man is selfish and always moves with the turning tide. The administrative officials of the Pakistan Government should not admit the so-called leadership of such a person on behalf of the Christians and no attachment of such a person be shown towards the Christians. The Christians shall prove their assertions in the next election, which shall be the correct reply to all the concoctions of Mr. S. P. Singha.

iv. It has been mutually decided by the Christians that by the end of March 1948, a historic conference of the Christians of Western Zone of Pakistan be held under the presidentship of the Hon'ble Prime Minister, Pakistan, wherein the 5,00,000 Christians of the Western Punjab, in order to give vent to their feelings of loyalty and devotion towards Pakistan desire to present an address written with their blood to Your Excellency. It is respectfully requested that Your Excellency be pleased to accept our humble invitation for participating in the said conference. The Christians in Pakistan are always prepared to shed their blood for the safety and protection of Pakistan. It is confidently hoped that Your Excellency will not disappoint or forsake the Christians and I request that I may very kindly be granted some date and time, most convenient to Your Excellency, so that I may have a personal interview to decide the dates for the said conference. I am also in correspondence with the Hon'ble Prime Minister, Pakistan, for obtaining his permission in the matter.

v. I shall be publishing a weekly newspaper named *Isai Leader*, and the

first paper shall be out within a few days. I solicit and await for [*sic*] Your Excellency's special message for this inaugural issue, for which I shall, as in duty bound, ever pray for Your Excellency's long life and prosperity.

I beg to subscribe myself,
Sir,
Your Excellency's most obedient servant,
GHULAM MASEEH
President,
Pakistan Isai Ittehad Federation

50

Reserve Bank of India to M. A. Jinnah

F. 83/156

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS DEPARTMENT,
RESERVE BANK OF INDIA,
BOMBAY No. 1,
27 January 1948

Dear Sir,

With reference to your letter No. 129-GG/48 dated the 6th instant,[1] we enclose herewith our Income Tax receipt No. A28 dated 26-1-1948 for Rs. 6,909-4-8.

Please acknowledge receipt.

Yours faithfully,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
p. Manager

[1]Not traceable.

Enclosure to No. 50

F. 83/157

[No.] A 28

RESERVE BANK OF INDIA,
BOMBAY,
26 January 1948

RECEIPT TO BE GIVEN TO THE PAYER

Received the sum of Rs. six thousand nine hundred and nine, four *annas* and eight *pies* only (Rs. 6909-4-8) being advance payment of tax

under Sec. 18-A of the Income Tax Act made by M. A. Jinnah, Esq., Karachi.

[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
p. Manager

51

M. A. Khuhro to M. A. Jinnah

F. 167 (3)-GG/18-20

SIND PREMIER'S SECRETARIAT,
BLOCK 12, NAPIER BARRACKS,
KARACHI,
28 January 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

In deference to your wishes, I sent clear line telegrams yesterday to my colleagues to return to Karachi immediately, so as to be present at the Pakistan Cabinet meeting on the 29th instant. In response to my urgent summons, Mir Ghulam Ali has already arrived. I have not as yet heard from Pir Illahi Baksh, as he is at his village, Bhan, which is about 40 miles away from Dadu. In all probability, he will not be able to come to Karachi by tomorrow, as I understand that no train will be arriving in Karachi from Dadu until Friday. I am not sure of the arrival of Kazi Fazlullah too.

2. With regard to the refugee problem, I have been discussing it with the other members of the sub-committee formed under your directions. We met yesterday afternoon and also today; and I venture to express the hope that we have arrived at a satisfactory solution, except one point raised by Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, which could be discussed later.

3. I regret to have to complain against the attitude of the Punjab Government in their not adhering to the conditions agreed upon between them and the Sind Government with regard to the manner of sending their refugees for resettlement in this province. We had been given categorical assurances that these refugees would move in foot-convoys with their cattle and agricultural implements. But now the Punjab Government have gone back on these assurances and are sending the agriculturist refugees by special trains, without their cattle and agricultural implements. This will make the problem of resettling them almost impossible of solution, because we have only a small number of bullocks which we can purchase only at high prices. But we have

today discussed and decided to purchase as many as we could. Without bullocks, these refugees will find it beyond their power to undertake any agricultural operations, and the Sind Government will be faced with the prospect of having to keep them idle on Government charity. This in turn will make the problem of maintenance of law and order more difficult as large numbers of uprooted and desperate people will be tempted to take the law into their own hands in order to escape from their sense of idleness.

4. With regard to the question of locating the capital of Pakistan permanently at Karachi, I have discussed with my Finance Secretary, the administrative and financial consequences to Sind of such a decision. The loss which will be suffered by us in annual revenues and on account of having to give up our buildings, institutions and such other assets will run into several crore. This question will have to be studied in adequate detail, and as soon as this is done, I shall lose no time in discussing it in all its ramifications with the sub-committee set up by the Pakistan Government.

5. I would like to assure you that my Government will give the utmost cooperation to the Government of Pakistan in all matters. A wrong impression seems to have been created that we in Sind look upon the Pakistan Government as something alien to us. I would like to state categorically that we regard ourselves as a part of it and we shall not discriminate between the two in giving our loyal cooperation.

6. I may here respectfully point out that I have received telegrams that looting and murders have taken place in Larkana and the Rohri Division of Sukkur Dist., where a state of general lawlessness seems to prevail. In one encounter, policemen have been killed. In order to control the situation, I have had to convene a conference on the 30th instant at Jacobabad, to which the District officers of the three Upper Sind Districts have been asked to come. I would, therefore, request your permission to go and attend this conference. I shall have to leave from here on the 29th by noon at the latest in order to be there in time as it is nearly 400 miles away. I am returning to Karachi within two days, i.e. on Sunday. I and my colleagues would like to see you on Monday the 2nd or Tuesday the 3rd as it suits you. We shall also meet the sub-committee of the Pakistan Government to discuss the question of locating the permanent capital, at their earliest convenience. For reasons stated above, it will not be possible for all the Sind Ministers to

jointly meet the Pakistan Cabinet tomorrow.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. KHUHRO

52

Mir Dost Mohammed Ahmedzai to M. A. Jinnah[1]

F. 120 (Vol. IV)-GG/311-2
[Original in Urdu]

MOTI RAM ROAD,
QUETTA,
28 January 1948

May you live as long as the Jupiter keeps orbiting the sun; may we benefit from you, and you from your long life. I am willing to sacrifice myself for the sake of Your Exalted Highness the Quaid-i-Azam.

After paying my respects, may I submit that we the Muslims of Pakistan have been blessed by God Almighty with as benign a leader as you, our Quaid-i-Azam. It is because of you that the land bestowed by God, Pakistan, is the recipient of physical and financial assistance from Muslims the world over. There has never been, and probably never will be, another instance of brutalities on so large a scale and within so short a period of time, as those inflicted on the citizens of this land. But at the same time your patience, forbearance and tolerance know no bounds. God willing, the infidels will never be able to blow out the lamp of Pakistan. Under your protection, God-bestowed Pakistan will shine brighter than the sun and the poor and hapless like us will prosper and become richer with knowledge, trade and industry. By the grace of God, Pakistan will remain a thorn in the flesh of the infidels.

God Almighty has granted your morning prayer and He is giving all support to you.

With regards,

Lover of Pakistan, a prince (at present poor),
HAJI MIR DOST MOHAMMED AHMEDZAI
s/o late Mir Khudadad Khan
ex-His Highness the Ruler[2] *of Kalat State*

[1]The letter was acknowledged by F. Amin. See F. 120 (Vol IV)-GG/310. Not printed
[2]Also see Enclosure 3 to No. 155, Vol. I, Part I, para III, 297.

53

Gulab Khan Mahsud Shingi to Jamal el-Husseni[1]
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

Telegram, F. 106-GG/24

TANK,
28 January 1948

I with twenty thousand armed Mahsud tribesmen ready to fight for our first *Ka'ba* [and] holy land of Pakistan. At your disposal when required.[2]

GULAB KHAN MAHSUD SHINGI

[1]President, Arab Higher Committee, Cairo.
[2]Jinnah thanked him for the offer made. See F 106-GG/25. Not printed.

54

Z. A. Khan to F. Amin

F. 204-GG/11

KARACHI,
?8 January 1948

My dear Amin,

I enclose an address which the proprietor of the Bengal Oil Mills proposes to present to the Quaid-i-Azam on the occasion of the opening ceremony of their mills.

Yours sincerely,
Z. A. KHAN

Enclosure to No. 54
Address of Welcome Presented to M. A. Jinnah and Miss Fatima Jinnah[1] *by Mohamed Ali Mohamed Bengali*

F. 204-GG/12-5

KARACHI,
[*2 February 1948*]

Your Excellency Quaid-i-Azam, Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a matter of very great pleasure to us, and we are sure to you all, to find revered Quaid-i-Azam amongst us all, to perform the opening ceremony of our humble concern, the Bengal Oil Mills, Karachi. We whole-heartedly welcome Quaid-i-Azam in today's function.

Our connection with Quaid-i-Azam dates back from the time Quaid-i-Azam became the President[2] of the Muslim League, and we were plying our business as timber merchants at Bombay. From that time we came to know him. We have developed a fondness and a very high regard for Quaid-i-Azam.

Having devoted our whole life at Bombay as timber merchants, albeit on a fairly large scale, the present enterprise is a novel one to us and we must frankly admit the credit thereof, to a very large extent, goes to some of our friends who had given us an idea of starting industrial concerns in Sind, saying that there was vast scope for such concerns and assuring us at the same time that the Governments of Pakistan and Sind look favourably upon development of such enterprises and will sincerely cooperate with us and provide us all sorts of legitimate facilities.

It was this assurance that has attracted us and numerous other brethren of ours to initiate industrial and other commercial projects in Pakistan as a result whereof, Ladies and Gentlemen, you must have felt that the void deliberately created to economically strangle Pakistan has been more than filled up, and today if you happen to pass through the business quarters of Karachi and other chief cities of Pakistan, you will find that they are more crowded, active and transacting much more business than they did ever before.

It is a fact, Ladies and Gentlemen, that a fairly good portion of Muslim new-comers hail from our province Kathiawar, though there are a good many others from Punjab, Delhi, Ajmer and other parts of India and native States. We are talking today of our province of

Kathiawar as we have personal knowledge about it. The tragic circumstances under which we all had to come[3] and seek protection in Sind are well-known and need not be repeated. Kathiawar abounds in more than 200 native States, big as well as small, and the States Department of the Government of India functions there.

We are taking this opportunity of publicly thanking the Pakistan and Sind Governments for giving us—the oppressed of Kathiawar—this protection and on our behalf, we assure the Governments of Pakistan and Sind, that enterprising as the Muslims of Kathiawar are, they will never be a liability but always an asset to Pakistan.

Our humble concern, The Bengal Oil Mills, today is the second biggest in Karachi of its type and has a capacity to supply toilet and all other kinds of soap and also all kinds of cooking oil to the whole of Sind and even to the whole of Pakistan, if it succeeds in obtaining due encouragement and cooperation and legitimate facilities from Sind and Pakistan Governments, and we have every hope that these will be forthcoming. In our humble opinion, formation of Advisory Committees or Boards consisting of officials and representatives of industrialists, with adequate powers to develop and safeguard interests of industrialists, will go a great way towards encouraging and establishing industries in Pakistan.

The question of refugees has been a very difficult problem and we think, however great the efforts in other directions may be, the problem could not be satisfactorily tackled without industrialising the country, and thereby absorbing these refugees. Being businessmen ourselves, we know the inner working of the mind of our class and, given suitable opportunities and genuine cooperation, we dare say we shall succeed in due course in industrialising Pakistan and thus shall contribute our quota towards the solution of many problems of the newly born Pakistan including the knotty problem of refugees.

Today, the Muslims of India are really in distress. Many erstwhile opulent Muslims having been robbed, deprived of their money, and belongings, have become penniless and helpless.

We thank God Almighty that we are through Providence saved their pitiable plight but we cannot afford to neglect Muslim brothers of ours, wherever they may be, who have thus been victimised. Revered Quaid-i-Azam has very timely started a fund named Quaid-i-Azam Relief Fund and it has proved to be very opportune and useful. He has thereby earned praise and prayers of thousands of refugees. We are poor men and have done our bit in the past. We cannot allow

this opportunity to slip as we consider this occassion to be a very appropriate one. We are men in ordinary circumstances of life. All the same, considering the gravity of the situation and the need of the Muslim refugees, we humbly beg to lay at the disposal of Quaid-i-Azam an amount of Rs. 25000 to be our humble contribution towards this Fund and we request Quaid-i-Azam to oblige us by accepting our humble quota.

Now, Quaid-i-Azam, let me request you to kindly perform the opening ceremony of our humble concern with your auspicious hands.

[1]For Jinnah's reply, see No. 65.
[2]Jinnah became the Muslim League President for the first time in December 1916 for one year. Later, he held that office continuously from October 1937 till February 1948.
[3]Indian troops entered Manavadar on 23 October 1947 and Junagadh on 9 November. See F. 124 (4)-GG/13-4 & F. 124 (8)-GG/74-5. Not printed.

55

Altaf Husain to F. Amin

F. 65 (3)-GG/12

KARACHI,
29 January 1948

Dear Mr. Amin,

I enclose herewith the relevant pages from the American magazine *Life* of January 5,[1] about which I spoke to you. I did not send this earlier because I wanted to write a letter about it to the Chief Editor of the paper, which I have done now and sent by Pan-American air freight. A copy of my letter is also enclosed.[2]

After the Quaid-i-Azam has seen it, kindly send it on to the Secretary of the Information Department who actually asked me to send these cuttings to him direct. These cuttings are from the American edition of *Life* and not from the international edition which does not appear to have published this stuff.

I also enclose a telegram[3] from our correspondent in Washington, Alfred Wagg, suggesting that the Quaid-i-Azam should give a recorded talk for the American people. The Foreign Secretary tells me

that a similar suggestion from another quarter is being considered and the American request will be dealt with similarly.

Yours sincerely,
ALTAF HUSAIN
[*Editor,*] *Dawn*

Enclsoure 1.
Enclosure 2.
See F. 65 (3)-GG/16. Not printed.

Enclosure 1 to No. 55

PAKISTAN STRUGGLES FOR SURVIVAL[1]

Religious Warfare and Economic Chaos Threaten the Newly Born Nation of 70 Million Muslims

In the rugged hills near Pakistan's northern border last week, turbaned Muslim tribesmen fought pitched battles with regular Indian army troops. Across the new Moslem nation trains pounded over the rickety railroads collecting arms and volunteers for the tribal raids into the neighboring state of Kashmir. The Muslim League newspaper *Dawn* referred to the raiders in Kashmir as the "Liberation Army" and New Delhi announcements as "enemy communiques." Yet in the Pakistan capital at Karachi the country's creator-dictator, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, calmly insisted that it was none of his doing.

This seemed a strange claim when daily reports told of frequent Pakistani casualties and when Jinnah himself publicly denounced Kashmir's ruling prince for putting a predominantly Muslim State under Hindu India's protection. But what it meant was simple enough—Jinnah still had no real national program for Pakistan except the incitation of fanatic Moslem zeal.

If this led some of his 70 million followers to rush off to war and the rest to rally through the cities crying, "Free Kashmir!" the Quaid-i-Azam (Great Leader) could not help it. There had to be some outlet for whipped-up Moslem emotions, and occasional army reviews and establishment of Internal Security Guards[2] was hardly enough.

Yet Pakistan dared not risk and could not sustain a substantial military operation. In the division of British India, Pakistan got a regular army which now numbers some 150,000 men, but Hindu India got even more troops and almost all the ordnance factories and most of the ammunition stores. Provoking India into full-fledged hostilities might mean national suicide.

The Kashmir fighting was only the natural outgrowth of Jinnah's bitter seven-year campaign to force the Muslims and the Hindus apart.

Now that he had signally succeeded, Jinnah seemed to have little or no realization of the frightful economic consequences his infant country faced. For the most part he remained in absolute seclusion, emerging only occasionally to denounce the villainous Hindu for all of Pakistan's many ills.

Yet Pakistan desperately needed India's textile mills to process its cotton, India's capital to develop its resources and India's industrial know-how to supplement its faith in *Allah* and the leadership of Jinnah. Powerful though that faith might be, it would not provide Pakistan with a workable economic system. Last week as the tragic division between Pakistan and India increased and as the 72-year old Jinnah grew sicker, it became apparent that Pakistan not only might lose its battle for survival but might also lose its leader as well.

Life, 5 January 1948. Photographs by Margaret Bourke-White not printed.
[2]Pakistan National Guard was established through an Ordinance, promulgated on 2 November 1947. See the *Pakistan Times*, 4 November 1947.

Enclosure 2 to No. 55
Altaf Husain to Henry R. Luce

F. 65 (3)-GG/13-15

KARACHI,
28 January 1948

Dear Mr. Luce,

Life, January 5, publishes some excellent pictures of Pakistan by Miss Bourke-White, but alongside appears a story[1] which is painful reading. It contains statements regarding our country and our leader which are not true. Believing that the injury done to Pakistan by *Life's* article was unintentional, I write this letter to you for such use as you may choose to make of its contents.

Dawn is referred to as if it were the mouthpiece of Mr. Jinnah. This is incorrect. *Dawn* is not the organ of Jinnah or of the Pakistan Government or of the political party in power, the Muslim League. This has been repeatedly made clear by Mr. Jinnah himself. *Dawn* is an independent organ of national opinion.

Life tells its readers by innuendo that because some tribesmen are fighting in Kashmir, because *Dawn* refers to the forces of the *Azad* (Free) Kashmir Government as the "Liberation Army", the situation in Kashmir is of Mr. Jinnah's "doing". Since *Life* published that story the representatives of Pakistan and India have presented their respective viewpoints before the U.N. Security Council and I need not go over the same ground again. But I would say this:

Long before Pearl Harbour,[2] important sections of the American press took sides in the European War, condemned the Nazis as aggressors and gave the fullest moral support to the victims of Hitler's aggression. There was the Neutrality Act[3] and its arms embargo, but believing that "an Allied victory was essential to the security of the United States," Mr. Roosevelt[4] sent all possible material help to France and Britain. Would it be fair to say, from this, that World War II was "Roosevelt's doing"? Jinnah and his Government have indeed done far less in Kashmir.

Life calls Jinnah Pakistan's "Creator-Dictator". Creator he undoubtedly is, dictator he is not. His powers as the country's Governor-General are derived from two Acts of the British Parliament; the Government of India Act, 1935 and the Indian Independence Act, 1947. In the other Dominion, Mountbatten has the same powers. If Jinnah's personal advice is heeded better by his Cabinet than Mountbatten's possibly is by the Indian Cabinet, it is because Jinnah is to the nation born and is the nation's maker, while Mountbatten is a foreigner in the land he still constitutionally governs.

But here is *Life's* unkindest cut—"Jinnah still had no real national programme for Pakistan except the incitation of fanatic Muslim zeal". We read plenty of such stuff in Indian newspapers and periodicals which are no friends of Pakistan, but to read it in a leading American magazine is strange. Jinnah has world-wide reputation of being incorruptible. His intellectual powers are widely recognised. Does it stand to reason that such a man having founded a State for his people would proceed forthwith to destroy it by neglecting the work of national reconstruction and allowing fanaticism to run rampant? If you call this mere argument, may I give you some facts.

The Ministry of Health called together the health experts (Lahore, Nov. 10) and drew up the country's health blueprint; the Ministry of Education got together the educational experts (Karachi, Nov. 28) and drew up the educational blueprint; the Ministry of Commerce and Industries got together industrial experts, technical advisers, and businessmen (Karachi, Dec. 13) and something is happening there too. The Ministry of Defence has reorganised the armed forces out of an initial state of almost chaos following partition and the communal disturbances, reduced the British elements to the absolute minimum and drawn up a three-year plan of complete Pakistanisation. Other Ministries are not idle either. And

Pakistan is not yet six months old! Not all of us are well satisfied with the progress achieved, and *Dawn* has given the Government many a rap over the knuckles for this, but *Life's* "no real national programme" charge was undeserved.

Life presents a gloomy picture of Pakistan's economic future and warns foreign investors off by telling them: "the risks are not very attractive". Let me tell you this. We have more than enough food, so we shall not starve; we have plenty of exportable cotton, so we shall bring back enough in textile imports or make enough cloth by and by, so as not to go naked; we have, as *Life* admits,[5] 72.3 per cent. (actually more) of a virtual world monopoly in jute, so we shall have plenty of foreign exchange to pay for essential consumer goods to carry on. Above all, we have the will to survive and make good.

That we shall survive let no one doubt. How rapid is our industrial progress will certainly depend on what co-operation in the development of our tremendous natural resources we get from those who are in a position to co-operate—not out of altruism, but for mutual benefit. If the propaganda of our enemies (so powerfully supported by *Life*) succeeds in keeping foreign investors away despite the tremendous possibilities of such investment, we shall get along all the same, slower but sure enough. It is not that we have not capital of our own, what we need most are capital goods. Whether we get them from the United States or from elsewhere, whether we get them in two years or in ten, get them we will eventually.

Finally, we are by no means a perfect people. We have our faults and much leeway to make up in many directions. Our backwardness is due, in large measure, to British imperialist policy; in some measure we are ourselves responsible for it. But we know our faults and we are striving to make good. All we say is that we are much more sinned against than sinning.

Some three months ago Pakistan asked[6] India to make a joint approach to the United Nations or to some other neutral body to send out observers who could tell us both where and how much we each erred. India said 'no'. Our representative has placed all our cards on the table at Lake Success. Would we be so anxious for the world to come and catch us out if we were so utterly wicked? *Life* and the

Americans can draw their own conclusions.

Yours sincerely,
ALTAF HUSAIN
Editor, the Dawn

Henry R. Luce, Esq.,
Editor-in-Chief, *Life*,
Time and Life Building,
Rockefeller Center,
New York 20, N.Y., U.S.A.

[1]Enclosure 1 to No. 55.
[2]Site of the U.S. naval base in Hawaii which was attacked by Japan on 7 December 1941, drawing the United States into World War II.
[3]U.S. law.
[4]Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States (1933-45).
[5]*Life*, 5 January 1948, 18.
[6]See Enclosure to No. 277, Vol. V, 270-1.

56

Abdul Qaiyum Khan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 47-GG/16

MOST IMMEDIATE
No. 1979/83/RP. 1/2

PESHAWAR,
30 January 1948

My telegram No. 1495/RP/2/4 of 23/1/48.[1] In spite of MINFAH Karachi telegram of 24[2] saying order already issued for despatch rice by special train and release 1535 tons wheat from Karachi for immediate milling and despatch, nothing has reached so far making position extremely grave and explosive. Acute shortage all over Province and trouble already brewing in Khyber and matter may come to head any time. Regarding despatch of 1535 tons *atta* and three thousand tons rice, Sindh according to information insist on prepayment. Due to banking difficulties, transfer of credit to Sindh for prepayment may take time. Our credit of one crore and twenty-five lakh with Imperial Bank Bombay is to be transferred through Peshawar to Karachi. Situation cannot brook delay. Frontier Govt. can be trusted at least in such emergencies. Unless grains are rushed by special trains breakdown sure. Repercussions in that case can best be imagined. Grateful if total quota moved immediately without waiting for prepayment. In addition 375 tons of wheat outstanding with Sind Govt. since November

for which payment amounting to over one lakh thirty thousand made in October. Sind neither acknowledging receipt of money nor moving *atta*. Our telegram 870/71/AC/287/11 dated January 15[3] to MINFAH Karachi refers. Grateful if this quota is also immediately moved to Controller, Rations, Peshawar.[4]

[2]No. 46.
[2&3]Not traceable.
[4]Copy sent by F. Amin to the Ministry of Food for necessary action, on 30 January 1948, under intimation to the Prime Minister of Pakistan and the Premier of Sindh.

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Abdul Qaiyum Khan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 47-GG/17

No. 1996/2000/W/RP/2 PESHAWAR,
30 January 1948

Continuation my telegram No. 1979/83 of thirtieth January.[1] Imperial Bank Peshawar has instructed today Imperial Bank Karachi to open credit for twenty-six lakh to be operated upon by Khan Sahib Sh. Abdul Hamid Khan, Food Secy., NWFP for payment to Sind Govt. against purchase of wheat *atta* or gram. Grateful if despatching of foodgrains is not delayed a day longer.[2]

[1]No. 56.
[2]Copy sent by S. M. Yusuf to the Ministry of Food for immediate action, on 31 January 1948, under diary No. 462-GG/48.

58

Statement by M. A. Jinnah on the Assassination of Mr. Gandhi[1]

30 January 1948

I am shocked to learn of the most dastardly attack on the life of Mr. Gandhi, resulting in his death. There can be no controversy in the face of death.

Whatever our political differences, he was one of the greatest men produced by the Hindu community, and a leader who commanded their universal confidence and respect.

I wish to express my deep sorrow, and sincerely sympathize with the great Hindu community and his family in their bereavement at

this momentous, historical and critical juncture so soon after the birth of freedom and freedom for Hindustan and Pakistan.

The loss to the Dominion of India is irreparable, and it will be very difficult to fill the vacuum created by the passing away of such a great man at this moment.

[1]Yusufi, *Speeches of Quaid-i-Azam*, IV, 2671.

59

The Gazette of Pakistan Extraordinary

F. 111-GG/5

No. 36/48-PUBLIC MINISTRY OF INTERIOR (HOME DIVISION),
KARACHI,
31 January 1948

In exercise of the powers conferred by Section 25 of the Negotiable Instruments Act (Act XXVI of 1881), it has been decided to observe Saturday, the 31st January 1948, as a closed holiday throughout the Pakistan Dominion on account of Mr. Gandhi's sad death.

MOH[AMMA]D MUKHTAR
for Deputy Secretary

60

M. A. Jinnah to Louis Mountbatten

Telegram, F. 111-GG/4

IMMEDIATE *31 January 1948*

I am shocked at the tragic death of Mr. Gandhi and send you, the Government and the people of India my deepest sympathy. I share the sorrow of the people of India in the loss of their great leader.[1]

M. A. JINNAH

[1]Also see Annex.

Annex to No. 60
Charles W. Lewis, Jr. to George Marshall

US National Archives, 845.00/2-248

CONFIDENTIAL

AMERICAN EMBASSY,
KARACHI,
2 February 1948

Sir,

I have the honor to refer to my telegram No. 53 of January 31, 1948,[1] reporting the reaction in Pakistan to the death of Mr. Gandhi and to reaffirm the belief expressed in that telegram that his death was a source of genuine sorrow and regret in this country. Besides the tributes paid to him by Mr. Jinnah and other prominent Muslims in public life, the newspaper *Dawn* extolled his virtues and rendered him deep respect, as did countless persons in private life.

2. The news was stupefying, as no one imagined that Mr. Gandhi could ever be the object of such an attack as brought him to his sudden and tragic end. When the news first reached Karachi that Mr. Gandhi had been shot, it was not indicated whether the assassin was a Muslim or a Hindu, and until it was ascertained that the person who had committed the crime was not a Muslim there was a period of deep anxiety and fear amongst the Muslims here, as there undoubtedly was among the Muslims in India. A sigh of relief was breathed when the news came that the assassin was a Hindu.

3. Nevertheless, there continues to be great apprehension in Pakistan over the death of Mr. Gandhi, as there is a feeling here that with the removal of his stabilizing influence factional strife and even civil war may develop in India with serious repercussions on Pakistan. These repercussions may take the form of accentuated difficulties in the settlement of existing disputes and problems between the two Dominions and prolong the delay in the payment of the cash balances due to Pakistan, the transfer of military stores and the fulfilment of other obligations, if not a definite determination on the part of any new group which may come into power in India, not to comply with these obligations.

4. Serious concern is also felt for the millions of Muslims in India. Mr. Gandhi was regarded, particularly since his recent fast, as a protector of the Muslim minority in India, and his removal may have eliminated the one barrier standing in the way of a campaign to persecute the Muslim minority, or even to expel them from India. It is

recognized here that the expulsion of further millions of Muslims from India into Pakistan would swamp this country and would probably be more disastrous even than a war with India.

5. As regards the latter, there have from time to time ever since the creation of Pakistan been rumors and reports in circulation that Pakistan is planning to make war upon India. Such reports are believed to have emanated exclusively from Indian sources. Their authors are either totally unaware of the genuine feeling of the leaders and the people of Pakistan on that subject or have deliberately fabricated these reports for a malicious purpose, which conceivably might even include a certain psychological preparation in India for an attack by India on Pakistan under the guise of self defence. Pakistan is wholly unprepared to wage war on India, either of the blitz or any other kind, and the leaders, I am thoroughly convinced, have not the slightest desire to embark upon any such adventure. Pakistan needs peace and tranquillity to enable the Government to establish itself and to develop the economy of the country. I feel, therefore, that reports of this character should be regarded forthwith as being irresponsible and without any basis.

6. I might state, however, that there is a definite urge on the part of the tribes in tribal areas to engage in war with India, and so far it has only been the determination of the Government of Pakistan not to permit any such adventures that has prevented the tribesmen from proceeding to an effectuation of their desires. I believe that unless India first attacks Pakistan the Government of Pakistan will continue to exercise its influence to prevent the tribesmen from descending upon India and will, if necessary, actually use its military forces to prevent any such activities, excluding incursions of the tribesmen into Kashmir, which is not regarded as part of India. Even in that connection, however, I do not believe that Pakistan has aided and abetted to the degree reported by certain persons the activities of the tribesmen in their contacts with Kashmir. The tribesmen are very much worked up over the treatment of Muslims in Kashmir as they are over what they believe to be the murder of Muslims in India and would most certainly swarm into both areas if Pakistan should give them the slightest encouragement. The prospect that such encouragement will be given by the Government of Pakistan as regards an attack on India is so remote that it may, in my opinion, be disregarded. On the other hand, if India should have the temerity to attack this country the flood-gates of Baluchistan, the tribal areas and

the North-West Frontier would most certainly be immediately opened and probably no less than three hundred thousand riflemen would promptly join forces with the Pakistan army. How well they would fare in war with India would remain to be seen, but I have no doubt that when Patel and his henchmen speak of waging war on Pakistan they are not entirely oblivious of the fighting qualities of the men they will have to meet when they cross the Pakistan border.

7. Unless, therefore, militant elements in India, who may conceivably obtain control of the Government of that country now that Gandhi's restraining influence may have disappeared, become completely bereft of their senses, I hazard the belief that India will not dare to embark on open warfare with Pakistan. On the other hand, if it should continue to be the desire of the leaders in India to strangle and eventually destroy Pakistan by passive or semi-passive measures, a very effective method for the accomplishment of this purpose would be the wholesale expulsion of Muslims from India into this country. Pakistan is having serious difficulties in absorbing the six or seven million Muslim refugees who are already here, and there is little likelihood that the country could absorb any further millions without a complete breakdown of the nation's finances and economy. The result would be chaos entirely apart from widespread civil disturbances, which would be probable, as was demonstrated on a relatively small scale by the commotion and looting which occurred in Karachi early in January. That episode is but an indication of the things to come if Pakistan should be obliged to absorb further millions of Muslim refugees from India. Apprehension on this point has been frankly expressed to me from time to time by Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, by the Minister of Finance and several other Ministers, and it was re-emphasized again during the course of a luncheon which I had with the Prime Minister on January 31, the day following Mr. Gandhi's death. The Prime Minister and various other Ministers present on that occasion expressed what I believe to be their sincere regret over the death of Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi was their friend, and while they did not always see eye to eye with him, they nevertheless respected him and in many ways felt a deep personal attachment. Over and above this, however, is the fear, as previously indicated, that his passing may loose all kinds of evil forces in India which will have calamitous repercussions on Pakistan, perhaps the least of which would be open war on Pakistan, as this country would

then know exactly where it stands with India and might conceivably have an equal chance of survival.

CHARLES W. LEWIS, Jr.
Charge d'affaires a.i.

The Honorable the Secretary of State,
Washington

[1]*US National Archives*, 845.00/1-3148. Not printed.

61

M. A. Jinnah to Devdas Gandhi

Telegram, F. 111-GG/4

31 January 1948

Please accept my most sincere condolences on the tragic death of your revered father. Your loss is the loss of humanity. Pakistan joins you in mourning this loss.

M. A. JINNAH

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Umberto Terracini to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 111-GG/7
[*Original in Italian*]

ROME,
31 January 1948

The President of Parliament, Karachi
In the name of the Constituent Assembly of the Republic of Italy, I express my deep sorrow at the most tragic and brutal death of Mahatma Gandhi who worked for the liberty and progress of all the peoples of India without distinction and who fell a victim for that work.

UMBERTO TERRACINI
President of the Constituent Assembly

63

S. Rasool & Co. to S. M. Yusuf

F. 861/157

14 HALL ROAD,
LAHORE,
1 February 1948

Dear Sir,

We attach herewith a stamped receipt for Rs. 300,[1] being the audit fee for Bihar Relief Fund and Muslim League National Fund in full settlement of our bills.[2]

We shall be glad if you may place our humble thanks for his kindness in sending the cheque. We shall feel highly obliged if you may place our humble request before our respected Quaid-i-Azam to grant us a certificate of appreciation as regards the work performed by us in connection with the above audits.

Yours faithfully,
S. RASOOL & CO.
Registered Accountants

[1]F. 861/158, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]See No. 17, Vol. VI, 22.

64

Ashraf Ali Shah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. IV)-GG/420-21

[*Original in Urdu*]

GANJ BAKHSH SHAHJI KA PIRR,
HYDERABAD, SIND,
2 February 1948

Exalted Excellency, Voice of the Nation, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, may your honour and glory last for ever.

Very respectfully I am restating the memorable words uttered by you eight and a half years ago so that these are recorded for history and posterity. You had expressed the following views on hearing the details of Jaipur Jam'ia Masjid firing case from me in your room at

Bombay High Court in September 1939:

a. Although Britain is the leading power in the world, it is being disgraced by the Japanese by ordering stripping of British nationals for body search. Mr. Chamberlain,[1] the British Premier, is furious but is helpless because Hitler's forces are ready to pounce upon them. The British can do nothing, nor can they invade Japan.
b. The Congress Treasurer, Jamna Lal Bajaj, is in Jaipur Jail but the Congress, despite all its might, cannot get him released. The Congress has hundreds of workers like Jamna Lal Bajaj but they cannot cause any harm to Jaipur State. Muslims have very few sincere workers, besides me.
c. The bullets fired at the Muslims have pierced my heart. God willing, we will get power and secure justice for the Muslims. Go and give my message to Muslims of Rajputana that they should make their voice stronger and continue their legitimate struggle. We are bound to succeed.

Those were your prophetic words. You trusted God Who has given us power in the shape of Pakistan. Many thanks to Almighty.

Although my beard has turned grey, yet I have not forgotten that important moment and your words are still reverberating in my ears. This meeting was arranged by your property secretary, Mr. Ghulam Ali Jamal Mistry of Bombay. Today we are your loyal and obedient subjects and you are our beloved Governor-General.

In my life I had the patronage of your sincere friends like Sir Akbar Hydari,[2] Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung[3] and Syed Abdul Aziz.[4] You are requested to similarly patronize me and my family.

Your devoted servant ,
SYED ASHRAF ALI SHAH FAZIL JAİPURI[5]
Secretary, Provincial ML Ajmer Sharif
and Member AIML Council

[1]Neville Chamberlain, Prime Minister, 1937-40.
[2]President, Hyderabad State Executive Council (Prime Minister), 1937-1942.
[3]Hyderabad Muslim leader; consummate orator; died in 1944.
[4]Bihar Muslim League leader.
[5]Belonged to Barah Basti Afghana, Jaipur State.

65

Speech by M. A. Jinnah on the Opening Ceremony of the Bengal Oil Mills

F. 204-GG/16-8

KARACHI,
2 February 1948

It has given me great pleasure to come here today to perform the opening ceremony of the Bengal Oil Mills. Every new mill or factory means a step forward on the road to the economic stabilization of our country and the prosperity of its people. Millions of our brethren have been displaced by the cataclysm that attended the birth of Pakistan. Most of them have lost all their worldly belongings as also their means of livelihood. Their rehabilitation presents a problem of colossal magnitude, the successful solution of which would require the concerted efforts of the government and the people. The response to the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund has been magnificent and the munificence of people like you will go a long way in mitigating the suffering of the stricken, but gratuitous relief and doles are only palliatives and do not provide a satisfactory solution of the refugee problem. We do not want merely to keep these unfortunate people alive—as a drag on society. We want them to live as self-respecting, self-relying and useful members of society. All the refugees are not agriculturists and even all the agriculturists cannot be settled on land without fragmenting the available arable land into small uneconomic holdings. The only way in which these people can be put on their feet again is the rapid industrialization of the country which would provide new avenues of employment for them. Nature has blessed us with plenty of raw materials and it is now up to us to harness our resources to the best advantage of our State and its people.

You have mentioned the trials and tribulations of the Muslims of Kathiawar during the last few stormy months. While I fully sympathize with them in their suffering, I am sure they will not be overwhelmed by these temporary setbacks. Their resilience will enable them to weather these storms with equanimity and by their resourcefulness and spirit of enterprise they would soon retrieve their lost fortunes.

I thank you once again for your generous contribution to the Relief Fund and I wish your venture all success and prosperity and hope that it may prove a precursor to many more enterprises for which there is so much scope in Pakistan.

66

Mahomedali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1025/205

LAXMI BUILDING,
BUNDER ROAD,
KARACHI,
3 February 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

For your information, please find enclosed herewith a copy of a note on Government of Pakistan Loans[1] which I gave to the Honourable Minister for Finance some time in the beginning of January, and also a copy of letter dated 2nd February[2] enclosing a cheque of Rs. 5 crore from the Habib Bank.

Yours sincerely,
MAHOMEDALI

[1]Enclosure 1.
[2]Enclosure 2.

Enclosure 1 to No. 66

F. 1025/206-8

NOTE ON GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN LOANS

Assuming the population of Pakistan at 7.5 crore, the Dominion is likely to have a total currency note circulation of about Rs. 225 crore which means Rs. 30 per head.

Government of India has contracted a public debt of about Rs. 1,800 crore in about 60 years. The public debt is about 1.5 times of the total notes in circulation. The overall public debt, including any liabilities coming to the share of Pakistan from India, can be of about Rs. 350 crore on the basis of the above note circulation. This limit of Rs. 350 crore should take many years to reach.

It will be prudent to issue loans in lots of Rs. 10 crore, only after ascertaining the amount available and awaiting investment.

The following sources and institutions usually subscribe to the Government loans:

1. Provincial Governments against their surplus funds held as reserves against Provincial Securities
2. States

3. Hyderabad State
4. Municipal Corporations
5. District Local Boards
6. Railways
7. Port Trusts
8. Posts & Telegraphs
9. Public Utilities, such as Tramways and Electric Companies
10. Provident Funds of Government Employees
11. Pension Funds of Government Employees
12. Provident Funds of Joint Stock Companies
13. Trusts
14. Banks
15. Insurance Companies
16. General Public

The requirements of the above institutions vary; hence loans of different maturity and terms are essential. Provincial Governments, Banks and the Public would like to invest in short-term loans maturing between five and ten years. Provident and Pension Funds, Trusts, Insurance Companies and States may like to invest in long-term loans maturing between ten and twenty years.

Government Securities are the gilt-edged securities ensuring fixed returns, though yielding a smaller percentage than other investments, and easily saleable without any loss on the capital invested. The Government responsible for loans takes care to control any appreciable fluctuation and only this ensures confidence in the investing public.

The Government floating any loan first makes sure of the amount it can sell and keeps the list open for one or two days only. If owing to some unforeseen circumstances, the loan is not subscribed according to expectation, the State Bank takes up the balance. The result is that from the very next day the loan is quoted at a small premium. If this is not done, the investing public will lose confidence and it will be found difficult to make the next floatation. Successful floatation of a loan does not depend only on the rates of interest, but on proper management of floatation and subsequent support by the Government. In any case, the mistake of floating loans at higher rates of interest must be avoided, for no Government can expect to get on loan any big amounts, if the policy of that Government is to continue borrowing at a higher rate. Every 0.5 per cent higher borrowing rate would mean a capital loss of Rs. 5 per 100 on a loan maturing in ten years. The confidence and the interest of the first investors has to be the worry of the Government and the first borrowing programme must be studied very carefully and exhaustively to ensure the maintenance of the rate of borrowing over a

fairly long period, say minimum for ten years.

The following suggestions may be examined by the experts of Finance Department for issue of Securities:

a. 2.75%	Taxable, Payable	1952	Issue price	Rs. 100
b. 3%	Taxable, Payable	1956-58	Issue price	Rs. 100
c. 3%	Taxable, Payable	1965	Issue price	Rs. 99
d. 1.75%	Free of Income tax, Super tax, Business and Corporation tax (in fact all present and future taxes), Payable	1955	Issue price	Rs. 100
e. 2%	-do-	1960	Issue price	Rs. 100
f. 1.5%	Tax free, Bearer Payable	1957	Issue price	Rs. 100
g. 3%	Taxable, Bearer Payable	1960	Issue price	Rs. 100

The above proposed rates are a little higher than that of Government of India, because the Government of India are already finding it difficult to maintain their cheap money policy. The people require information on our resources, our ability to properly manage our public debt, the amounts and interest rate of our future borrowing programme. The interest on the future floatation should be progressively reduced and ultimately within five years it would be 0.25% lower than the Government of India, because this should be possible as our resources are better than Indian.

The public, and in fact the whole world, is anxiously awaiting our first budget. The first budget has got to be a good budget. Though difficult this is, it is not impossible, if proper thought is given and adjustments are made. It will be advisable to make our first floatation after the budget and after the Government have defined their policy.

It will not be prudent to float loans, without first establishing our National Bank of Pakistan. However, if under the Standstill Agreement, it is not possible to have our National Bank before 1st October 1948, and if the Government must float loans for a limited amount, the following arrangements with the Reserve and Imperial Banks are imperative:

a. Government of Pakistan Securities should be accepted by the Reserve and Imperial Banks for advances to scheduled banks and insurance companies.
b. In order to maintain the rates, Government should make arrangements with the Reserve and Imperial Banks to buy the Securities on behalf of the Government of Pakistan, at par, at Karachi, Lahore, Dacca, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, etc.

In short, all precautions must be taken that the Securities issued by the Government of Pakistan are quoted at a small premium, as the reputation of the Government of Pakistan will depend on the proper

handling of their floatation.

Enclosure 2 to No. 66
Mahomedali Habib to Ghulam Mohammed

F. 1025/209-10

PRIVATE/CONFIDENTIAL

HABIB BANK LTD.,
NICOL ROAD,
KARACHI 2,
2 February 1948

Dear Sir,

With reference to our interviews with you and Mr. Abdul Qadir, please find enclosed herewith our cheque for Rs. 5 crore (rupees five crore only).

When Government of Pakistan Loans are issued, we shall thank you to allot us Loans for rupees four crore maturing in 1952 and for rupees one crore maturing in 1956-58. It is agreed that interest at 2.75% and 3% to run from today, that is 2nd February 1948.

The following three points were raised by our General Manager Mr. Dostmohamed Haji Mohamed:

1. Whether the par value of the Securities will be maintained and how?
2. In case when [*sic*] a need arises to sell the Securities at currency market rates, what will be the intention of the Government?
3. What facilities will be granted by the Government of Pakistan, whenever the Bank needs an overdraft against Pakistan Government Securities?

We were glad to learn that all the three items will be taken care of by the Reserve Bank of Pakistan, when established on 1st April 1948. Till such time, before the Reserve Bank of Pakistan, in case of need, the Government will allow an overdraft to the Bank from the Treasury.

For good order's sake, we shall thank you to confirm the above understanding.

We understand that under the Constitution, the provinces have the power to borrow from the market for their industrial and agricultural development. If the provinces borrow on better terms than the Central Government, there will be competition between the Governments. Is it possible to know the policy or intentions of the Central and Provincial Governments? We feel the provinces will always borrow on better terms than the Centre.

Can you please guide or advise us whether it would be advisable

for the Bank and helpful for the provinces to keep some funds to be loaned to the provinces?

Yours faithfully,
MAHOMEDALI HABIB
Managing Director

The Hon'ble Minister for Finance,
Government of Pakistan,
Karachi

67

Address of Welcome to M. A. Jinnah and Miss Fatima Jinnah by A.H. Mama and Others

F. 204-GG/22-3

[KATRAK, PARSI COLONY,]
KARACHI,
3 February 1948

On behalf of the Parsi community of Sind, we, the Trustees of the Parsi Anjuman Trust Funds, extend to you both respectful and cordial welcome in our midst this evening and thank you for giving us this opportunity of greeting you.

Having spent a greater part of your life in Bombay, the stronghold of our community, you are fully conversant with the Parsi community and the part it has played in the destiny of India for 1300 years since their advent from Iran, and therefore it seems superfluous for us to try and acquaint you with the history and the doings of our community in the various fields of activities in the country's betterment and progress. We have become a part of the country, sharing its joys and sorrows, offering fullest co-operation and goodwill to its Government and people. Now that the division of the country into two separate Dominions has been finally established, the position of our community remains the same, as far as each Dominion is concerned. As residents of Pakistan, our community takes this opportunity to assure you—Quaid-i-Azam—as the Head of the Pakistan Government, of our fullest co-operation, loyalty and goodwill. We keenly desire and hope to live happily and peacefully in Sind, giving our best for the progress and welfare of this Province and the Pakistan Dominion. We feel confident that as citizens of Pakistan our community will keep steadfast to their traditions and will help the authorities in achieving the highest good

for all. We do realise that in the progress and prosperity of Pakistan our progress and prosperity are certain.

Our keen desire and request to you, Quaid-i-Azam, are that we should be allowed the fullest opportunity to co-operate with your Government and the major community, and to offer our services to you in your uphill task of building up this new Dominion.

Ours is a small minority community in Pakistan. It was naturally perturbed by the recent most unfortunate incidents[1] in the city of Karachi, but the very prompt and firm action taken by the Sind and Pakistan authorities to bring the difficult situation under complete control in a cooperatively [*sic*] short time has given undoubted assurance to us that the Pakistan Government will not fail in its duty to protect lives and property of its citizens. A settled and undisturbed home life in one's own residence, whether rented or owned, opportunity to earn one's livelihood, to share amenities of public life with all, to give one's best for upliftment [*sic*] and growth of the Province and the Dominion, are the cherished aspirations of every Parsi Zoroastrian living in Pakistan. Quaid-i-Azam, we urge for your guidance and protection.

Miss Fatima Jinnah, you have been a zealous helpmate and companion to your illustrious brother in all his arduous tasks. We beg to convey to you a message from the ladies of our community, that in all your noble social work they will ever welcome your guidance and will always be eager to join with you in your efforts for the progress and welfare of the women of Pakistan.

We pray to the Almighty that He may bless you both with health and long life and that your strenuous efforts in tackling the many varied and difficult problems which lie ahead, be crowned with glorious success.

We beg to subscribe ourselves,

A.H. MAMA
Chairman
JAMSHED NUSSERWANJEE
S. D. CONTRACTOR
MERWANJEE EDULJEE KANDAWALA
SOHRAB K.H. KATRAK
Trustees, Parsi Anjuman Trust Funds

[1]See No. 18.

68

Reply by M. A. Jinnah to Address of Welcome by the Parsi Community

F. 204-GG/25-8

3 February 1948

I am thankful to you for your address[1] of welcome and the kind words you have spoken about me and Miss Fatima Jinnah. I deeply appreciate your offer of loyal co-operation with the Government of Pakistan, and I assure you that Pakistan means to stand by its oft-repeated promises of according equal treatment to all its nationals irrespective of their caste and creed. Pakistan which symbolises the aspirations of a nation that found itself in a minority in the Indian sub-continent, cannot be unmindful of the minorities within its own borders. It is a pity that the fair name of Karachi was sullied by the sudden outburst of communal frenzy last month[2] and I cannot find words strong enough to condemn the action of those who were responsible for it. Government is determined in its resolve to root out lawlessness and see that there is no recurrence of such incidents.

As you may be aware, the Government has been making genuine efforts to allay the fears and suspicions of the minorities, and if their exodus from Sind still continues, it is not because they are not wanted here but because they are more prone to listen to people across the border who are interested in pulling them out. I am sorry for these misguided people, for nothing but disillusionment awaits them in their promised land.

I realise that during the last few months there have been encroachments on private right of property but you should not judge government's action too harshly. Accommodation could not be provided for the large number of Pakistan officials and foreign legations without disturbing some of the local residents. The problem was further complicated by the influx of a large number of refugees—whose tempers had been frayed by the suffering undergone by them. These unfortunate people require sympathetic handling and your assistance in resettling them will be most welcome.

Parsis as a community have fortunately escaped the ravages of the recent internecine conflict that has brought so much suffering to other communities, and I see no reason why the future should hold any terror for them. They have already established a place for themselves in this country by their organising ability, spirit of enterprise, and hard work. Pakistan will provide an ample field for the outlet of their genius, particularly in the realm of trade, commerce and industry, and they should come forward and play their role as true citizens in making

Pakistan one of the greatest nations and a land of prosperity and plenty.

[1]No. 67.
[2]See No. 18.

69

A. Hilaly to S. M. Yusuf

F. 65(4)-GG/1

SECRET

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
AND COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS,
KARACHI,
3 February 1948

My dear Yusuf,

I am sending herewith the file[1] regarding the proposal to record a talk by the Quaid-i-Azam for broadcasting on the whole Australian radio network in the near future. This, as you know, is being sponsored by the Liberal Party of Australia which is led by the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Casey, who was at one time Governor of Bengal.[2] As a former Bengal civilian, I am of the opinion that Mr. Casey's ambitions are so great that he will succeed one day in getting back into the Australian Cabinet in a Coalition Government (perhaps sooner than later) or with luck as the Prime Minister of Australia, some time in the future. As such he is a very important Australian.

2. Apart from the above, he is the only Australian, with the exception of Sir Bertram Stevens (one time head of the Eastern Group Supply Council in war-time Delhi), who has had experience of the old India and therefore will be considered an authority on Indian and Pakistan affairs in Australian political circles, both at present and for a long time in the future. While he was Governor of Bengal, Mr. Casey was quite fair and sympathetic to Muslims though, after his going away, he showed signs of having been considerably affected by Congress propaganda to the extent of stating at one time, if I remember aright, that he did not believe that Pakistan would work on economic grounds.[3] It is therefore doubly important that we should do something, to talk to this gentleman and put our present point of view before him now that Pakistan is an accomplished fact, and as an invitation to him to change his views. When he passed through Karachi recently, he confessed that there had been such changes in India since his departure in 1946 that he was afraid his knowledge had become out of date and his experience

inapplicable in the present conditions. This is a good sign and therefore if the Quaid-i-Azam would be pleased to meet and talk to him when he returns from England *en route* to Australia, it would perhaps mean gaining considerable goodwill from a very important political figure in that country.

3. For your information I can tell you that he is still considered an important man in Egypt and in England, as we have been told that King Farooq of Egypt met him in Cairo recently and tried to put the Arab case to him. We have no doubt that in England also he has met all the top men. It is unfortunate that the schedule of the air service he is travelling by does not permit his being detained beyond 10 p.m. on the 25th February, so a meal at Governor-General's House would probably not be possible unless the Quaid-i-Azam would like to have a somewhat earlier one. An interview, however, would be very desirable from Pakistan's point of view.

Yours sincerely,
A. HILALY

[1]See *FOA*, F. 30 (5)/48-B. Not printed.
[2]22 January 1944 to 18 February 1946.
[3]See Appendix XII.1, Vol. I, Part II, 489-91.

70

Message by M. A. Jinnah on the Attainment of Dominion Status by Ceylon

F. 204-GG/30

[KARACHI,
4 February 1948]

The attainment of Dominion status by Ceylon in the wake of India and Pakistan is a matter for greater satisfaction and rejoicing to us, and on behalf of the people of Pakistan and myself, I extend to you our sincerest congratulations on this happy and historical occasion. We in Pakistan will watch your progress with the most friendly and sympathetic interest as some of the problems confronting your island are similar to ours. We have both suffered from exploitation at the hands of a foreign power and now that a new era has been ushered in, we shall have to strive every nerve to improve the lot of the common man,

so sadly neglected heretofore. The problem confronting us is by no means small or easy but we must tackle it boldly if we are to prove ourselves worthy of our newly-won freedom and sovereign Government of the people.

Ceylon is rich in material resources and talent and I have no doubt that under the guidance of her great leaders she will make rapid strides on the road to good government and prosperity and will play her rightful part in promoting goodwill and friendship throughout the world.

Pakistan has the warmest goodwill towards Ceylon, and I am sanguine that the good feelings which exist between our two people will be further strengthened as the years roll by and our common interests, and mutual and reciprocal handling of them, will bring us into still closer friendship. Once again, I wish all prosperity and a glorious future to Ceylon.

71

M. N. Dhalla to M. A. Jinnah

F. 888/84

258 R. A. LINES,
KARACHI,

4 February 1948

Dear Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

I attach herewith, for your acceptance, a version of the Almighty's Blessings invoked by me yesterday on the occasion of the presentation of an address[1] by the Parsi community to Your Excellency.

I also send herewith the following three books written by me, which I hope will prove of interest to Your Excellency:

Our Perfecting World
History of Zoroastrianism
Homage unto Ahura Mazda

May *Ahura Mazda* shower His choicest blessings on Miss Fatima

Jinnah and Your Excellency.

Yours sincerely,
M. N. DHALLA
High Priest of the Parsis of Sind, Punjab and Baluchistan

[1]No. 67.

Enclosure to No. 71

F. 888/85-6

[KARACHI,]
3 February 1948

Our Sovran [*sic*] Lord and Creator and Protector, unto Thee we lift our hearts in invocation, seeking Thy benedictions. Thou art the King of Kings that ruleth over thy earthly and heavenly dominions.

Providence has ordained that this hoary land, designated some three thousand years ago the land of Sapta Sindhu by the Indians and Hapta Hindu by the Iranians, be partitioned into two Dominions, Hindustan and Pakistan.

Lay Thy hands, we beseech Thee, in blessing over the head of our beloved Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the illustrious founder of Pakistan.

Give him soundness and durability of body, alertness of mind, and tranquillity of heart to shoulder the heavy responsibilities in these days of anxiety after the birth of Pakistan.

Help him to create mutual trust and confidence and goodwill among the various communities of Pakistan and to convert them all into loyal and law-abiding Pakistanis in belief and practice.

Enable him to father and foster Pakistan into a great and glorious empire in the comity of the nations of the world.

Bestow, O Thou Benevolent Lord, the blessings of good health upon the high-minded and noble-spirited Miss Fatima Jinnah who lovingly helps her dear brother to bear the burden of his arduous duties and inspires him on his onward march on the highway of peace, prosperity and progress of Pakistan.

Life, longer than long, O Thou Lord of Limitless Longevity, give to Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Miss Fatima Jinnah. Amen.

72

Address of Welcome to M. A. Jinnah by the Sind Provincial Muslim League,[1] Ladies' Section

F. 204-GG/35-6

[KARACHI,
4 February 1948]

Our beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

We ladies, whose life aim is to show respect for our elders, regard for our brothers and sisters, and love for children, are beside ourselves with joy on seeing you two, worthy brother and sister, in our midst. We accord you the heartiest welcome and pray to God Almighty with the utmost sincerity that He may preserve you so that with your blessings we and our children may lead the best possible life. The world has seen how our Quaid-i-Azam has despite the fiercest opposition, carved out a new world for us. It is now for us to make this new world strong, beautiful and worthy of a living nation.

Long live Quaid-i-Azam and long live Pakistan!

It will be derogatory to Islam to regard it as a bundle of a few beliefs and rituals. Islam has a code of life which teaches us to live with honour and if need be, to die with honour. It lays down the rules of life not only for the individual but also for the society and teaches true democracy.

Had not Pakistan come into being, Muslims of India would have been denied an opportunity of leading their lives according to the principles of Islam. With the grace of God, we have obtained this blessing through the instrumentality of our Quaid-i-Azam. This has brought in its train numerous responsibilities and we shall now have to strive for the betterment of our country and show to the world that the spirit of Mohammad Ali Jinnah has permeated each and every child of Pakistan.

We assure you that we women, who are called the weaker sex, shall not be found wanting in an hour of trial. We shall stand firm as rocks before the storms and bear all dangers with equanimity. History teaches us that during the Caliphate, Muslim ladies fought in wars side by side with men and tended the wounded. At the same time they performed their household duties such as looking after the children, their education and upbringing, with credit. What was it that inspired these women to perform these heroic deeds? It was nothing but the teaching of Islam which conferred equal rights and responsibilities on men and women.

There is a saying of our Prophet [peace be upon him], "Everyone of

you is a ruler and will be questioned on the day of reckoning about his subjects. It is not only the head of the state who is a ruler but every man is a ruler in his own house and the woman rules the house of her husband and their children. So every one of you is a ruler and has to render an account of his or her charge". We, the ladies of Pakistan, request you that you should introduce in this Muslim country, Islamic laws and encourage the ladies by conferring on them the rights promised by Islam. The dictate of the time is that every Muslim mother should be well equipped for the task of nurturing her young ones in such a way that they should bring credit to Pakistan. I once again pray to God that He may grant you a long life and you may see your young child grow and prosper. *Aameen.*

[1]Read by Begum Hidayatullah at an At Home at the Sind Governor's House.

73

Reply by M. A. Jinnah to the Address Presented by the Sind Provincial Muslim League, Ladies' Section[1]

[KARACHI,]
4 February 1948

Begum Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah and Ladies!

I am highly thankful to you for the honour you have given me and Miss Fatima Jinnah by granting me an opportunity to meet such a distinguished gathering of ladies this evening. This is the best honour that can be given and I once again pay my thanks to you all.

Since the Muslim League started its battle for Pakistan, our women have played no less a role than their men. You have taught even your small children to fight for Islam and your efforts have not gone unrewarded. Your slogans have taken a practical shape in the achievement of Pakistan. And today all men, women and children who are the citizens of this state are as free as any in the world.

But now our struggle is a different one from what it had been before the achievement of Pakistan. We have undoubtedly achieved Pakistan, but it is yet to be built up and once again you have to play your gallant role. Let there be no misunderstanding that simply becoming a minister or getting a trade-license should be an aim, but we all have to do something yet better and bigger, I have great confidence in you.

I may assure you that nobody can now shake the foundations of Pakistan. But there are people who have evil designs on it. They have failed in their attempts so far and shall be failing in future. There will

come a time when they will repent over their own actions and only then they will realise the greatness that Pakistan is.

You have a key of even a greater success. That key is our future generation. Mould your children to be worthy citizens and soldiers of Pakistan. You have rendered already great sacrifices for Pakistan, which are now recognized by all the nations of the world. Take one step more and *Insha Allah,* that time is not far off, when the nations of the world will fear Pakistan.

I am sure that you will not only cooperate with us but do your very best in building up your Pakistan. *Khuda Hafiz.*

The *Dawn,* 6 February 1948.

74

Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 25/2 (Vol.1)-GG/148-9

1 BROMHEAD ROAD,
LAHORE,
4 February 1948

My Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

As you probably know, we decided in a recent meeting of the Joint Refugee Council to send about a lakh of refugees from West Punjab to Sind. We are sending Moss, Refugee Commissioner, Pakistan, to see that proper arrangements for the reception and settlement are made in Sind. At the moment there are about a million refugees in camps in the West Punjab and conditions are pretty bad in some districts. Only the other day there was some trouble in Multan. Naturally when these refugees have no work to do and there is no outlet for their energies they become troublesome. We are anxious that Sind should absorb as many refugees as possible.

As Moss is going to Karachi, I have told him to see you and explain the position to you. I hope you will be good enough to give him an interview so that he can put certain aspects of the problem before you.

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

75

Agha Shahi to S. M. Yusuf

F. 120 (Vol. IV)-GG/340

PREMIER'S SECRETARIAT,
KARACHI,
5 February 1948

Dear Mr. Yusuf,

The Hon'ble Premier has received your note in connection with the ex-police people from India. I have explained to them that most of the vacancies in the Sind Police have been already filled almost exclusively by refugees from India, not only in Karachi City but also throughout the Province. At present, an overwhelming majority of the Police Force in the Province is composed of non-Sindhis. I am reliably informed that this proportion is as high, if not higher, as 80 to 85 per cent. The few remaining vacancies, if any, have been reserved for the people of this Province. They naturally have a right to serve the Government of their own Province. Their interests must also be safeguarded. In order to give employment to afflicted refugees from India, the Government of Sind more than doubled the strength of its Police and almost all the new recruits have also been non-Sindhis. But it is not possible for the Government of this Province to absorb an unlimited number of people coming from outside. The saturation point has been reached. I have explained all this to these people and I am writing this letter to you setting out the position at their express request.

Yours sincerely,
A. SHAHI
[*PS to Premier, Sindh*]

76

R. Joesoef Ahmadi to F. Amin

F. 120 (Vol. IV)-GG/55-6

10 PETODJO,
BATAVIA,
JAVA,
9 February 1948

Dear Sir,

Referring to your letter No. D.1187-GG/47, dated 3rd January 1948,[1]

in which you acknowledged the receipt of my book, I am much honoured to receive a letter from Private Secretary to the Quaid-i-Azam, particularly as you have expressed a word of thanks to me. Frankly speaking, I don't expect any expression of thanks as I deem it my duty to justify the truth.

I am pride [*sic* for proud] that there is a Muslim leader who does not know difficulties, who defies thousand and one thorninesses [*sic*] with which His Excellency the Quaid-i-Azam has to contend in connection with the recent happenings. Therefore, I long to see Indonesia and Pakistan to be two countries of good amity, two countries assisting each other in every respect reciprocally. But, alas, not only that the Indonesians in general don't pay attention to Pakistan, but bear also an antipathy to your country. Not only the statesmen but also the average peasantry pay much attention to Hindustan. What grieves me is the fact that the Indian Muslims residing in Indonesia are quite passive towards the efforts of Pakistan. They are mostly merchants and are afraid to lose their commercial relations, (with the Hindus and Sikhs) by a campaign against the Hindus. Therefore, they deem it advisable to keep mum. Add to this the activity of the Consul-General of India [N. Raghvan] who applies his influence with his utmost to win the hearts of the Indonesians. It frequently happened that if a Frenchman or Englishman blemish[es] Pakistan or the person of the Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah in some newspapers or other writings, it is trumpeted forth to the Indonesian world. Besides, they are striving for the propagation of the Hindu culture. This is a great danger. Add to this the cruelties which were committed against the Muslims in the Indian Union districts and in Kashmir. I know that *Hazrat Khalifatul Masih* Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud Ahmad is at the hand [*sic*] of Pakistan. By reason that I and many thousands of other Ahmadis are standing behind *Hazrat Khalifa* I feel it as my duty to support Pakistan too. In this way, the world will witness the strength of a *Khalifa* in Islam. The whole world ought to know that only by a *Khilafat* a perfect union can be achieved, and that Islam cannot be destroyed by any nation. I and other Ahmadis in Indonesia are prepared to do our utmost to support Pakistan so that the Indonesians will understand that it is proper that Indonesia and Pakistan ought to be two alliances [*sic*].

It is a pity, however, that I have not the needful [*sic*] means to carry my plan into effect, while everything is expensive, paper price is high, printing expenses dear, etc., etc.

In connection with this, I have sent a letter to the Principal Information Officer in Karachi, asking for a donation to carry out a propaganda campaign against Hindustan, and mentioning an amount of Rs. 20,000 for this

purpose, copies of which please find here.[2] As you are close to His Excellency the Quaid-i-Azam, I beg you to be willing to convey my humble *salaam* to His Excellency and to inform His Excellency about my plans.

I belief [*sic* for believe] that if you have broad ideals to expand Pakistan's influence outside your country, and you offer sufficient arguments to His Excellency, my proposal will be favourably accepted.

I therefore hope you will support me, which means you help your nation and mine too.

Is it not proper that the Islamic countries ought to shake hands in order to fulfill *Allah's* promise that only Islamic creed will ultimately bear the sceptre throughout the world, and only Islam will make the world peaceful and quiet?

If you agree with my proposal, please remit money to Mr. Mohamad Husain Ahmed & Bros., Kharadar, Machee Mianee Road, Karachi, and let me know by cable or by airmail in order that I will be able to start with my campaign in March.

Beforehand I thank you kindly,

Yours truly,
R. JOESOEF AHMADI
Secretary of Foreign Affairs,
Anjuman Ahmadiyya, Qadian

F. 120 (Vol. IV)-GG/54. Not printed.
[2]Ibid., 57-8. Not printed.

77

Address by M. A. Jinnah to the Civil Officers of Baluchistan[1]

SIBI,
12 February 1948

We have met here today without any distinction of being big or small, as servants of the State in order to think out ways and means of advancing the interests of the people and our country. From the highest to the lowest, we all are servants of the State.

Pakistan is now a sovereign State, absolute and unfettered, and the Government of Pakistan is in the hands of the people. Until we finally frame our constitution which, of course, can only be done by the Constituent Assembly, our present provisional constitution based on

the fundamental principles of democracy, not bureaucracy or autocracy or dictatorship, must be worked. You officers should realize that these are the principles which should be borne in mind. You all know that we are starting from scratch. It is a terrific burden and if you want to make Pakistan a great country in the comity of nations, you must forget, as far as is possible, your pleasures and put in as much time and as much work as you can in the job which is entrusted to you.

Work honestly and sincerely and be faithful and loyal to the Pakistan Government. I can assure you that there is nothing greater in this world than your own conscience and, when you appear before God, you can say that you performed your duty with the highest sense of integrity, honesty and with loyalty and faithfulness.

Believe me, you will not only make Baluchistan great—I know there are great potentialities in Baluchistan—but you will also make a contribution to the whole of Pakistan and thus your State will not remain the fifth largest State in population only but within five years it will become one of the mightiest states of the world.

Now this is all in your hands. Look upon it as a sacred trust, redouble your energies and your determination and God willing, you are bound to succeed.

See the *Dawn*, 14 February 1948.

78

Resolution by the Baluchistan Provincial Muslim League Council

F. 214-GG/2-3

CAMP, SIBI,
13 February 1948

Whereas, we, members of the Provincial Muslim League of Baluchistan are of the opinion that for the benefit of the people and good administration of Baluchistan, immediate changes are necessary and that the changes should be such as will be acceptable to the largest number of people and although we have always claimed and will continue to claim that the sole authoritative and representative political body of Baluchistan is the Muslim League which is always ready and able to pass through any test for proving its claims, yet in order to

facilitate the task of our beloved Quaid-i-Azam, we are prepared temporarily to cooperate even with such people who have never had any public backing and who were the nominees of irresponsible British officials for services of anti-national character.

Whereas it has been represented that there are differences between the Muslim League on one side and *Sardars* and members of *Jirga* on the other, and although this view is incorrect and on the advice of the Quaid-i-Azam some leaders of the Muslim League had requested the members of the *Shahi Jirga* to meet them and settle the differences which they refused, yet in contrast with the Muslim League parties in other provinces, the Baluchistan Muslim League is willing to join in a coalition for the interim period until a new constitution is framed for the province by the Constituent Assembly. It must, however, be clearly understood that Baluchistan will demand a status equal to and in no way less than that of the other provinces in the Dominion.

We, members of the Provincial Muslim League Council, recommend and request that for the interim period Advisors should be appointed to carry on the administration, their number to be determined by the Quaid-i-Azam, but we ask that the representatives of the Provincial Muslim League among the Advisors should be equal to all other interests and that these Advisors should have the same powers and responsibilities as Ministers in other provinces.

As an alternative, we also suggest that the members of the *Shahi Jirga* and the Quetta Municipality with an equal number of representatives of the Provincial Muslim League should meet together under the chairmanship of the AGG and elect a leader who should be given the authority to select his colleagues for Advisorship from all other interests on an equitable basis.

We are also of the opinion that even with Advisors, as the Province will continue to remain administratively under the Centre, it will still have to face many difficulties and we suggest that the Governor-General should be pleased to appoint a representative of Baluchistan to hold the portfolio relating to this Province in the Centre directly under the Quaid-i-Azam.

We humbly request the Quaid-i-Azam to give favourable consideration to this matter which according to us is of the highest importance.

Q. M. ISA
President, Baluchistan Muslim League

79

Speech by M. A. Jinnah at Sibi Darbar[1]

SIBI,
14 February 1948

Mr. Dundas, Members of *Shahi Jirga, Sardars* of Baluchistan and other leaders and representatives of the people of Baluchistan.

It is indeed a matter of genuine pleasure to me to be present here amongst you in the first *Shahi Darbar* of Baluchistan held under the authority of our new Muslim State of Pakistan. As you all know, my personal connection with Baluchistan extends over a long period. I can now look back with satisfaction to the days when the people of this Province fought shoulder to shoulder with me in our struggle for freedom. You have contributed in no smaller measure than your brethren of other provinces of Pakistan towards the achievement of our goal.

The history of political reforms for Baluchistan is connected with the history of the struggle of the Musalmans for freedom. There are many of you who will recall the number of occasions when I took up the cause of the people of Baluchistan both inside[2] the Indian Legislature and outside;[3] and, now that I have the honour to be the first Governor-General of our great country, Pakistan, it is natural that the question of reforms and securing for the people of Baluchistan an adequate say in the administration and governance of their Province, should be constantly in my mind. If in this direction my wishes have not so far been realized, it is due to the circumstances over which I had little or no control.

Gentlemen! It is just six months since we have achieved our independence. During this period we have not so far seen a single day of peace. We have had to face calamities the parallel of which is not known in the history of the world. But we have not remained idle. We are still struggling to complete the task in the face of difficulties which we had no way of anticipating when the partition of India was agreed upon. We have yet to secure our due and rightful share from the sister Dominion of India. The attention of my Government, therefore, was kept riveted to other dangerous problems of more immediate and urgent importance. You will, therefore, forgive me if I was not able to attend to the affairs of Baluchistan as speedily as I would have wished. Let me assure you, however, that I have not for one moment allowed

the affairs of Baluchistan to slip out of my mind. I have thought and thought, considered and pondered, over the ways and means of improving the lot of our people in this Province and of enabling them to secure for themselves the same position and the same political status within the polity of Pakistan, which are open to their brethren in other provinces as far as they could be brought about as practical propositions.

Gentlemen! The relations of the old Government of India with Baluchistan before the partition are well known to you. It is not for me to remind you how that Government, which was a subordinate branch of the foreign administration, had kept Baluchistan divided in several parts, each with a different name and status, yet all bound together in shackles of backwardness. The administration handed over to us was on the one hand quite impervious to the desires and wishes of the people for moral and material progress, and on the other, impatient of criticism and oblivious of the necessity of political reforms of any sort. Consequently, the people of the Province remained in a static position educationally, socially, economically and politically. Nay, I would go so far as to say that the people had to content themselves for a long time with a state of political and administrative stagnation. And yet, all this may sound paradoxical in the fact that so far as the tribal areas of Baluchistan were concerned, the Governor-General exercised his executive functions in his discretion, and in regard to the areas which used to be known as British Baluchistan and leased territories, he governed to such an extent as he thought fit, through a Chief Commissioner appointed by him in his discretion.

Then came the fruit of our national efforts in the form of the Indian Independence Act of 1947,[1] whereby the British Government acknowledged the supreme authority of the people of this sub-continent and they were obliged to transfer full powers to them. With the passing of this Act, the treaties and agreements which were in force between the British Government and the States and Tribes, all lapsed. The obligations of British Government and all powers, rights, authority, or jurisdiction, exercisable in relation to the tribal areas, also disappeared. In other words, the tribal people were free to come to such arrangements with Pakistan, as the successor authority of British Government, as may be agreed upon. Side by side with this, the Chief Commissioner's Province of British Baluchistan was made a part of the territories of Pakistan as laid down by the Indian Independence Act, and the Province of Baluchistan accepted the position and decided to send their elected representatives to the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. It was in this state of freedom when, of their own free choice, the people of

Tribal Areas gave their verdict, through the referendum held in this Province in the summer of last year, when they decided to join the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan.[5] No sooner did this happen than I, as Governor-General of Pakistan, felt it my duty to assure the people of Baluchistan, on behalf of the Government of Pakistan, that all agreements and allowances would continue[6] until such time as they could be modified after consultation with them.

The departure of British authority had left several gaps in the judicial and administrative machinery of Baluchistan. These were filled by making temporary legal and administrative arrangements. The relations of the Government of Pakistan with the tribes were reaffirmed on the basis of the referendum until they could be consulted again. All this was arranged under powers vested in me as Governor-General of Pakistan deriving authority from the unmistakable will of the people of Baluchistan expressed through the *Shahi Jirga*. Orders were passed declaring that all laws that were in force in the Administered Areas, Tribal Areas, including the areas of Marri and Bugti, Tuman and Baluch areas adjoining the Dera Ghazi Khan District of the Punjab (which are not included in Baluchistan), would continue to be in force and all subsidies and allowances hitherto paid would continue to be enjoyed by them. I had to make these arrangements provisionally because the administration of the country had to go on. This did not mean that I wanted to perpetuate the state of affairs prevailing under the British Government. The final constitution, as you all know, will be framed by the Constituent Assembly in consultation with the representatives of all these areas. Nor did I forget, in the meantime, while making these temporary arrangements, my earnest desire to associate the people of Baluchistan with their own administration as far as possible. In fact it was in the fulfillment of this desire that I decided to attend your first *Darbar* so that I may get the opportunity of meeting you and exchanging views with you in order to ascertain the ideas which you may have formed about the future form of Government for your Province.

The Constituent Assembly may take some time to accomplish its task of framing the final constitution of our State. It is a stupendous task and it may take eighteen months or two years before it can come into full operation. And so I wanted something to be done without delay for the period between now and the time when the new constitution would finally emerge and be inaugurated, something would enable the people to share the responsibilities of their Government and give them voice in its administration. After very careful consideration I have decided to make a small but all the same an important

move immediately to enable the people to associate themselves with the governance of their province. I hope that this will bring the citizens of Pakistan living in Baluchistan closer to the Governor-General and the head of your administration. I had to think hard. There were legal and constitutional difficulties in the way of setting up a representative form of Government. But there was no time to waste. I did not want to wait for the requisite legal and statutory provisions to be enacted in their full form. All that will naturally come in time. For the present, however, I have come to the conclusion that our immediate object can best be achieved by making the governance and administration of Baluchistan more directly the concern of the Governor-General himself acting in close collaboration with the acknowledged representatives of the people. For this purpose, I have decided to constitute a Governor-General's Advisory Council, a body which will enable the people to play their full part in the administration and governance of their Province, and which will enable me as Governor-General to keep a close watch over the affairs of Baluchistan and to make the problems of the people of this great Province my own special care as I am bound to do under the present provisional constitution of Pakistan. I may here draw your attention that as a matter of fact the present Constitution—the Indian Independence Act and adaptations of Government of India Act, 1935—make the position of the Governor-General and his responsibilities clear. As regards the Chief Commissioner's Province, the adaptations which are in operation in the present Constitution lay down:

i. that it shall be administered by the Governor-General, acting to such extent as he thinks fit, through a Chief Commissioner to be appointed by him in his discretion;
ii. the executive authority of the Federation extends to British Baluchistan but notwithstanding anything in this Act, no Act of the Federal Legislature shall apply to British Baluchistan unless the Governor-General in his discretion by public notification so directs and the Governor-General in giving such a discretion with respect to any Act may direct that the Act shall, in its applications to the Province, or to any specified part thereof, have effect subject to such exceptions or modifications as he thinks fit;
iii. the Governor-General may, in his discretion, make regulations for the peace and good government of British Baluchistan, and any regulations so made may repeal or amend any Act of the Federal Legislature or any existing Indian law which is for the

time being applicable to the Province and, when promulgated by the Governor-General, shall have the same force and effect as an Act of the Federal Legislature which applies to the Province.

The members of the Advisory Council will, of course, be nominated but let me assure you, gentlemen, that it will not be a nominal body. It will have the power to advise the Governor-General on any matter which in its opinion is connected with the good of the Province. Similarly, the Governor-General will refer any matter which may come before him through the Chief Commissioner for the opinion and advice of the Council. The budget of the Province, for instance, will be checked and scrutinized first by the Advisory Council in all its details and it will be free to submit its recommendations to the Governor-General.

From what I have stated, you will see that I am only trying to make a beginning in giving the people of Baluchistan their due share in the administration and I am affording to them the opportunities to play full part in the shaping of their future administration and advancing the welfare of the people generally. For instance, all plans for the future political, economic, social and educational development of the Province will be prepared and submitted through the Advisory Council and it will be for the Governor-General to see that these plans are implemented with consultation and advice of the Council. Thus, gentlemen, in some ways you will be better off than the other provinces of Pakistan. Here you will have, in fact, a Governor-General's Province and you will become my special responsibility and care, and let me assure that you, in the sphere of the activities of the Council, the Governor-General, will adopt such measures as may be necessary in consultation with his Advisory Council from time to time.

The notification which is to issue[7] on this subject will set out the functions and the scope of the Advisory Council as well as its composition. It will contain people's representatives of the Administered Areas which used to be known as British Baluchistan and the Leased Areas. It will include representative of the Tribal Areas. It will also reflect the considered opinion of the members of the *Shahi Jirga* and the Municipality of Quetta. In the creation of this Council, as you will observe, special care has been taken to ensure that power and authority is derived as far as possible from the people. At the same time, the setting up of the Advisory Council will not in any way detract from

the status of these areas, nor from the freedom of the inhabitants of these areas to mould their future constitution and to form the administration in accordance with their own customs and traditions. The setting up of the Council will in no way affect that measure of independence which is already enjoyed by the people of the Tribal Areas, nor can it change the present status of the Leased Areas. On the other hand, this new measure is intended to bring about a harmony of ideas between the Government and the people in the various areas of Baluchistan and to make the Government machinery efficient and responsive to the people. It will impose upon the administration of Baluchistan the responsibility of marching in step with the wishes of its people and afford the people opportunities for sharing henceforth, with their Government, the cares and responsibilities of the administration.

I may point out that Baluchistan is a deficit province already to the extent of one crore and a half, and Pakistan will have to bear a further financial burden to help the people as indicated above, but I am hopeful that Pakistan will not hesitate to bear it for the sake of the progress and welfare of the people of Baluchistan.

In proposing this scheme, I have had one underlying principle in mind, the principle of Muslim democracy. It is my belief that our salvation lies in following the golden rules of conduct set for us by our great law-giver, the Prophet of Islam [PBUH]. Let us lay the foundation of our democracy on the basis of truly Islamic ideals and principles. Our Almighty has taught us that our decisions in the affairs of the State shall be guided by discussions and consultations. I wish you, my brethren of Baluchistan, Godspeed and all success in the opening of this new era. May your future be as bright as I have always prayed for and wished it to be. May you all prosper.

Pakistan Zindabad!

[1]Yusufi, *Speeches of Quaid-i-Azam*, IV, 2675-82.

[2]See Waheed Ahmad, ed., *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Speeches Indian Legislative Assembly*, Karachi, 1991, 501-3.

[3]See Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, ed , *Foundations of Pakistan*, Vol II, Karachi, 1970, 393.

[4]No. 164, *TP*, XII, 233-49.

[5]See Appendix VI.1, Vol. III, para 15, 943.

[6]Appendix III.8, Vol. IV, 527.

[7]Notification No. F. 1(6)-B/49 dated 26 February 1949, issued by the Ministry of States and Frontier Regions, was published in the *Gazette of Pakistan Extraordinary* of the same date. See F. 214-GG/45-8. Not printed.

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Mohammad Hasan & Others to M. A. Jinnah

F. 187(2)-GG/17-8

THE PIPALS,
MLAs RESIDENCE,
LAHORE,
14 February 1948

May it please Your Excellency,

Your humble petitioners were elected members of the Constituent Assembly, India, from districts now forming East Punjab. As Your Excellency is well aware, your humble petitioners were obliged to leave their homes and their losses in life and property were very great indeed. As matters now stand, your humble petitioners do not see they can do much service to their constituents by taking part in the deliberations of the Constituent Assembly, India (New Delhi), as their electors have all migrated to Pakistan.

Your Excellency's humble petitioners therefore pray that Your Excellency may be pleased to take them as Members of the Constituent Assembly, Pakistan, as by this time most of the refugees from the East Punjab have definitely settled in Pakistan.

Your humble petitioners also venture to point out to Your Excellency that non-Muslim Members of the Constituent Assembly, Pakistan, have been taken as Members of the Constituent Assembly, India.

Your Excellency's humble petitioners,

MOH[AMMA]D HASAN
MLA, Leader of the Muslim League Party, East Punjab

S. MAHBUB ILAHI

ABDUL HAMID KHAN SOOFI
MLA

M. DAUD GHAZNAVI
MLA

81

Replies by M. A. Jinnah to Questions at a Press Conference[1]

SIBI,
15 February 1948

The question was: Why is Baluchistan being made into Governor-General's province under reforms announced[2] by you at the *Darbar* yesterday and are you in favour of dictatorship?

The Governor-General's answer was: I believe it will be better off that way. Things would be done far more quickly than in the usual process of full-fledged parliamentary discussions. But it does not mean that I am in favour of dictatorship.

I take this as flattering to myself that my heart, my soul and my pulse ensure that I shall be very useful to Baluchistan in its present condition. There are two reasons for this proposed reform: (one) I want to help Baluchistan in every way I can; and (two) things will be done far more quickly.

The Governor-General stated that the other provinces in Pakistan had gone through all the preliminary stages of parliamentary Governments. For Baluchistan, there was no other way in the present circumstances but to throw the whole burden on the Governor-General. Asked regarding the constitution and scope of the proposed Advisory Council for Baluchistan, the Quaid-i-Azam said: The Council will be nominated by the Governor-General, but he will not make it a nominal body. He will see that he makes it a really representative body.

MINORITY REPRESENTATION

Replying to a question if the minorities would get representation on the Council, the Quaid-i-Azam said that he had made it clear in his address yesterday that every interest would be represented on the Council.

He parried the suggestion that the masses had no voice in the Province and would go unrepresented by saying that they had their voice but they were not sufficiently organized and were still in the elementary stage.

KALAT'S ACCESSION

Questioned as to what had transpired between him and the Khan of Kalat during their discussion in Sibi on the issue of the accession of Kalat State, the Governor-General declined to state the talks but he explained that the Khan of Kalat was to meet him in the evening on February 14, but

owing to sudden indisposition, he was unable to do so.

The Quaid-i-Azam then read out a letter which he had received from the Khan of Kalat late last evening. The letter stated: "I have summoned both the houses of *Dar-ul-Awam* and *Dar-ul-Umra* to give me their final opinion on their future relations with the Dominion of Pakistan by the 21st or 22nd of this month and I shall be able to inform you, Quaid-i-Azam, of their considered opinion by the end of this month.

After reading the letter, the Quaid-i-Azam told the pressmen: Under these circumstances, I shall wait for his final reply and I hope that he will send it to me definitely before the end of this month."

KASHMIR ISSUE

Asked to express his views on the Kashmir issue, the Quaid-i-Azam said: I cannot say anything on the Kashmir issue as UNO is dealing with the issue and anything in the circumstances might aggravate the situation. He said that as far as he could gather from the newspapers, the Pakistan delegation to the UNO was not returning. Asked if Karachi was being made into a separate federal province, the Quaid-i-Azam said: "It is decided that Karachi is going to be the capital of Pakistan and a committee has been appointed to consider other issues pertaining to Karachi."[3]

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Speeches and Statements as Governor-General of Pakistan, 1947 48, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Islamabad, 1989, 145-7.

[2]No. 79.

[3]See Appendix II.2.

82

S. M. Yusuf to Pirzada Abdus Sattar

F. 47 (2)-GG/3

MOST IMMEDIATE *16 February 1948*

Dear Pirzada Sahib,

I am desired by the Quaid-i-Azam to enclose herewith, in original, demi-official letter No. 982-PB/47 dated the 15th of February 1948,[1] from the Director, Food Supplies, Quetta, to Mr. Ishaque, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Health, setting out the present food situation in Baluchistan, and to say that the Quaid-i-Azam would like you to give this matter your immediate attention, and let him know the steps taken by you to meet Baluchistan's food requirements.

I am further to add that the position is rather acute and if immediate

action is not taken very serious situation is likely to develop in Baluchistan. In case there are any difficulties in the way of your meeting their requirements, the Quaid-i-Azam would like to discuss the matter personally with you.

Yours sincerely,
S. M. YUSUF

Pirzada Abdus Sattar, Esq.,
Minister for Food, Agriculture, and Health,
Karachi

Enclosure to No. 82
Director, Food Supplies to H. S. Mohammad Ishaque

F. 47 (2)-GG/1

FOOD SUPPLIES DIRECTORATE,
QUETTA,
15 February 1948

My dear Ishaque,

Will you please refer to Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Health's last telegram[1] to me in which it was stated that one thousand tons of wheat had been allotted to Baluchistan from Karachi, that this was all we could expect for the rest of the crop year and that the wheat ration in Baluchistan should be cut by 50%.

2. When this Administration authorised me to surrender over 13,000 tons out of our previously declared wheat deficit in the basic plan in order to afford relief to other parts of Pakistan, it was anticipated that the Food Ministry would give us the balance when we asked for it. The reasons why it was found necessary at the end of January to ask for 7,500 tons instead of the 2,500 tons, anticipated at the beginning of November to see us through the crop year were explained in my letter No. 982-P.B/47 dated the 2nd February 1948.[2] In Karachi on the 10th February I explained to Ijaz Ahmad and Bokhari that the figure of 7,500 tons allowed for a margin of 2,000 tons to be carried forward as balance on the 1st May 1948 and that it was based on a monthly off-take during the winter months of 3,500 tons including the requirements of Kharan and Lasbela States. The actual off-take during January including Lasbela and Kharan was 3,506 tons which shows that the figure of 3,500 is a sound basis for estimating our requirements upto the end of April, since it is considered undesirable for political reasons to reduce the present wheat ration in Baluchistan. On this

basis our minimum requirements are as follows:

i. During February	1000	tons	already allotted from Karachi
ii. During March	3750	"	
iii. During April	2000	"	

These figures have been calculated as follows:

Balance in hand on 1st Feb.	5159	"	
Allotted from Karachi	985	"	(1000 less 15 for Lasbela)
Allotted from Khairpur Mirs	300	"	
Total	6444	"	
Deduct off-take during Feb.	-3500	"	
Balance on 1st March	2944	"	
To be allotted during March	+3750	"	
Total	6694	"	
Off-take during March	-3500	"	
Balance on 1st April	3194	"	
To be allotted during April	+2000	"	
Total	5194	"	
Off-take during April	-3500	"	
Balance carried forward on 1st May	1694	"	

It is urgently requested that these figures may be accepted and that I may be informed of this telegraphically[3] as early as possible.

Yours sincerely,
[DIRECTOR, FOOD SUPPLIES]

H. S. Mohammad Ishaque, Esq.,
Joint Secretary,
Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Health,
Karachi

[3]Not traceable

83

M. Yunus to M. A. Jinnah

F. 117-GG/41

DAR-UL-MALLIK,
FRASER ROAD,
PATNA,
16 February 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am addressing this to you in connection with the Central Muslim League Bihar Relief Committee's affairs. The work needed here is almost done, and as I have expressed my views before, it is unnecessary to invest any money in permanent relief work in this Province. It will be better if such permanent investment out of the Bihar Relief Fund, is made at Karachi. I have already submitted my schemes previously,[1] and if necessary can present the same again.

As I may constantly have to visit Karachi to see my son and grandsons and to look to other affairs, if I may be permitted, I may see you personally and discuss matters.

There is one thing to which I wish to draw your pointed attention that a large quantity of clothing and blankets are lying here useless, as the refugees have been given more than once, and these should be sent to Pakistan to help the needy. I have tried my best, but the people here have put obstacles in my way, and do not permit these things to be sent. I feel sure that the donor's intention was to give relief to the Bihar Muslim sufferers, but when things are surplus, they must be utilised to the best advantage rather than to let them go waste. If I have your directive, I will do so, in spite of all opposition.

There are some trucks and jeeps which are also surplus here, and if I am directed I may send them also to Pakistan, wherever they may be required and may be more usefully employed.

People here want some more money to wind up the affairs of the Relief Committee and pay up some dues. If it is considered desirable to send some more money, it may be sent to the Hon. Khwaja Nazimuddin Saheb at Dacca.

Yours fraternally and sincerely,
M. YUNUS
L.L.D., Bar-at-Law
ex-Premier of Bihar

Jinnah advised Khwaja Nazimuddin that a committee may be set up to prepare a practical scheme for the relief of Bihar refugees. See F 117-GG/37. Not printed.

84

Mohemdali Alireza to M. Ikramullah

Telegram, F. 11-GG/48

BOMBAY,
16 February 1948

Conveyed your telegram of eleventh instant[1] to His Highness Amir Saud who expressed his sincere thanks and obligations to His Excellency beloved Quaid-i-Azam and the Pakistan Government and yourself and with great pleasure accepts to be the guest of the Pakistan Government in Karachi on his return home from Bombay. Date of his arrival at Karachi[2] and period of his stay there will be telegraphed to you few days before his departure. Sincere regards to Quaid-i-Azam and yourself.

[1] Not traceable.
[2] He arrived on 18 March and called on Jinnah the same day. See F. 11-GG/50 & F. 1156, 55, *QAP*. Not printed.

85

A. Hilaly to S. M. Yusuf

F. 125 (6)-GG/4

KARACHI,
No. D. 1240-P/48 *17 February 1948*

My dear Yusuf,

His Excellency Mr. Paul H. Alling, American Ambassador to Pakistan, arrived yesterday. He called formally on the Foreign Office today requesting us to fix a date and time for the ceremony of the presentation of his credentials to the Quaid-i-Azam. We will be grateful if you will kindly obtain the Quaid-i-Azam's orders and let us know.[1]

Yours sincerely,
A. HILALY

[1] S. M. Yusuf informad Hilaly that 26 February had provisionally been fixed for the ceremony. See F. 125 (6)-GG/5. Not printed.

86

Draft of Broadcast by M. A. Jinnah to USA[1]

F. 65 (3)-GG/8-11

[17 February 1948]

In just five minutes I wish to talk to you about the fifth largest State in the world—Pakistan. Yes, Pakistan is the fifth largest State in the world. It is also the world's largest Muslim country.

I could tell you of its prosperous agricultural background; of its industrial and potential mineral wealth, as yet comparatively undeveloped and untapped; and of its wild mountain frontiers, so well-known both in history and legend. But your own newspaper correspondents and radio commentators have already told you of these things, and more vividly than I could ever hope to describe in this short radio talk. And, although these things are in themselves important, they are not Pakistan, the Pakistan which has recently taken its place in the comity [*sic*] of nations; the Pakistan of which I want to talk to you about.

This Pakistan is seventy million people. The world already knows of some of them. Their military prowess and courage have ensured that. Their forbears, few in number, came through the northern passes and settled in the sub-continent which they ruled for many years. Later they fought for freedom during the two World Wars on nearly every battlefront. They fought with your own fighting men in North Africa, Burma and Italy; perhaps with you, or with your sons.

But at that time these men were not Pakistanis. Before they could call themselves Pakistanis they had to fight another battle, a battle for personal freedom, achievement and establishment of a national independent sovereign State in the north west and north east of sub-continent of India which constituted their homeland, a battle, indeed, for their own national entity and identity. These we attained on August 15 last year when the right to create our own State, and to take charge of our own destiny was finally realized. The 15th of August is to us what the 4th of July is to you. It is not necessary for me to trace the course of that historical struggle which led us upto the 15th of August, but it is as well to remember that there lies another struggle in front of us for building and retaining our freedom and thus further battle has yet to be won.

It will be a hard struggle; but before my Government can turn its undivided attention to the task that is the true task of all governments—the imporvement of the living standards of my people by harnessing and exploiting the natural forces and resources of the country, and to assure them freedom from want and fear—we have immense problems to solve. You know of our refugee problem. We have already resettled millions, an achievement of which we are justly proud. But it will take a long time to rehabilitate completely the millions who survived one of the world's most horrible massacres to march into the land of their own creation. We have many other problems; administrative, economic, industrial, and financial. But we are confident that we will overcome them all.

We believe that you, and other freedom-loving peoples will take a friendly interest in our well-being. We believe in friendship between nations, and that through organisations such as the United Nations, Pakistan with all other countries, will one day emerge into a better world.

It is such assistance that we need from you and the rest of the world. We also seek the help and advice of your engineers and technicians to create industries to raise the living standards of my people, and thus the living standards of the world. We are hoping that you will export to us some of the machines and the equipment which only countries such as you can at present supply. But we are not asking for charity. I want you to understand that quite clearly. We also have much to give to the world; jute and cotton, to mention only two. We have a favourable trade balance, and our economy is sound because, like yours, it is based on agriculture. Our contribution to the world's wealth will be greatly increased by the implementation of the industrial programme my Government is working out and in this respect we shall be guided by the glorious examples set by countries like yours.

My people are determined to fight their way to success. I wish you could see them. I wish you could go into their villages, and enjoy their hospitality. They are sturdy and independent. They know how to work, and how to enjoy the fruits of honest work. They have that sense of humour which is such a necessary requisite if difficulties are to be successfully overcome. And, although many of them are simple people, their faith in democracy is firm, and their ability to work out their destiny by democratic methods unquestionable.

This may surprise many of you, knowing as you do, their economic background and their recent emergence as a free people. But I would like to remind you that Pakistan is a Muslim country. Islam, like Christianity, is essentially a faith, based on democratic principles. For us every man is equal. We have no caste system, no false social barriers. Every man, no matter if he labours in the fields or owns a vast industrial concern, is first and foremost a man, and a Pakistani. For that reason we are proud of being Muslims, and of belonging to the largest Muslim State in the World.

Islam has stood for equality of mankind, liberty and fraternity for thirteen centuries.

Pakistan is not going to be a theocratic State, that is, rule of or by priests with divine mission. We have many non-Muslims such as Hindus, Christians, Parsis. But they are all Pakistanis and equal citizens with equal rights and privileges and every right to play their part in the affairs of Pakistan national state.

I have so much to tell you. But this will not be the last time that you will hear from us. We want you to know us, as we want to know you. I will say only one thing more. Physically Pakistan is divided by hundreds of miles of Indian territory into West and East Pakistan, but among us seventy million Pakistanis there is no division. We are Pakistan, and by our own efforts and with the will of the Almighty we will become a great and good country, anxious and able to play our part in the affairs of the world with credit and honour befitting a great nation.

Pakistan Zindabad!

Out of the two drafts on file, one by S A. Jawad and the other by Z. A. Bokhari, the latter was corrected by Jinnah and is reproduced here. See F. 65 (3)-GG/2-6 & 7. Not printed. Also see Yusufi, *Speeches of Quaid-i-Azam*, IV, 2692-5.

87

Maratib Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 888/87

2 MULCHAND MANSIONS,
McLEOD ROAD, KARACHI,
18 February 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am most grateful for Your Excellency's kind letter No. D. 532-GG/48

dated 4th February, 1948,[1] which was delivered to me here on the 16th instant. Owing to unforeseen requirements I have not been able to go to Lahore as yet. I am, however, now leaving for Delhi on the 22nd February to attend the Reserve Bank meeting and hope to reach Lahore on the 25th instant, when I will make enquiries to let Your Excellency's bungalow[2] and would inform your goodself of the result.

Assuring you of my best attention to all your commands, with best regards,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
MARATIB ALI

[1]Not traceable.
[2]House No. 53, Lahore Cant. See No. 93, Vol. V, 100-2.

88

Broadcast by M. A. Jinnah to the People of Australia[1]

F. 65 (4)-GG/6-12

19 February 1948

It is common talk these days that the world grows smaller: its peoples know more about each other, and their interests are becoming increasing[ly] interlocked. Yet, I wonder what the people of Australia know of Pakistan. Is it, I have been asking myself, more than a name to them? Is it merely an old and not quite comprehensible experiment by those unpredictable persons, the Asiatics? Well, today I am very glad to have the opportunity of telling you something about Pakistan and what it means to sixty-five million people.

Pakistan is made up of two blocks of territory. One in the North-East and one in the North-West of the sub-continent of India. In the East, it is a land washed by great slow-moving rivers, and it is dependent for its prosperity largely on the monsoon rains. The West is a land of greater variety—of desert, of fertile irrigated plains, of mountains and valleys. The people are mostly simple folk, poor, not very well educated and with few interests beyond the cultivation of their fields. As I say, they are poor; but they come of hardy, vigorous stock, and I think without boasting I can claim that they are brave. They made good soldiers, and have won renown in many battles. They have fought side by your side in two World Wars.

For the present, agriculture is our mainstay. With a population of about 22 per cent of what was formerly British India, Pakistan produces

about 33 per cent of the total tonnage of rice and about 40 per cent of the total tonnage of wheat. In essential foods we are, therefore, comparatively fortunate. We also have some important commercial crops, such as jute, cotton and tobacco. The greater part of the world's jute is grown in East Bengal, and it gives us the great benefit of earning large sums of foreign exchange. Foreign exchange will be very valuable to us in setting up and expanding our industries.

As yet we have very few big industries. I believe that at least one of the distinguished sons of Australia—I mean Mr. R.G. Casey—could tell you that our country offers immense opportunities for development and enrichment, and that we ourselves, the people, are restless to take advantage of them. For the present, however, we are short of capital and technical knowledge; but given a little time, and here and there a friendly hand, these deficiencies should be made good. In this matter of industrialization and capital development we have no prejudices or false pride. We know our present weaknesses in these directions and we should certainly welcome any investment which would be likely to strengthen our economy. I do not believe that anyone from abroad who gives a helping hand would have reason to regret it.

West Pakistan is separated from East Pakistan by about a thousand miles of the territory of India. The first question a student from abroad should ask himself is—how can this be? How can there be unity of government between areas so widely separated? I can answer this question in one word. It is "faith": faith in Almighty God, in ourselves, and in our destiny. But I can see that people who do not know us well might have difficulty in grasping the implications of so short an answer. Let me, for a moment, build up the background for you.

The great majority of us are Muslims. We follow the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad (may peace be on him). We are members of the brotherhood of Islam in which all are equal in rights, dignity and self-respect. Consequently, we have a special and a very deep sense of unity. But make no mistake: Pakistan is not a theocracy or anything like it. Islam demands from us the tolerance of other creeds and we welcome, in closest association with us, all those who, of whatever creed, are themselves willing and ready to play their part as true and loyal citizens of Pakistan.

Not only are most of us Muslims but we have our own history, customs and traditions and those ways of thought, outlook and instinct which go to make up a sense of nationality. We have had a place in India for many centuries. At one time it was a supreme place. This was when the edict of the Moghuls ran from shore to shore. We look back on that period merely from historical point of view. Now we have got

a comparatively small place—comparatively small although four times the size of England. It is ours and we are content with it. We have no aggressive designs upon our neighbours. We wish to live in peace and friendship, and to work out our destiny quietly in our own way and make our rightful contribution in the affairs of the world.

Our people have not achieved their ambition to have a place of their own without great suffering. You will have read in the newspapers of the appalling events that have taken place in Northern India. To us, it is not a newspaper event: it is the suffering and life-blood of our kith and kin. None of us, whether we be of Pakistan or of India, can speak of it without the deepest grief. Men, women and children have been massacred in their thousands—millions are homeless. The trouble once having started, the people of both sides have hit back at each other, and I would hope that they are ashamed of it.

I speak for my Government when I say that we have done everything in our power to hold in check the lawless spirit of revenge. It has not been easy, but I am truly thankful that we have succeeded in so large a measure. Above everything else, we need peace and good fellowship. Also, I would believe that I speak for every one of us in Pakistan when I say that our sufferings, terrible as they have been, have only strengthened us in our resolve to preserve our State and to count it as our greatest blessing. In my public speeches and in every sphere of the Government in which I have influence, I have emphasized and enjoined that Pakistan must not sit back and brood over its injuries. Our people must work—and work hard—to repair and to enrich their country. We are determined to go ahead, and God willing, we shall succeed.

In the setting up of our new State, I would expect a special understanding of our problems by the people of Australia. After all, it is not so long ago that your forebears were breaking new ground, organizing the administration, scheming to develop the riches of the earth, safeguarding the future of you, their children, and, most important, achieving their sense of identity as Australians, which you have inherited. We are in much the same stage. Doubtless, we shall make mistakes—just, perhaps, as you have made mistakes. But just as you have succeeded, so too, we shall succeed.

There is another reason why I think you should not regard Pakistan merely as another name on an already overcrowded map. Pakistan is, in fact, a very importatnt addition to the long line of Muslim countries through which your communications pass to the Mediterranean and to Europe. We are naturally in very close association with these countries.

There is, I would believe, a good measure of fellow-feeling between

Muslims and the British people. It comes, perhaps, from a practical way of thinking and an aversion from [*sic* for to] mere theorizing and sentiment. There are, of course, rubs and difficulties and misunderstandings now and then; but these are not so important as the friendship. Certainly, we, in Pakistan, who know the British people well have nothing but good-feeling in our hearts. In the somewhat electric atmosphere of the last decade we have said bitter things of them, about British domination and their system of rule. That is now past and forgotten in the achievement of our freedom and establishment of Pakistan and in the friendly handshake and association of equal peoples.

In this short talk, I hope that I have given you some impression of Pakistan, of our people, and what Pakistan means to all of us. It has been suggested to me that in conclusion I should send a greeting to the people of Australia. I do so gladly; and I can think of no better greeting than one which is traditional amongst us: *Assalaamo 'Alaikum* which is, "may peace be on you".

Pakistan Zindabad!

Sponsored by R G Casey, Australian Liberal Party leader and former Governor of Bengal, from January 1944 to February 1946. It had been recorded on 19 February and was broadcast on 6 May 1948 over about 80 stations in Australia. See F. 65 (4)-GG/1 & 23. Not printed. Also see No. 340.

89

A. D. F. Dundas to M. A. Jinnah

F. 214-GG/5-7

SECRET
D. O. No. 144-S

SIBI,
19 February 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

This letter[1] is to put forward my own views on the future Advisory Council, in order to learn on what points they carry your agreement or what other line you wish to follow.

COMPOSITION

2. I visualize a Council of ten, or at the most twelve, and presume that you wish the Agent to the Governor-General to be president of it, though he would not attend every meeting all the time. There is no other way in which I can give a Council the help which I hope to give it.

3. My first idea was that the Council should be a sub-committee of the *Shahi Jirga,* and that the members should be recommended for

nomination by the *Shahi Jirga* itself, after an election or by any other method they prefer. The point of this was that the Council should be directly responsible to some larger body than itself. I do not want the members to be responsible only to the Governor-General, but also to be answerable to, and to be called in question by, the body from whom they are chosen. To allow for the representation of wider interests than at present, I thought the *Shahi Jirga* might be enlarged by the addition of two members from the Municipal Committee, or of one from Quetta and one from other bazaar areas, and perhaps two from [the] matriculates, chosen by election. I would then recommend one or more of these additional members for nomination to the Council in addition to the ten whom the *Shahi Jirga* might propose. This would make the Council ten of the old *Shahi Jirga* members, one representative of business and one representative of the younger educated men.

4. However, I do not think you have accepted the scheme of a sub-committee of the *Shahi Jirga*. This knocks out the idea of making the Council officially answerable to the *Shahi Jirga*. I would still, however, like to ask the *Shahi Jirga*, to give me the names—six, eight, ten or whatever it may be—to make up their share of the Council.

5. The question of total numbers then arises. I regard twelve as the absolute maximum if we are to get the members to take their responsibilities sufficiently seriously. I contemplate spending days explaining to them such matters as the proportional allotment of funds between Education and Agriculture, "24.50 per cent overhead charges", "non-effective charges", the necessity for taxation and so on. The fewer there are for this, the better. I would prefer a limit of four or five. But there are so many "interests" to be represented that this is hardly practicable. There are five Agencies (or Districts) each with peculiar problems of its own; there are Pathans, Baluchs and Brahuis, each with a different language and different tribal law; there are "Leased Areas" "Tribal Areas" and the old "British Baluchistan"; even within the Tribal Areas the problems of Marri/Bugti are quite different from the others, and Marri is quite different from Bugti. Then there are the commercial interests, which are mainly, but not entirely, concentrated in Quetta. There are the minorities, with their own Hindu Panchayats, Anglo-Indian Associations and other ways of making themselves heard. There are the educated young men who have no chance of ever being *Sardars* or of otherwise having any more say in the governance of the land than if they were still illiterate. There are what our Communist friends called "the masses", who are in fact mostly tribesmen with a little land or a few animals of their own. There are no "masses" in the accepted sense of the word. There are a few thousand labourers, in the coal

mines or the chromium mines, or in the railway workshops, but most of these are also tribesmen with some small stake of their own elsewhere.

6. Most of the above " interests" could be fairly represented by ten members of the *Shahi Jirga*. It would be possible for the *Jirga* so to choose ten members, and they would have no complaint against the Government if they did not do so, as to have two members from each Agency (or District), five Pathans and five Baluchs or Brahuis, three from the Leased Areas, three from the old British Baluchistan, three from the remaining Tribal Areas and one from Marri-Bugti—any or all of these combinations. Members thus chosen could fairly claim to represent the peculiar problems of each Agency, the Leased Areas, the Tribal Areas, the old "British Baluchistan", Pathans, Baluchs, Brahuis and the masses. It is to be emphasised that the tribe chooses the *Sardars, Waderas, Muqaddams* and so on in the first place, not the Government, and although the choice is based on the hereditary principle, this is by no means invariably observed; the tribes, or masses, are therefore just as closely represented by their leaders as in any system of ballot-boxes and voting-papers.

7. I do not wish to suggest that the *Shahi Jirga* is finally and completely representative, but it is not a very long way from being so. This Administration did in fact work out a scheme early last year for making it more representative, on a basis of one member of each 5,000 of the population elected by *Jirga* not by ballot-box, but the scheme came to nothing when major constitutional changes supervened. But this is the sort of scheme to be considered in the drafting of the final constitution, not for the Advisory Council which we want to get working quickly.

8. Commercial or trading interests could best be represented by the elected Vice-President of the Quetta Municipality, who is a prominent businessman. Quetta is the centre of business in Baluchistan, though there is outlying business in such places as Chaman, Nushki, Bostan and elsewhere. The Vice-President of the Municipality is doubly elected, once by his Ward, to be a member of the Committee, and again by the Committee to be Vice-President. He is a Muslim.

9. I do not suggest any direct representation of the minorities, whose numbers are too small a percentage of the total population. The Agent to the Governor-General cannot represent them in his personal capacity, even though he is at the moment one of them himself, but might be specially charged by the Governor-General with official responsibility for their protection, as indeed he regards himself even now.

10. The twelfth member might be chosen by election from among matriculates or above, excluding Government servants and all who are not permanent residents of Baluchistan. (These phrases would

require more exact definition, but serve to convey my meaning).

11. I have made no separate mention of the Muslim League, because this does not aim to be a separate interest. It is inclined at the moment in Baluchistan to think that it is, but this phase will pass. All the same I think the *Sardars* would only be cutting their own throats if they did not put forward the names of at least one or two of their own number [sic] who have been prominent in the All India Muslim League, such as Ghulam Muhammad Tarin, Haji Surat Khan of Duki and Sardar Muhammad Usman Khan Jogezai. If special provision is made, it might be for the President and General Secretary for the time being of the League.

12. Finally, I would not like to be too rigid over these numbers. If the *Shahi Jirga* could not make a distribution of ten to their own satisfaction, but could make a distribution of six, eight, or twelve I would let them do so.

PERIOD OF OFFICE

13. In order to lessen the rivalry for appointment, at least I hope it would have this effect, I suggest that the period of office be limited to one year with a rule that no one is eligible to be a member for two successive years.

DUTIES

14. "To advise the Governor-General on such matters of policy as he may refer to them, including matters of financial policy but excluding his relations with the States".

I should then be issued with your instructions on what matters are from time to time to be referred to the Council. I would like to refer practically all matters of policy to them and a great many others on which I require advice, but it would be disastrous for them to have anything to do with the details of day-to-day administration, such as the posting of officers, the giving of contracts to individuals or anything else which opens the door to dishonest practices.

EMOLUMENTS

15. I do not want membership of the Council to be a source of profit or even a means of livelihood. In other places where I have served I have seen this give rise at once to greed and then to corruption. In Baluchistan, public service is still almost entirely honorary. *Jirga*-members are only paid when they are summoned to districts other than their own, and then only bare expenses. I would like to keep this principle going in the Council.

STAFF

16. I shall not be able to do all that I want done for this Council myself.

It will take days of patience to explain to them the intricacies of a budget. They will require a Secretary to keep their records and to be constantly at their service. I have the very man in mind. This is the present Under-Secretary to the Agent to the Governor-General who is just retiring. His home is in Gurdaspur and he cannot return there, so he would be glad of further employment in Quetta even, as he says, on a reduced pay. This means that we could have his services for less than half what they are worth, as he would be drawing his leave-pay, followed by pension; whether he works or not. He is a quite well-respected man of great experience, possessed of patience and an equable temperament, and can be completely trusted not to take sides or attempt to force his own will or point of view on the members of the Council. He would give the Council a very fair set-off on its difficult voyage. I have not so far consulted him about this proposal, nor considered what other staff he would require—probably one clerk and two or three peons.

17. I have unfortunately still not received a copy of the record of your discussions with the various deputations, but I understand you invited any of them who wished to offer constructive suggestions, to submit them to you in writing. I have been telling the *Sardars* that you have not yet finally made up your mind about the size, composition, duties etc. of the Council, and that you want their opinion on all these points, not merely mine. I think they will produce one, or perhaps two, but not very quickly. The Jogezai Nawab is now in Karachi for a few days for a meeting of the Constituent Assembly.

18. Before I close, may I say how well your announcement,[2] Quaid-i-Azam, appears to have been received on all sides.

Yours sincerely,
A. D. F. DUNDAS

[1]Acknowledged by Jinnah. See F. 214-GG/10. Not printed.
[2]No. 79.

90

A. Waheed to Abdul Sattar Khan[1]

F. 86-GG/36

KARACHI,
20 February 1948

Will you please arrange to exchange the attached International Reply Coupon[2] for 9 cents for postage stamps representing this amount.

2. If it is not possible to exchange this in GG's P.O., please have it done from the G.P.O.

Thank you,

A. WAHEED
Assistant-in-charge

[1]Sub-Postmaster at Governor-General's House Post Office.
[2]Sent by William E. DeMelt from USA to cover postal charges for Jinnah's autograph, which was dispatched on 20 February. See F. 86-GG/35 & 37. Not printed.

91

F. Amin to A.D.F. Dundas

Telegram, F. 47 (2)-GG/4

IMMEDIATE

SIBI,
BALUCHISTAN,
21 February 1948

Reference your talk with Quaid-i-Azam about food requirments of Baluchistan. Matter being attended to and satisfactory arrangements are going to be made.

F. AMIN

92

A. Hilaly to S.M. Yusuf

F. 1025/193

KARACHI,
21 February 1948

My dear Yusuf,

I enclose a copy of a report sent by Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar to us after his visit to Ceylon. We will be glad if you will put it up to the Quaid-i-Azam for his information.

Yours sincerely,
A. HILALY

Enclosure to No. 92
Report by A.R. Nishtar on his Visit to Ceylon

F. 1025/194-200

SECRET *19 February 1948*

[*Para 1 omitted*]

2. I left Karachi in the afternoon of 8th February 1948 and reached Bombay in the evening. I stayed with the President of Bombay Provincial Muslim League where prominent Muslim Leaguers met me and discussed various difficulties that they were confronting. After dinner I went through the camps where Pakistan Government servants and other refugees are looked after by philanthropic Muslims of Bombay. I thanked all those who were looking after those arrangements. Next morning, that is on 9th, I left for Ceylon and reached there at about 5 p.m. Two Ministers of Ceylon and representatives of various Muslim organizations were present at the aerodrome to receive me. One of the Ministers is the son of the Prime Minister Mr. [Stephen] Senanayake and the other is a Muslim, Mr. [T.B.] Jaya, who is also Principal of the biggest Muslim College of Ceylon. [*Portion omitted*]

3. The Ceylon Muslim League gave me a big reception. A procession was arranged by them which ended in a big meeting which I addressed. Another meeting was arranged at Kandy by the Kandy Muslim League which also gave me a lunch. An address was presented to me at Kandy by the Pathan Association. These Pathans gave me Rs. 2,000 for Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund. The cheque has been handed over to the Treasurer of the Fund. A reception was also given to me by Dr. Subrayan of Ceylon Indian Congress. At this function Dr. Subrayan, another Minister from Madras, and myself spoke. A reference was made by one of the speakers of the Ceylon Indian Congress to the unfortunate position of minorities in India and Pakistan. The speaker made an appeal to Governments of Pakistan and India to treat their minorities fairly and protect them. Dr. Subrayan and the Finance Minister of Madras referred to this and said that Indian Government was trying their best, and that Mr. Gandhi gave his life to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity. I also addressed the meeting at length explaining to them the declarations made on this point by Quaid-i-Azam and Pakistan Government, from time to time, and the steps taken in pursuance of those declarations. I said that the policy of the Pakistan Government is not only to treat minorities fairly but generously and that although in Sind, on one or two occasions, some disturbances

took place, these troubles were of sporadic nature and were put down with a strong hand.

4. Sind merchants, who are Hindus from Hyderabad, Sind, also invited me and held discussions with me in the office of Indian Merchants Association. They gave me an address and I explained the situation in Sind to them and assured them that the exodus was entirely due to the propaganda of interested people. In the end, they thanked me for the assurances and information given to them.

[*Para 5 omitted*]

6. Muslims of Ceylon are about half a million. They are fairly well off and I found them greatly attached to Quaid-i-Azam and Pakistan. That is why none of the foreign representatives that went there was received by the people with such enthusiasm and affection as the representative of Pakistan. The Muslims pressed me very much to request Quaid-i-Azam to visit Ceylon. I also found feelings of goodwill for Pakistan generally in Ceylon. At the lunch given to me by Memons, the Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. [S.W.] Bandaranaike, spoke in very high terms of Quaid-i-Azam, Pakistan and Islam. [*Portion omitted*]

7. I had a discussion with Mr. Vithianathan, Foreign Secretary of Ceylon. He discussed with me the question of exchange of diplomatic representatives. He told me that he had received a communication from the Foreign Secretary, Pakistan Government, but could not reply because the Prime Minister, who is also Foreign Minister, is very busy with celebrations. He promised to send a reply very soon. He, however, said that although a declaration will be made for the exchange of High Commissioners, at present it would be desirable to exchange officers of the status of a Secretary. He thought that the appointment of a mere Trade Commissioner will not be very useful. I explained to him that Trade Commissioners are also now-a-days attached in most of the countries to Foreign Office, but that I would convey his views to the Foreign Ministry. I have already informed the Foreign Secretary about this matter.

[*Para 8 omitted*]

9. I was informed by some of our nationals that money orders that they want to send to Pakistan are not accepted by the post offices of Ceylon. I informed the Minister with whom I was staying and he sent for the Post Master General of Ceylon with whom I discussed the matter in detail. The matter will be pursued by the Communications Ministry, Pakistan, because some action at this end is also necessary.

[*Para 10 omitted*]

11. Almost in the beginning of my visit to Ceylon, in one function

the representative of South Africa, who has recently retired from his post as South African High Commissioner in England, met me. He discussed with me the question of coal and said that South Africa was prepared to sell five lakh tons of coal. I explained to him the real position on that point and told him that Commerce Ministry is in charge of such matters. He told me that he would visit Pakistan within a few days and discuss the matter with the Hon'ble Commerce Minister. He introduced this subject on four or five occasions and was very anxious that Pakistan should purchase coal from South Africa. I have informed the Hon'ble Commerce Minister about this matter.

12. Before I left Karachi, the Hon'ble Finance Minister had told me that I should speak to some Muslim capitalists of Ceylon about the loan[1] that was about to be floated by Pakistan Government. I discussed the matter with Muslim capitalists of Bombay as well as Ceylon and I hope their response will be good.

13. On one occasion, Mr. [Patrick] Gordon Walker, a Member of Parliament, who was one of the representatives of Britain, discussed with me the question of Kashmir. I did not like to go into details of the question with him but I gave him an idea of the efforts that were made by the Quaid-i-Azam and the Hon'ble Prime Minister from time to time to get the matter amicably settled and told him that on every occasion India Government evaded. He told me that he knew something about the invitation issued by the Prime Minister to Pandit Nehru and his declining to go to Lahore after accepting the invitation. His discussion disclosed that he got this information from Lord Mounbatten who had also told him that some harsh words were used by someone in Pakistan about Nehru's intention and that is why he did not go to Lahore.

14. I have given a brief account of my visit to Ceylon. My personal impression is that there is sufficient goodwill for Pakistan in that island and it is absolutely essential that an efficient representative is appointed by Pakistan for Ceylon to see that this goodwill increases and is not marred. Buddhists, for various reasons, do feel some affinity with Hindus because the founder of their religion was an Indian and is now-a-days looked upon by Hindus as one of their gods. Besides, there are lot of Indian Tamils in that country. The presence of Indian representative and the factors mentioned above may bring Ceylon closer to India, and India has an eye on that island. It would be very unfortunate if this country is entrapped by the neo-imperialism of India. I hinted to [*sic*] this aspect in my private talks to some of the Ministers in a very cautious manner without giving them even an

opportunity to think that I meant any propaganda against India.

[*Para 15 omitted*]

A. R. NISHTAR
Communications Minister

[1]See Enclosure 1 to No. 66, for a note on government loans. The government loans floated during 1948 fetched a total subscription of Rs. 705 million. See Chaudhri Mohamad Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan*, 1988, Lahore, 352.

93

Address by M. A. Jinnah to Officers and Men of the 5th Heavy Ack Ack and 6th Light Ack Ack Regiments

F. 204-GG/37-8

MALIR, KARACHI,
21 February 1948

Gentlemen!

As I stated, while addressing the Naval officers and men the other day,[1] the best way in which we can serve the cause of peace and the ideals of the United Nations Organisation is by making ourselves strong so that no power may dare harbour any aggressive designs against us. We have won the battle for Pakistan's freedom but the grimmer battle for the preservation of that freedom and building it on a firmer and sounder basis is still in progress and that battle has to be fought to a successful conclusion if we are to survive as a great nation. Nature's inexorable law is "the survival of the fittest" and we have to prove ourselves fit for our newly-won freedom. You have fought many a battle on the far-flung battlefields of the globe to rid the world of the Fascist menace and make it safe for democracy. Now you have to stand guard over the development and maintenance of Islamic democracy, Islamic social justice, and the equality of manhood in your own native soil. You will have to be alert, very alert, for the time for relaxation is not yet there. With faith, discipline and selfless devotion to duty, there is nothing worthwhile that you cannot achieve.

2. In this machine-age, when the misdirected genius of man forges new engines of destruction everyday, you have to keep abreast of the times and keep your knowledge and equipment up to date—not because we have any evil designs against any of our neighbours but because our own security demands that we should not be caught

unawares. There is nothing that we desire more than to live in peace and let others live in peace, and develop our country according to our own lights without outside interference, and improve the lot of the common man. This is no doubt going to be an uphill task but if we are determined to work earnestly and sincerely and are willing and ready to make sacrifices for the collective good of our nation, we shall soon achieve the aims and the end we have in view.

Pakistan Zindabad!

[1]No. 47.

94

Note by A. S. B. Shah

F. 216 (VI)-GG/43-5

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
AND COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS,
KARACHI,
23 February 1948

The following members of the *Shahi Jirga* spoke when Quaid-i-Azam met the *Shahi Jirga* at Sibi on 12th February 1948:

Nawab Moh[amma]d Khan Jogezai
Arbab Karam Khan Kansi
Noor Moh[amma]d Khan [Gulla] Balhedili
Sardar Ghulam Moh[amma]d Khan Tarin
Rustum Khan Jamali
Jafar Khan Jamali
Gulistan Khan of Shiran (Zhob)

2. Nawab Moh[amma]d Khan Jogezai was in favour of transferring more power to the hands of the *Shahi Jirga* whose members were alone in a position to maintain law and order and to support the administration. In his view the time was not yet ripe for introducing the law of *Shari'at* in Baluchistan. The *Jirga* system, with a few minor modifications, was all that was necessary at this juncture. The change-over to Islamic Law should be a gradual process, otherwise there was a danger that too abrupt a change might produce a disturbing effect on the peace and tranquillity of Baluchistan.

3. Arbab Karam Khan said that the law of Baluchistan should either be entirely *Shari'at* or entirely custom; half-way measures would not serve

the purpose and would merely expose the *Shari'at* of Islam to ridicule.

4. Sardar Ghulam Moh[amma]d Khan Tarin suggested that *Shahi Jirga* should now be ready to work in close cooperation with the Muslim League which, according to the *Sardar,* now represented the bulk of the people of Baluchistan. The *Shahi Jirga* should try to understand and accommodate the point of view of the poorer classes and adapt themselves to the conditions.

5. Rustum Khan Jamali asked that the future of Nasirabad *Tehsil* should now be decided one way or the other so that the people know whether Nasirabad would become a part of Pakistan or revert to Kalat State. He was personally in favour of Nasirabad becoming a part of Pakistan but he would have no objection if Quaid-i-Azam decided to hand it over to the Khan of Kalat.

6. Jafar Khan Jamali was in favour of keeping Nasirabad in Pakistan.

7. Gulistan [Khan] of Sheran said that his tribe had no affiliations with other tribes of the Zhob. He should, therefore, be permitted to represent the viewpoint of his tribe direct to the Government of Pakistan and separately from other tribes of Zhob.

8. Khan Bahadur Noor Moh[amma]d Khan Gulla Belhedili put forward what appeared to be the most intelligent and constructive proposals of the lot. Briefly, what he said was this: Baluchistan was a backward province. It could only hope to go forward if it was brought more directly under the Governor-General through some sort of an advisory body representing all shades of opinion and interests. Other provinces had gone far ahead of Baluchistan and before its people could run they must learn to walk. If they are to learn to frame their own constitution, they must be put in touch with what is going on at the government level. He considered that the most essential need of Baluchistan was that an all-out effort should be made to educate the people and to raise their economic standard. There should be an overall plan covering all parts of Baluchistan including the State of Kalat. They should all cooperate and work together and put their shoulders to the task that is ahead of them so that Baluchistan can become economically self-supporting and politically equal to other parts of Pakistan, within a short space of time. The advisory body should acquaint itself with the constitution of other provinces and with that of Pakistan, so that it can make a useful contribution towards the political future of its own province when the time comes for the framing of a suitable constitution for Baluchistan in the Constituent Assembly.

9. Quaid-i-Azam remarked that Khan Bahadur Noor Mohammad had made very intelligent proposals.

A. S. B. SHAH
Joint Secretary

95

M. A. Jinnah to T. G. Corbett[1]

F. 155-GG/144

23 February 1948

Dear Lord Rowallan,

Thank you for your cordial letter of greetings.[2] It is indeed our desire that the Boy Scouts of Pakistan should work for a better understanding between all the nations of the world and thus make their contribution towards a happier and better world.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH
Chief Scout of Pakistan

The Lord Rowallan, M.C., T.D.,
Chief Scout of the British Commonwealth & Empire,
London, S.W.1

[1]His title was Lord Rowallan.
[2]Not traceable.

96

C. W. Skogholm to M. A. Jinnah

F. 86-GG/56

ST. MOLLEVEJ,
COPENHAGEN-S, DENMARK,
23 February 1948

Your Excellency,

In the deepest respect for Your Excellency the undersigned most humbly begs to ask you to be so kind as to present me with your personal signature[1] or—if possible—a signed photograph.

I should be very happy to have the great leader of Pakistan, the man that has created the new State.

My collection has about 1,100 of the most important persons within literature, politics, science, art, and military from all over the world. Sir, I can assure you that an answer from you would have a favourite

place in my collection.

In the hope of a favourable answer,

I am,

Your Excellency's most humble,
CARL WERNER SKOGHOLM
Professor

·F. Amin sent a photograph of Jinnah with autograph. See F. 86-GG/74. Not printed.

97

A. Hilaly to S.M. Yusuf

F. 125 (10)-GG/8

KARACHI,
No. P. 128/15/47 *24 February 1948*

My dear Yusuf,

The Turkish Ambassador, His Excellency Yahya Kemal Beyatli, accompanied by his First Secretary, Monsieur Zubeyir Aker, has arrived. He is putting up at the Palace Hotel. He called on the Foreign Office yesterday and has requested that a date and time may be fixed for the presentation of his Letters of Credence to the Quaid-i-Azam. Would you kindly obtain the Quaid-i-Azam's orders and let me know the date.[1] I enclose a copy of the remarks which the Ambassador proposes to make at the time of his presentation. I will send you later a draft reply[2] for the Quaid-i-Azam's consideration.

Yours sincerely,
A. HILALY

F. Amin noted on the original: Thursday, 4-3-48 at 11.00.
[2]See F 125(10)-GG/12-3. Not printed. For Jinnah's reply, see No. 119.

Enclosure to No. 97
Speech by Yahya Kemal Beyatli on Presentation of Credentials

F. 125 (10)-GG/9-10

Your Excellency,

I have the honour to present to you the credentials by which His Excellency the President [Ismat Inonu] of the Turkish Republic accredits me as the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Turkey to

Pakistan.

The choice made by our President in bestowing upon my humble person the honourable task of representing him for the first time in Pakistan, will be a special source of happiness to me in the fulfilment of my mission.

Pakistan has a past as old as history itself and is heir to a most ancient civilization. The rebirth of such a country as a great power in the community of nations is an event of far-reaching importance. The Turkish Nation is convinced that Pakistan will render invaluable services to humanity in the cause of peace and civilization.

Many spiritual and sentimental ties, born and grown in the course of a long history, bind the Turks to the people of Pakistan. I shall endeavour to the best of my ability to develop these traditional ties into a productive collaboration.

To ensure the success of my efforts, I shall need as a source of strength Your Excellency's kind assistance as well as the valuable cooperation of the Pakistan Government.

While emphasizing once again the fraternal love and friendship of the Turkish Nation for the noble Nation of Pakistan, I have great pleasure in assuring Your Excellency that my countrymen follow with the keenest interest the development and progress which is taking place in independent Pakistan, and that they hope to see this development and progress attain in the future even higher peaks of success in peace and security.

98

Mumtaz Hasan Kizilbash[1] to A. S. B. Shah
(Copy to PS to M. A. Jinnah)

Telegram, FOA, P. 8/3/38

MOST IMMEDIATE
SECRET

KABUL,
25 February 1948

No. 16-PC

Afghan Foreign Minister sent for me to-day, February 25th, to communicate his Government's decision to appoint His Royal Highness Shah Wali Khan as Ambassador at Karachi and obtain agreement of Pakistan Government to his appointment. He will have a Counsellor, two or three Secretaries, a Press Attache, a Commercial Attache, and probably a Military Attache on his staff. Subject to Pakistan's concurrence Afghan Government propose to release news of exchange of

Embassies on radio on Saturday February 28th evening and to press on Sunday, February 29th morning. Foreign Minister has asked Pakistan Government's assistance in securing accommodation for His Royal Highness, Chancery and Staff. He told me that His Royal Highness will proceed to Paris for a short time after about a month's stay at Karachi. Grateful for telegraphing immediately whether the dates for release of news on radio and press suit Pakistan Government. He has further stressed that request for agreement to Shah Wali's appointment will not repeat not be made public for the present.

Congratulations at the successful conclusion of first part of negotiations.

[1]Pakistan Charge d' affaires in Kabul.

99

Constitution and Rules of the Pakistan Muslim League as Adopted by PML Council[1]

F. 562/1-13

FRERE HALL,
KARACHI,
25 February 1948

NAME

1. The Association shall be called the Pakistan Muslim League.

AIMS AND OBJECTS

2. The aims and objects of the Pakistan Muslim League shall be:
   a. to safeguard the sovereignty and integrity of Pakistan;
   b. to safeguard and promote the religious, cultural, social, educational, economic and political interests of Muslims of Pakistan;
   c. to strengthen the bond of brotherhood between the Muslims of different units of Pakistan and to promote cordial relations between all sections of her citizens and to safeguard the legitimate rights of the minorities in Pakistan;
   d. to advance the interests of Muslims all over the world and to strengthen fraternal relations between Pakistan and other Muslim States;
   e. to promote the cause of peace, freedom and justice throughout the world; and
   f. to do all things that are from time to time deemed necessary or expedient in furtherance of these aims.

ORGANISATION

3. The Pakistan Muslim League shall be a popular and democratic organisation of the Muslims of Pakistan.

4. The organisation of the Pakistan Muslim League shall consist of:

a. the Convention of the Pakistan Muslim League as constituted under Section 13;

b. the Council of the Pakistan Muslim League as constituted under Section 18;

c. the Working Committee of the Pakistan Muslim League as constituted under Section 33;

d. District and City Muslim League and their branches as constituted under Section 44;

Explanation: For the purpose of this sub-section, "City" means an urban area with a Muslim population of not less than 25 thousand;

e. branches of the Pakistan Muslim League, if any, outside [Sections] 46 and 65.

PARLIAMENTARY BOARD

5. There shall be a Central Parliamentary Board and Provincial Parliamentary Boards as constituted under Section 42.

MEMBERSHIP

6. The office-bearers and members of the various bodies of the Pakistan Muslim League must be members of a Primary Muslim League, provided that no member shall be eligible to hold any office in the League organisation if (1) he has not been a member of some primary branch of the League for at least one year past or (2) is a member of the Pakistan Cabinet or any Provincial Cabinet;[2] further provided that condition (i) laid down in this Section will not apply in the case of the first election to be held under this constitution.

7. Every candidate for membership of a Primary Muslim League must possess the following qualifications:

a. he must be a Muslim;

b. he must be a citizen of Pakistan;

c. he must have completed 18 years of age;

provided that the Working Committee may waive in favour of a candidate the qualifications specified in clauses (b) and (c) of this Section; further provided that no person shall be a member of more than one Primary League in Pakistan at one and the same time.

8. A candidate who possesses the qualifications mentioned in Section 7 will become a member of a Primary League on payment of an annual subscription of *annas* two in advance and on signing a declaration that he

is in agreement with the aims and objects of the Pakistan Muslim League and will abide by its rules.

9. The annual subscription for the membership of Primary Muslim League shall expire on the last day of December every year irrespective of the date of enrolment, provided that for purposes of general election the date of enrolment of membership shall close one month before the date of election of Primary Muslim League of a province. Any member enrolled after that date shall not be entitled to vote in the election.

OFFICE BEARERS

10. There shall be the following office bearers of the Pakistan Muslim League:

a. one President;
b. one Vice-President;
c. one General Secretary;
d. one Treasurer;
e. two Joint Secretaries.

11. The President and other office bearers of the Pakistan Muslim League shall be elected by the Pakistan Muslim League Council.

12. All office bearers of the Pakistan Muslim League shall hold office till the next election and shall be eligible for re-election.

THE CONVENTION

13. The Convention of the Pakistan Muslim League shall consist of the following:

a. the Members of the Pakistan Muslim League Council; and
b. the Members of the Provincial Muslim League Councils.

An annual or special session of the Convention of the Pakistan Muslim League may be held at such time and place as the Council of the Pakistan Muslim League may determine from time to time provided that in case of emergency the Working Committee may exercise these powers on behalf of the Pakistan Muslim League Council.

15. Every Member of the Convention shall pay a fee of rupees five before attending a session.

16. The quorum for a session of the Convention shall be 100.

17. The Council of the Pakistan Muslim League shall act as a Subject Committee to frame and adopt resolutions to be placed before the Convention.

THE PAKISTAN MUSLIM LEAGUE COUNCIL

18. The Council of the Pakistan Muslim League shall consist of the following:

a. 150 persons elected by the Provincial Muslim League Council of Punjab;

b. 40 persons elected by the Provincial Muslim League Council of NWFP;
c. 50 persons elected by the Provincial Muslim League Council of Sind;
d. 20 persons elected by the Provincial Muslim League Council of Baluchistan;
e. 180 persons elected by the Provincial Muslim League Council of East Bengal;
f. The Presidents and General Secretaries of the Provincial Muslim Leagues;
g. the office bearers of the Pakistan Muslim League;
h. 10 persons that may be nominated by the President of the Pakistan Muslim League.

19. Members of the Council of the Pakistan Muslim League shall hold office for one year and shall be eligible for re-election.

20. Members of the Central Legislature who belong to the Muslim League Party shall be ex-officio members of the Pakistan Muslim League Council provided they pay the fee laid down in Section 8 and are members of a Primary League.

21. The President shall, every year, notify the date by which the Constituent Bodies should elect their representatives to the Council of Pakistan Muslim League.

22. In case a Provincial Council fails to elect their representatives within the prescribed period, the Pakistan Muslim League Council shall have the power to co-opt members from the defaulting province.

23. Every Member of the Pakistan Muslim League Council shall pay in advance an annual subscription of rupees ten without paying which he shall not be entitled to attend the meetings of the Council.

24. The Pakistan Muslim League Council shall meet at the discretion of the President, provided that he shall convene at least two meetings every year, one of which shall be held in East Bengal.

25. A special meeting of the Pakistan Muslim League Council will be convened if the Secretary receives a written requisition signed by 75 members stating the purpose for which the meeting is required to be convened.

26. Fifty members shall form the quorum of a meeting of the Pakistan Muslim League Council.

27. The General Secretary shall, not less that 20 days previous to the ordinary meetings and 10 days previous to special meetings, issue to each member a notice stating the time and place of the meeting. A press announcement to that effect shall also be made by the Secretary.

28. The agenda of every ordinary meeting shall be issued at least 10

days before the meeting, provided that this period may be curtailed by the President in special circumstances.

29. Members must notify the General Secretary 14 days before the meeting, if they want to table a resolution giving the text of the same.

30. The President may, with the consent of the House, permit the discussion of a subject even though the requirements of notice have not been fulfilled.

31. The Pakistan Muslim League Council shall exercise the following functions:

a. To convene meetings of the Convention as provided in Section 14;
b. to elect the President and other office bearers of the Pakistan Muslim League as provided in Section 11;
c. to consider and pass resolutions with regard to all matters arising from time to time relating to the aims and objects of the Pakistan Muslim League;
d. to affiliate, suspend, dissolve or disaffiliate a Provincial Muslim League;
e. to frame bye-laws for:
    i. regulating the conduct of the sessions of the Convention and the meeting of the Pakistan Muslim League Council;
    ii. other matters necessary for carrying out the objects of the Pakistan Muslim League;

    provided that any bye-law framed by the Council which is inconsistent with the principles or rules embodied herein shall be invalid.
f. to take disciplinary action against any member of the League who violates its decisions or acts in contravention of the aims and objects.

32. The Council may delegate anyone or more of its powers to the Working Committee, the President or the General Secretary of the Pakistan Muslim League with such limitations and conditions as it may deem fit to impose.

THE WORKING COMMITTEE

33. The President after his election shall nominate 15 members from amongst the members of the Pakistan Muslim League Council to form the Working Committee of the Pakistan Muslim League.

34. All office bearers of the Pakistan Muslim League shall be ex-officio members of the Working Committee.

35. A person who ceases to be a member of the Pakistan Muslim

League Council shall cease to be a member of the Working Committee.

36. The Working Committee shall meet as often as the President desires.

37. Five members, excluding the office bearers, shall form a quorum for a meeting of the Working Committee.

38. All resolutions of the Working Committee shall be placed before the Pakistan Muslim League Council for information.

39. The Working Committee shall be the principal executive of the Pakistan Muslim League and shall exercise the following functions:

a. To consider and pass resolutions and to take necessary steps with regard to matters arising from time to time relating to the objects of the League not inconsistent or at variance with the creed or policy of the League or any resolution passed by the Convention or the Council of Pakistan Muslim League;
b. to take all necessary steps for giving effect to resolutions passed at a session of the Convention or a meeting of the Council or of the Working Committee;
c. to appoint from time to time and supervise the activities of sub-committees for carrying out such duties and functions as may be entrusted to them, especially sub-committee for League organisation, publicity, economic affairs, international affairs particularly of the Muslim countries, religious affairs and labour and peasant welfare;
d. to prepare the annual budget and to authorize payments in accordance with it and to appoint Auditors;
e. to sanction all payments not included in the Budget;
f. to employ and dismiss staff and to determine its emoluments;
g. to collect and consider all information necessary and useful with reference to the aims and objects of the League; and
h. to perform such other functions as the Convention or the Council may empower it to perform.

40. The Working Committee shall have the power:

a. to control, direct and regulate all the activities of the various Provincial Leagues in consonance with the aims, objects, rules and declared policy of the Pakistan Muslim League;
b. to take disciplinary action against any member of the Pakistan Muslim League who violates the decisions of the League or acts in contravention of its aims and objects, subject to a right of appeal to the Pakistan Muslim League Council;
c. to suspend, dissolve or disaffiliate any Provincial or District League which fails in its duties or ignores the decisions or

directions of the Working Committee or the Pakistan Muslim League Council or acts in contravention of such decisions or direction or hinders the progress of the League in any manner whatsoever subject to a right of appeal to the Council of Pakistan Muslim League;

d. to take disciplinary action against any office bearer or board or organisation affiliated to or forming part of the Pakistan Muslim League who fails in his duties, ignores the decisions or directions of the Working Committee or the Pakistan Muslim League Council or acts in a manner prejudicial to the interest of the League, subject to a right of appeal to the Pakistan Muslim League Council.

41. The Working Committee may delegate any of its powers to any committee of its members or to the President or to the General Secretary of the Pakistan Muslim League with such limitations and restrictions if any as it may deem fit to impose.

PARLIAMENTARY BOARD

42. There shall be a Central Parliamentary Board consisting of members to be elected annually by the Pakistan Muslim League Council in the following proportions:

a. East Bengal	3
b. West Punjab	2
c. Sind	1
d. NWF Province	1
e. Baluchistan	1

The President of the League shall be ex-officio Chairman of the Board. The election of the Parliamentary Board shall be held by ballot. No member elected to the Central Parliamentary Board shall be entitled to stand as a candidate at any election to Central or Provincial Legislature. The Parliamentary Board shall exercise the following functions:

a. To select, in consultation with the Provincial Parliamentary Boards, candidates for the Central Legislature and to exercise general control over the Muslim League Party in the Central [*sic*];
b. to see that Provincial Parliamentary Boards are properly constituted in every province;
c. to supervise and control the activities of the Provincial Parliamentary Boards;
d. to hear and decide finally all appeals against the decision of the Provincial Parliamentary Boards;
e. to decide all disputes arising between a Provincial Parliamentary

Board and a Muslim League Party in a Provincial Legislature;

f. to see that Muslim League Legislative Parties are established in various Legislatures of the country and to keep a watch over their activities.

GENERAL PROVISIONS

43. Every Provincial Muslim League shall pay to the Pakistan Muslim League every year 10% of its annual income other than donations.

44. Every District or City Muslim League together with branches formed within Pakistan shall be deemed to be affiliated to the Pakistan Muslim League, provided it is affiliated to the League of its province.

45. A Provincial League affiliated by the Council of the Pakistan Muslim League may be disaffiliated after the expiry of one year if the Council is satisfied that it has failed to establish District Leagues in the majority of the Districts in the Province.

46. The Pakistan Muslim League Council may accord recognition to such branches of Pakistan Muslim League as are established outside the territorial limits of Pakistan to further the aims and objects of the Pakistan Muslim League.

47. All casual vacancies arising in the ranks of the office bearers shall be filled up by the Council by election.

48. All casual vacancies arising in the ranks of the members of the Pakistan Muslim League Council shall be filled by the Council of the Provincial Muslim League concerned.

49. The number of the members of the Council of a Provincial Muslim League shall not exceed thrice the number of the members allotted to the province for representation on the Council of the Pakistan Muslim League.

50. All matters including election of office bearers dealt with at the session of the Convention and meetings of the Council and the Working Committee or any sub-committee appointed under these rules shall be decided by majority of votes, provided that if division is demanded at a session of the Convention, the voting will be recorded in accordance with the number allotted to the provinces in the constitution of the Council laid down in Section 18.

51. The constitution of the Pakistan Muslim League shall not be added to, amended or altered except at a meeting of the Council of the Pakistan Muslim League and by at least a two-thirds of the majority of the members present.

52. If the term of an office bearer, a member, a committee or any other body of the Pakistan Muslim League expires without the successor thereof having been elected by that time, such office bearer or

member or committee or body shall continue to function until a successor thereof has been elected, formed or constituted.

53. The constitution of a Provincial Muslim League and its branches shall be framed by the Council of the Provincial Muslim League concerned subject to the final approval of the Working Committee of the Pakistan Muslim League.

FUNDS

54. All fees received from members of the Convention and from Provincial Councils as well as all donations and contributions collected from time to time shall constitute the fund of the Muslim League.

55. The Pakistan Muslim League Council may build up a reserve fund which will be invested in Govt. securities and which shall not be drawn upon except by a two-thirds majority vote of the Council of the Pakistan Muslim League.

56. The funds of the League other than the funds mentioned in Section 54 shall be deposited in the name of the Pakistan Muslim League with a bank approved by the Working Committee.

POWERS AND DUTIES OF THE OFFICE BEARERS

57. a. The President of the Pakistan Muslim League shall be head of the entire organization, shall exercise all the powers inherent in his office and shall see that all the authorities work in consonance with the constitution and rules of the Pakistan Muslim League and any bye-laws adopted under its authority;

b. During the absence or illness of the President or under authority of the President, the Vice-President shall perform the functions of the President.

58. The General Secretary shall exercise all the powers delegated to him by the Working Committee, or the Council of the Pakistan Muslim League.

59. The General Secretary shall exercise all the powers and discharge all the duties laid down by, and incidental to the enforcing of these rules and generally to his office.

60. The General Secretary shall supervise the work of the paid servants of the League.

61. The General Secretary shall have the authority to grant leave of absence with or without pay to paid servants and the authority to punish or suspend them, but all cases of dismissal shall be reported to the Working Committee.

62. The General Secretary, in case of emergency and relating to matters not affecting the fundamental principles of the constitution of

the Pakistan Muslim League, may with the approval of the President take such action on behalf of the Pakistan Muslim League Council as he deems expedient; provided that any action so taken shall be reported to the Council at the next meeting for confirmation.

63. The Treasurer shall be authorised to operate on the bank and shall make payments in accordance with the directions of the Working Committee.

64. The Joint Secretaries shall assist the General Secretary and perform such duties under his guidance as may be entrusted to them.

TRIBAL AREA

65. The Working Committee of the Pakistan Muslim League shall have power to decide the question of the recognition of the Muslim Leagues formed in the tribal areas of North-West Frontier, their representation in different bodies of the Muslim League and other connected matters.

[1]A note by F. Amin reads "Quaid-i-Azam wanted to see a copy of the Constitution and Rules of the Pakistan Muslim League."
[2]See Annex.

Annex to No. 99
Paul H. Alling to George Marshall

US National Archives, 845 F. 00/2-2648

RESTRICTED

AMERICAN EMBASSY,
KARACHI,
26 February 1948

No. 83

SUBJECT: MEETING IN KARACHI OF PAKISTAN MUSLIM LEAGUE

Sir,

I have the honor to refer to the Embassy's despatch No. 266 of December 22, 1947[1] on the subject of the reorganization of the All India Muslim League and to inform the Department that the first meeting of the Council of the Pakistan Muslim League, which is the Pakistan section of the previous All India Muslim League, was held in Karachi on February 21, with about 150 members attending, including the four Provincial Premiers and the Ministers of Pakistan and Provincial Governments. The Governor-General, Mr. Jinnah, acted as chairman.

The purpose of the meeting of the Council was to discuss the new draft constitution[2] of the Pakistan Muslim League. Although the first

meeting was held in camera, as have also the subsequent meetings, it is understood that Mr. Jinnah expressed his conviction that the Muslim League must hereafter be regarded purely as a political party and not as, in effect, the Government of Pakistan, and in that connection he proposed that no official of the Government of Pakistan or of any provincial government should [hold] office in the Pakistan Muslim League. Such a suggestion was of course revolutionary inasmuch as heretofore all of the important leaders in the League have been prominent either in the central or in the provincial governments.

When Mr. Jinnah's suggestion was put before the Council, there was, it is understood, a heated discussion on the subject. It was the view of some of the members that, while in general the proposal was sound, an exception should at least be made in the case of Mr. Jinnah. To this suggestion, however, Mr. Jinnah objected on the grounds, first that on principal [*sic* for principle] it was undesirable to make an invidious exception on his behalf, and secondly that inasmuch as he held three offices under the State, namely the presidentship of the Constituent Assembly and of the Federal Legislature, and the Governor-Generalship, he was disqualified from being head of any party since, in discharge of his duties, as laid down in the Indian Independence Act, the Government of India Act of 1935, the Orders in Council and the Rules, he must hold the balance evenly and fairly amongst such parties as may come into existence. Mr. Jinnah accordingly asked the House not to press the proposed amendment, making an exception in his favor.

On being put to the House the proposal to exclude all Government office holders from holding any office in the Pakistan Muslim League was carried by what is described as "a fairly large majority."

In an editorial under the heading "New Trends of League Politics" the *Daily Gazettee,* a Hindu-owned and edited newspaper in Karachi, referring to the above-mentioned decision, said: "This is definitely a radical change. Although it would be wrong to read too much in it, it cannot be denied that the democratic urges of the people have begun asserting themselves on this side of the border also. The Ministers, both at the Center and in the Provinces, will no longer be the masters of the Muslim League; having been relegated to a comparatively secondary position, they will have now to feel greater responsibility to the people. To that extent the change is a triumph of democracy."

The editorial added that this change should also bring an end to "the old era of deep-rooted personal prejudices and predilections,"

and that accordingly such non-Leaguers as Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan might now feel disposed to close down their separate organizations and join the Muslim League and thus bring about a common pooling of Muslim energy and talent to stabilize the new Dominion.

In that connection, the editorial added that such a consummation would not be in any way detrimental to the interests of the Indian Dominion, and said if a long-range view of things is taken it will be found that "it would in no way promote the cause of India's security if Pakistan becomes the 'Sick Man of Asia.' A strong and contented Pakistan can function as its mightiest sentinel both on its eastern as well as its western side. With a friendly Pakistan guarding her frontiers, India's invulnerability from the standpoint of defense becomes a settled fact."

Respectfully yours,
PAUL H. ALLING

The Secretary of State,
Washington

[1]U. S. National Archives, 845 F. 00/12-2247. Not printed. For its enclosure, see Annex VI to No. 273, Vol. VI, 449-50.
[2]See F. 151 (III)-GG/3-11. Not printed.

100

Khwaja Nazimuddin to M. A. Jinnah

F. 167 (2)-GG/20

CAMP OF THE CHIEF MINISTER,
EAST BENGAL,
KARACHI,
25 February 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Today we discussed with Jogendar [Nath] Mandal and the Advocate-General about the orders for the constitution of the Assembly and the constituencies in Eastern Bengal. The file has been sent to you and I shall be obliged if you will kindly pass orders tomorrow so that the Assembly may be called on the 12th March[1] which is getting dangerously

late, and unless this order is passed, we cannot summon the Assembly formally. I hope you will kindly treat this as most urgent.

Yours sincerely,
NAZIMUDDIN

[1]The budget session of East Bengal Legislative Assembly commenced from 16 March. See the *Morning News*, Calcutta, 17 March 1948.

101

Speech by Paul Alling on Presentation of Credentials[1]

F. 125 (6)-GG/9-10

26 February 1948

Your Excellency!

It gives me great pleasure as the first Ambassador of the United States to the Government of Pakistan to present to you my Letters of Credence. The people of the United States have followed with interest the developments within Pakistan since the birth of your great country, and are looking forward to the growth of close economic and cultural ties.

It is with deep satisfaction that I recall that our relations date from the very first day of the establishment of Pakistan. This truly augurs well for the continued deepening of the relationships which we have thus far forged.

We, of the United States, are appreciative of the difficulties which beset a new nation in the period of its early existence. The early history of the United States attests to this fact. We are, therefore, deeply sympathetic with the many problems which face Pakistan.

As a nation justly proud of its cultural traditions and its heritage from the past, Pakistan will, I am sure, fulfill the hopes and ideals of its people and play the important role to which it is entitled by the size and energy of its population and its potential resources.

We can all agree, I think, that what is most needed in these troublous times is the establishment of firm and lasting peace among the nations so that the world may be rebuilt from the ravages of war. This will not be easy, but my own country is willing and anxious to play its part and our people count with confidence upon the cooperation and help of Pakistan in that vitally important task.

I am honored at the opportunity to represent my country as the first United States Ambassador to Pakistan. At the same time I am conscious of the great responsibility entrusted to me to further develop friendship and understanding between our peoples. In my efforts to achieve that objective I bespeak your earnest and cooperative support and I am confident that with such support the bonds of friendship between our countries will be even more firmly established and strengthened.

'A copy of this speech was sent to Yusuf by Hilaly. See F 125 (6)-GG/7. Not printed.

102

Reply by M. A. Jinnah to Paul Alling's Speech

F. 125 (6)-GG/11-5

26 February 1948

Your Excellency!

It gives me great pleasure to welcome you in our midst as the first Ambassador of the United States of America. Though Pakistan is a new State, for well over a century now there have been many connections of trade and commerce between the people of Pakistan and the people of the United States. This relationship was strengthened and made more direct and intimate during two World Wars and more particularly and more recently during the Second World War when our two people stood shoulder to shoulder in defence of democracy. The historic fight for self-government by your people and its achievement by them, the consistent teaching and practice of democracy in your country had for generations acted as a beacon light and had in no small measure served to give inspiration to nations who like us were striving for independence and freedom from the shackles of foreign rule.

2. I cordially share your pleasure at the evidence of friendship and sympathy shown by your country in opening diplomatic relations with Pakistan from the very first day of its establishment as a new State. I would like to add that this friendship has been diligently and consistently furthered by your very able and esteemed colleague, Mr. Charles Lewis, the Charge d'affaires who represented your country here pending Your Excellency's arrival.

3. As you have discerned already our infant State has been confronted with grave and dangerous issues and problems from its early days. Though as a new State we have to face a serious situation, we have no

doubt in our own minds that by our united will and determination to live as a free and peace-loving people, we shall overcome them successfully.

4. I thank Your Excellency for your friendly assurances of sympathy in dealing with our many problems. I also deeply appreciate your confidence that our traditions and our past will help us to fulfil the hopes and ideals of our people. In return I can assure Your Excellency that after having emerged from an eclipse which lasted for over a century and a half, the people of Pakistan desire nothing which is not their own, nothing more than the goodwill and friendship of all the free nations of the world. We, in Pakistan, are determined that having won our long-lost freedom, we will work to the utmost limit of our capacity not only to build up a strong and happy State of our own but to contribute in the fullest possible measure to international peace and prosperity. I am glad to learn that Your Excellency and the great country and people you represent will give your cooperation to us in order to advance our economic and cultural relations for the mutual benefit of both the countries. I am hopeful that good relations and friendship already existing between the peoples of America and Pakistan will be further strengthened and the bonds of friendship between our two countries will be more firmly riveted. Your Excellency, I assure you that my Government and I will do all that lies in our power to give you every assistance in the fulfilment of what is our common desire and objective. I once more extend to Your Excellency a warm welcome to Pakistan as the first Ambassador of the United States of America.

103

Stuart Morris to H. I. Rahimtoola

F. 111-GG/12

DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE,
ENDSLEIGH STREET,
LONDON,
26 February 1948

Dear Mr. Rahimtoola,

I am asked by the Executive Committee of the Peace Pledge Union to express, through you, our deep concern at the recent death of Mahatma Gandhi and our sympathy with the people of Pakistan as with the people of India in the loss of his inspiration and influence.

We have recorded in our Minutes our sense of appreciation of all the help which he has been to us and to the cause of peace generally.

I should be grateful if you would forward the enclosed letter[1] to Mr. Jinnah.

Yours very sincerely,
STUART MORRIS
General Secretary,
Peace Pledge Union

Habib I. Rahimtoola, Esq.,
The High Commissioner for Pakistan,
16 Fitzhardinge Street, [London]

[1]Not traceable.

104

M. Ikramullah to P.J. Noel-Baker

Telegram, FOA, P. 8/3/41

CONFIDENTIAL
No. 648

KARACHI,
26 February 1948

Afghan Government have communicated their wish to establish Embassy at Karachi and appointment of His Royal Highness Shah Wali Khan as Ambassador. A telegram has [been] issued to Private Secretary to His Majesty the King for agreement. News of exchange of Embassies will issue on radio on Saturday, February 28th evening and we have agreed to this. No announcement regarding Ambassador selected will of course be made unless agreement received by them.

105

A.S.B. Shah to Mumtaz Hasan Kizilbash

Telegram, FOA, P. 8/3/43

SECRET/IMMEDIATE
No. 665

KARACHI,
27 February 1948

Your telegram 26-PC and 27-PC February 26th.[1] Please convey the

following to Royal Afghan Government. *Begins*: Government of Pakistan and Governor-General are pleased to agree to the appointment of H.R.H. Sardar Shah Wali Khan as first Afghan Ambassador at Karachi and warmly welcome his appointment. Informal agreement of H. M. the King is being obtained and will be communicated to Royal Afghan Government very shortly.

2. The Government of Pakistan will be happy to consider the appointments of Embassy staff when Royal Afghan Government have communicated the names of their officers.

3. The Government of Pakistan also agree to the proposal that simultaneous announcement should be made over the radio at Kabul, Lahore and Peshawar on the evening of the 28th February and in the press in both countries on the 29th morning about the agreement of the two Governments to exchange Embassies. The name of the Afghan Ambassador will not (repeat not) be announced until King's agreement has been received and communicated to Royal Afghan Government.

4. Please also inform Afghan Foreign Minister that Quaid-i-Azam is personally gratified about the appointment of His Highness Sardar Shah Wali Khan and is looking forward to welcoming and meeting him. *Ends*.

[1]Not traceable.

106

Leo J. Sylvor to M. A. Jinnah

F. 86-GG/49

1115 JEROME AVE.,
NEW YORK, 52 N.Y.,
27 February 1948

Your honour,

I am a young man talented in the art of fancy pen-lettering. I also collect autographs of world dignitaries. It would be very gratifying to know that you have accepted as a token of my esteem the enclosed cards which I have taken the pleasure to hand-letter for you and I would be extremely happy to receive your personally autographed

acknowledgement.[1]

Very respectfully yours,
LEO J. SYLVOR

[1]F. Amin sent the autograph on 18 March 1948. See F. 86-GG/50 Not printed.

107

A. R. Khan[1] to S. M. Yusuf

F. 25 (Part II)-GG/194

KARACHI,
29 February 1948

Dear Sir,

Kindly refer to my letter dated January 12, 1948,[2] perşonally submitted in compliance with your letter No. D. 133-GG/48 dated January 10, 1948,[3] along with my book entitled *Resources of Pakistan* for Quaid-i-Azam's kind perusal. I have not yet received any communication on the subject from you, nor have I received any acknowledgment of the receipt of the book under reference, which, as I believe, is rather unusual.

Even in case there are no comments as to the utility or otherwise of the book from Quaid-i-Azam, I request you kindly to acknowledge the book. I now propose to publish the book within a very short time. A foreword, however brief, from Quaid-i-Azam would, undoubtedly, enhance the value and prestige of the book and I shall be extremely grateful if you would kindly arrange and send it to me.

The aim and object is to educate the students and acquaint the Pakistan nationals with their strength as well as drawbacks and not to derive any financial personal gain as the huge investment which I shall have to make in its publication will justify.

I once again request you kindly to consider the situation favourably and arrange for a foreword from Quaid-i-Azam for which I shall be extremely grateful.[4]

Yours faithfully,
A. R. KHAN

[1]A former officer of the U.P. Civil Secretariat, who drew up a number of reports at Jinnah's behest. See Nos. 303, 311 & 350, Vol. I, Part I; 514-5, 522-7 & 603-4.

[2]Not traceable.

[3]See F. 25 (Part II)-GG/193. Not printed.

[4]S. M. Yusuf replied that Jinnah did not want to associate his name with the book as he had had no time to read it. See F. 25 (Part II)-GG/208. Not printed.

108

T. B. Creagh Coen to S. M. Yusuf

F. 820/25

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
AND COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS,
KARACHI,
1 March 1948

My dear Yusuf,

Mr. Lewis[1] handed over the enclosed document which he has only just received to-day. It contains the full text of the statement of Warren Austin, US delegate on the United Nations Security Council. Mr. Lewis thought that the Quaid-i-Azam[2] might be interested to see it.

Yours sincerely,
T. B. CREAGH COEN
[Joint Secretary]

[1]Charles W. Lewis, Charge d'affaires, US Embassy, Karachi.
[2]Also see No. 229, Vol. VI, 503-4.

Enclosure to No. 108
Statement by Warren Austin in the Security Council[1]

F. 820/26-30

24 February 1948

The Security Council is now confronted with the complex problem of Palestine as presented to us in the General Assembly recommendations of November 29, 1947, and the two reports from the Palestine Commission. The Council now has before it a number of important questions concerning Palestine for which it must endeavour to find an answer; the situation does not permit any further delay.

The problem has been before the United Nations as a matter of special concern since April 2, 1947. The United States, as a member of the United Nations, has supported since that date those United Nations procedures which we considered most adapted to obtaining a broad and impartial expression of world opinion on the problem, which would result in a just and workable solution commending itself to the Mandatory Power [United Kingdom] and to the people of Palestine.

As a result of the recommendations of the General Assembly of November 29, 1947, Palestine is now before several of the principal bodies

of the United Nations for various types of action under the Charter. The United States, as a member of the United Nations and of those bodies, will continue to deal with the question of Palestine as a member of the United Nations in conjunction with other members. United States policy will not be unilateral. It will conform to and be in support of United Nations action on Palestine.

While we are discussing the problem of Palestine, it is of first importance to the future of the United Nations that the precedent to be established by the action taken in this case be in full accord with the terms of the Charter under which we operate. The interpretation of the terms of the Charter given in the Palestine issue will seriously affect the future actions of the United Nations in other cases.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY RECOMMENDATIONS

Let us turn now to the first and most important document before us, namely, the General Assembly Resolution of November 29.[2] The recommendations of the General Assembly have great moral force, which applies to all members regardless of the views they hold or the votes which they may have cast on any particular recommendation. Similarly, the Security Council, although not bound under the Charter to accept and carry out General Assembly recommendations, is nevertheless expected to give great weight to them.

Attempts to frustrate the General Assembly's recommendation by the threat or use of force, or by incitement to force, on the part of states or people outside Palestine are contrary to the Charter. You may recall that when the representative of the United States expressed the views of my Government to the General Assembly on the Palestine question on October 11, he said we assumed that there would be Charter observance. The life of this union depends upon obedience to the law. If any member should violate its obligations to refrain in its international relations from the threat or use of force, the Security Council itself must act.

The recommendation of the General Assembly makes three separate requests of the Security Council. The first (A) is that the Council "take the necessary measures as provided for in the plan for its implementation." To determine what these measures are, it is necessary to turn to the plan itself. It will be seen that these are:

1. to give guidance to the Palestine Commission;
2. to take such action as the Security Council may deem proper with respect to either the Jewish or the Arab State if by April 1, 1948, a provisional council of government cannot be selected for that State, or, if selected, cannot carry out its functions; and
3. to issue such instructions to the Commission as the Security

Council may consider necessary;

4. to receive and consider periodic progress reports, special reports and the final report of the Palestine Commission; and
5. to give sympathetic consideration to the application for membership in the United Nations made by either the Arab or the Jewish State when a certain stage in the plan has been achieved.

We believe it is clear that the Security Council can undertake the above mentioned measures. It is further clear from the terms of the resolution of November 29, 1947, that the Palestine Commission is bound by whatever instructions the Council gives to it pursuant to the Assembly's requests.

We come now to the two following requests of the General Assembly as set forth in the resolution of November 29. These invoke the wide peace-keeping powers of the Security Council under the Charter.

Request (B) in the resolution asks the Security Council to consider whether the situation in Palestine during the transitional period constitutes a threat to the peace.

The third request of the General Assembly (C) asks that "the Security Council determine as a threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression, in accordance with article 39 of the Charter, any attempt to alter by force the settlement envisaged by this resolution."

I am sure that every member of this body is deeply concerned with the tragic events which have taken place in Palestine since last November 29. Our hearts are saddened by the internecine hostilities, the inter-racial strife, the inter-religious conflict, which in these past three months have stained the soil of the Holy Land with the blood of Briton, Jew and Arab. If these conditions continue, this Council must consider whether or not the situation in Palestine is a threat to international peace. The Council would have to do this even if the resolution of November 29 had never been written, because under the Charter it must take steps "to prevent or remove any threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression."

In considering whether or not the situation in Palestine is a threat to international peace, the Security Council should consult with the United Kingdom, which as a mandatory power, is responsible for the protection of Palestine and the maintenance of internal order therein.

SECURITY COUNCIL'S POWERS

Requests (B) and (C) of the Assembly's resolution, mentioned above, raise constitutional questions of the Security Council's powers under the Charter. What are the powers of the Security Council?

The Security Council is given the responsibility under the Charter

to "determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression."

If it makes such a determination with respect to the situation in Palestine, the Council is required by the Charter to act. Its finding and subsequent action might arise either in connection with incursions into Palestine from the outside or from such internal disorder as would itself constitute a threat to international peace.

If the Council finds that a threat to international peace or breach of the peace exists, the Charter authorizes it to follow various lines of action. It is empowered to make recommendations, or to take "provisional measures" under Article 40, or to impose economic and other non-military sanctions under Article 41, or to take military measures under Article 42. The Council is required to follow one or more of these lines of action. It may pursue these lines of action in any sequence it deems proper.

Although the Security Council is empowered to use, and would normally attempt to use, measures short of armed force, it is authorised under the Charter to use armed force if it considers other measures inadequate. A finding by the Security Council that a danger to peace exists places all members of the United Nations, regardless of their views, under obligation to assist the Council in maintaining peace. If the Security Council should decide that it is necessary to use armed force to maintain international peace in connection with Palestine, the United States would be ready to consult under the Charter with a view to such action as may be necessary to maintain international peace. Such consultation would be required in view of the fact that agreement has not yet been reached making armed forces available to the Security Council under the terms of Article 43 of the Charter.

The Security Council is authorized to take forceful measures with respect to Palestine to remove a threat to international peace. The Charter of the United Nations does not empower the Security Council to enforce a political settlement, whether it is pursuant to a recommendation of the General Assembly or of the Council itself.

What this means is this: the Council under the Charter can take action to prevent aggression against Palestine from outside. The Council, by these same powers, can take action to prevent a threat to international peace and security from inside Palestine. But this action must be directed solely to the maintenance of international peace. The Council's action, in other words, is directed to keeping the peace and not to enforcing partition.

The United States Government believes that the first of the three requests made by the General Assembly to the Security Council under

its resolution of November 29, 1947, can properly be complied with [by] the Council. With respect to the second and third requests of the Assembly's resolution—requests (B) and (C)—the Council must act if necessary to preserve international peace and security or to curb and repel aggression as provided for in the Charter.

PALESTINE COMMISSION REPORT

We come now to the second of the documents before us, namely the first monthly report of the Palestine Commission to the Security Council dated February 2, 1947. It reflects the seriousness and the diligence with which the Commission has addressed itself to its difficult task in the course of its 26 meetings in January. The report contains a useful and practical analysis of the tasks set for the Commission by the General Assembly and lists the significant dates which constitute the framework of implementation.

Two elements in the report are deeply disturbing to my Government. The first is the refusal of the Arab Higher Committee to designate representatives to consult with the Commission. The other is the continued deterioration of the situation in Palestine. The report shows the need for continued negotiations by the Commission with the Mandatory Power and with representatives of the Jewish and Arab communities of Palestine if the Commission is to proceed with its task.

My Government believes that, with respect to this first report, the Security Council might wish to inform itself of the situation as to what guidance or instructions it might usefully give to the Palestine Commission. To that end, we suggest that the Security Council itself consult at once, by means of a committee, with the Palestine Commission, the Mandatory Power and the representatives of the communities of Palestine.

The third document before us is the first special report of the Palestine Commission to the Security Council on the problem of security dated February 16, 1948. The report contains an appraisal by the Commission of the security situation in Palestine as well as the Commission's estimate of the security situation which it believes can be expected upon the termination of the mandate. This special report on security does not allege that a threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression has occurred in Palestine. It reports facts which, if accepted or substantiated by the Security Council, would appear to lead to the conclusion that a threat to international peace is present in that situation. With this special report before it, the Security Council must, in our opinion, look into the matter immediately to determine whether such a danger exists.

COMMISSION URGES NEED FOR ARMED FORCES

The report looks ahead to what it considers will happen in the

future and clearly implies that a threat to the peace and a breach of the peace will occur if the Commission continues its effort to carry out the Assembly's resolution. Perhaps the most emphatic illustration is found at page 18, VII, Conclusion, sub-paragraph 5:

> It is the considered view of the Commission that the security forces of the Mandatory Power, which at the present time prevent the situation from deteriorating completely into open warfare on an organized basis, must be replaced by an adequate non-Palestinian force which will assist law-abiding elements in both the Arab and Jewish communities, organized under the general direction of the Commission, in maintaining order and security in Palestine and thereby enabling the Commission to carry out the recommendations of the General Assembly. Otherwise the period immediately following the termination of the mandate will be a period of uncontrolled, widespread strife and bloodshed in Palestine, including the city of Jerusalem. This would be a catastrophic conclusion to an era of international concern for that territory.

The Commission has reached the conclusion that it cannot fulfil its functions under the General Assembly resolution unless armed forces are provided to the Commission by the Security Council. In its final conclusion, it refers to "that effective assistance without which it is firmly convinced it cannot discharge the great responsibilities entrusted to it by the General Assembly."

The three documents before us raise the broad question of what action the Security Council should now take with respect to Palestine. The United States believes that such action should be of two kinds. In the first place, the Security Council should go immediately into the question of the maintenance or restoration of international peace. The information which is officially before us, as well as unofficial reports from Palestine, indicates that a major security problem is involved. In our view there is no question either about the Security Council's obligations or about its powers to deal with dangers to the peace. The second type of action should be directed toward giving effect to the recommendation of the General Assembly with the full use of, but within the limitations of, the powers of the Security Council under the Charter. While taking necessary measures to maintain international peace, the Security Council should make every effort to get an agreement on the basis of the General Assembly recommendation for the underlying political difficulty. For this purpose the Security Council should begin at once its consultations with the Palestine Commission, the Mandatory Power and representatives of the principal communities of Palestine. These consultations should, we suggest, be held in New York in order that the Council itself may be kept closely advised at all stages.

IMMEDIATE STEPS COUNCIL CAN TAKE

Although we do not wish to place specific resolutions before the Council at this early stage of the discussion, my Government believes we should have in mind the desirability of the following specific steps which the Council might take at once:

a. To accept the task which the General Assembly asked the Security Council to accept in its recommendation of November 29, 1947, on Palestine, subject to the authority of the Security Council under the Charter;

b. To establish a committee of the Council, comprising the five permanent members, to look at once into the question of the possible threats to international peace arising in connection with the Palestine situation and to consult with the Palestine Commission, the Mandatory Power and representatives of the principal communities of Palestine concerning the implementation of the General Assembly recommendations;

c. To call upon all governments and peoples, particularly in and around Palestine, to take all possible action to prevent or reduce the disorders now occurring in Palestine. There is no reason to believe that the Security Council will find this problem any less difficult than others have found it. But there is also no reason for excessive pessimism merely because the question is complicated and involves violence. The responsibilities of the Security Council in this situation are great. We feel confident that all members are ready for the Council to address itself at once to its task.

[1]Following the US statement, Arthur Creech-Jones of Great Britain reiterated that his Government would not accept, either individually or in association with others, the enforcement of partition plan by force.

[2]The Resolution adopted the recommendation of the UN Commission of Inquiry for the partition of Palestine into two independent, Jewish and Arab States. See *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 17, 170-71.

109

Ch. Ghulam Abbass[1] to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 120 (Vol. II)-GG/117

SIALKOT,
1 March 1948

Released[2] and reached Sialkot today.With prayer for Quaid-i-Azam's

long life.

GHULAM ABBASS

[1]President, Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference.
[2]He was arrested on 25 October 1946. See No. 128, Vol. I, Part I, note 5, 253.

110

Saiyid Muazzamuddin Hosain to S. M. Yusuf

F. 216 (Vol. II)-GG/40

DACCA,
1 March 1948

Dear Sir,

I understand that Quaid-i-Azam is coming to Dacca on or about 20th instant. After coming out of the parliamentary politics with the abolition of the Upper House, I have been doing honorary work under Eastern Pakistan Government in connection with readjustment of boundaries of Districts and Sub-Divisions affected by Radcliffe Award. I have finished that work and I am just going home (P. O. Ashtagram, District Mymensingh). I am anxious to have an interview with Quaid-i-Azam during his visit to Dacca. I shall be grateful if you kindly arrange it and let me know by air mail in [*sic*] my home address.

Yours faithfully,
SAIYID MUAZZAMUDDIN HOSAIN
ex-Minister, Bengal

111

Mubarek Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. I)-GG/255-7

PAKISTAN WELFARE LEAGUE OF AMERICA,
BOX 351, PHOENIX,
ARIZONA,
1 March 1948

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am not far from India and my people are not far from me. I speak for the people who sacrificed their lives for you, for the Rajputs who

gave their blood in Bihar, Calcutta, Lahore, and at a hundred other times and places. I speak for the people who believed in you, Mr. Jinnah—in Jinnah the leader of the people, but not in Jinnah the nepotist and Governor-General! We believed in Pakistan—but we believed in a people's Pakistan—in a democratic Pakistan—and not in the conception of it which you have obviously held to!

Between 1920 and 1940 I was a Congress Party follower, like so many thousands of our people, but when you wrote to me in 1943,[1] explaining the meaning of the Muslim League, explaining so sincerely what it stood for, I was convinced of the justice of your cause and began pro-Muslim League activities here in this country, drawing upon my own resources. You had asked me to tell the American public what the differences were between the Hindu and Muslim nations; I sent out bulletin after bulletin to everybody in the Congress, to prominent personalities, to libraries and schools, everywhere and every place where there would be slightest interest in what we, you, stood for. I lectured at universities, broadcast over the radio, spoke frequently at various meetings, doing this and many other things without ever getting any financial help from you or anybody else.

· And in the meantime we had our ten years long struggle for the Indian Immigration Bill. This was a Bill intended to aid everybody living in the United States, irrespective of whether they were Hindu or Muslim, Brahmin or Untouchable, aristocrat or farmer, labourer or businessman. The only thing necessary was that he be a son of India and it was in that spirit that we carried on this fight for the people and also strove to spread the message of democratic Pakistan.

But now that we have the two States—Hindustan and Pakistan—how fares it with the people?

People have died by the thousand this last year, and there is your answer! The people do not stand, they die! Innocent women and children are the victims of famine and starvation, or else bayoneted and knifed, victims of irresponsible leadership on all fronts! Pakistan and Hindustan are beginning their existence as separate States while they are still cowering in the shadow cast by the Angel of Death. Bureaucratic mismanagement on the part of more than one self-sacrificing lover of the people has meant death to thousands in the recent famine.

Hindustan and Pakistan—the new creations—will not solve the problem of India. The Governments that are announced for both these States are not Governments for the people—they are Governments against the people. If you and Nehru each appoint your friends and backers to power you are not bringing democracy to the Indian peoples—you are bringing dictatorships with you—and you are sowing the seeds of revolt.

If you then also ignore the people, as you ignored contemptuously

the few hundred dollars which we sent to you[2] for Pakistan relief, you are not true to our faith, you are not true to Islam, you are not true to us who are part and parcel of the Muslim peoples of India. For when you need our help you know us—not at other times.

News has reached me that you are resigning your governor-[general]ship. Who will be your successor? Liaquat Ali Khan—no. Has suffered two heart attacks. Firoz Khan Noon—no, because of dispute with you. Sir Mohammad Zafrulla Khan—no. He is of different religious group. But, there is a chance for Nawab of Bhopal. Mr. Jinnah, is this the democracy which you talked about in your letter addressed to me in 1943.[3] In true democracy one is rewarded for his work.

I am of the opinion that there is no better man than Sir Mohammad Zafrulla Khan or Firoz Khan Noon. Sir Zafrulla Khan has proved his capacity while representing Pakistan at the United Nations Security Council, New York, U.S.A. Sir Firoz Khan Noon has been an outstanding representative at the San Francisco news conference, besides being responsible for awakening the entire Rajputana, United Provinces and Punjab. Most important, he made you what you are today. Either of these two gentlemen are entitled to be Governor-General of Pakistan and not Charlie McCarthy, who has not contributed a drop of blood or [was] arrested and taken to jail for you and your Pakistan.

Yours truly,
NAWAB MUBAREK ALI KHAN
of Sultanpur, UP

PS. I continue to appeal for funds for my fellow-countrymen and refugees of Pakistan who are homeless and destitute. Sir, this is no time for you to resign because the job is not finished and Pakistan is not settled yet.

[1,2&3]Not traceable.

112

Muhammad Sami-ul Haque to S.M. Yusuf

F. 216 (Vol. II)-GG/75

12 BANGSHAL ROAD, DACCA,
1 March 1948

Dear Sir,

Though I have been working as a small official in the Government of

United Bengal, I have always been treated as a worker of the Muslim League.

When Quaid-i-Azam visited Calcutta last time in [March] 1946, he had the kindness to give me the honour of dining with him at an exclusive dinner, specially arranged by Mr. M. A. H. Ispahani and the late Seth Abdool Razak Abdus Sattar,[1] to enable a few Muslim officials of Bengal to meet their Quaid-i-Azam.

It is reported that Quaid-i-Azam is coming to Dacca by about the 10th of March. I crave his indulgence of giving me the honour of being called up again to see him as Governor-General of our Pakistan. This time the occasion of a dinner for the sake of secrecy may be deemed unnecessary.

I shall deem it a great favour if you kindly inform me immediately whether Quaid-i-Azam would condescend to see one of his workers whom he had given such honour when Pakistan was not established.

Yours sincerely in Islam,
MUH[AMMA]D SAMI-UL HAQUE

[1]Member, Council of State, 1946.

113

Miss Madge E. Hall to M. A. Jinnah

F. 86-GG/58

KEWSTOKE,
YORK PLAINS,
TASMANIA,
1 March 1948

Dear Sir,

I have a collection of famous autographs and included in my collection are those of Mr. Winston Churchill,[1] Dr Benes of Czechoslovakia,[2] Count Sforza of Italy,[3] Admiral Earl and Countess Mountbatten, Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery,[4] Mr. Somerset Maugham,[5] Prime Minister of Australia, Mr. Chifley;[6] as many others.

May I request your autograph for my collection, please Sir. I would

be delighted and most gratified if you would send it to me.[7]

Yours truly,
MADGE E. HALL

[1]Winston Churchill, British Leader of the Opposition, 1945-51.
[2]Eduard Benes, President of Czechoslovakia, 1946-48.
[3]Count Carlo Sforza, Italian anti-Fascist leader; died 1952.
[4]An outstanding British military officer who had series of successes in Europe and Africa during World War II.
[5]English novelist and short-story writer; died 1965.
[6]Joseph Benedict Chifley, Australian Premier, 1945-49.
[7]Jinnah's autograph was sent on 24 April 1948. See F. 86-GG/59. Not printed.

114

A. K. Munshi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. II)-GG/465

8/7/IB HATIBAGAN ROAD,
CALCUTTA 14,
1 March 1948

May it please Your Excellency!

My registered air letter to Your Excellency dated the 25th Aug. 1947, is still under investigation of the Presidency Postmaster, Calcutta. There is no knowing where it has been lost in transit.

When I hail Your Excellency's speech at Malir to the men of the 5th Heavy A.A. Regiment delivered on Feb. 21, 1948,[1] I beg to enclose copies[2] of my correspondence with the Minister of Industries, Eastern Pakistan Dominion, for Your Excellency's kind perusal to understand the present slackness on the part of the present Ministry to encourage and placate the national private enterprises.

Preservation of freedom is essential but we are not alert to mobilise accordingly. The enclosed copies of my correspondence is an example of the type of reply we get to discard our private national ambitions to build up.

I seek a reply from Your Excellency if my individual ambitions may be translated into actions under the recognition of the high command of my home Dominion.

Very obediently yours,
A.K. MUNSHI

[1]No. 93.
[2]See F. 120 (Vol. II)-GG/466-7. Not printed.

115

Muhammad Akhlaque Husain to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. II)-GG/194
[Original in Urdu]

UJJAIN,
GWALIOR STATE, CENTRAL INDIA,
3 March 1948

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Almost two months ago I had requested you to call me to Pakistan, but you had advised me to stay on here. Now this is becoming difficult due to propaganda against you and Pakistan, all over, including the courts. If I protest, all the Muslims might be endangered, so I shamelessly put up with this. My children are also harassed on way to school. These insults are now becoming unbearable. I may, therefore, be helped out from here and given a chance to practise law in Pakistan.

Now that Muslim League has been banned in this State, I have become superfluous. Many anti-Pakistan elements have migrated to Pakistan and are leading a comfortable life there. If you do not approve of my migration to Pakistan, please arrange for my settlement in Bhopal or Hyderabad (Deccan).

Yours obediently,
MUHAMMAD AKHLAQUE HUSAIN
Advocate
President, Ujjain Muslim League

116

S. M. Yusuf to M. N. Kotwal

F. 214-GG/18

3 March 1948

Dear Mr. Kotwal,

I am desired by the Quaid-i-Azam to enclose herewith a copy of the draft notification[1] setting out the functions and composition of the Advisory Council for Baluchistan and to request you to please examine this and let me have your comments, if any, on the draft notification.

If you need any further information in this connection, will you

please contact Mr. A. S. B. Shah, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mohatta Palace, Clifton.

Yours sincerely,
S. M. YUSUF

M. N. Kotwal, Esq.,
Legal Adviser to the
Governor-General of Pakistan,
Karachi

[1]Not traceable.

117

Geti Ara Bashir Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/43-4[1]

ALMANZAR,
32 LAWRENCE ROAD,
LAHORE,
4 March 1948

My beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

I do hope and pray that you are feeling quite well. May God Almighty grant you perfect health and a long long life. I beg to offer my services to Pakistan Government for any work anywhere.

I have tried to serve my nation and the cause of Pakistan most sincerely for the last seven years. During the last six months I have worked in three offices in connection with refugee relief work and the recovery of abducted women. I realise that all nations have to work hard to preserve their freedom and to make their State prosperous and progressive. Every man and woman must put in hard labour now to build our dear State—Pakistan.

My heart bleeds to see corruption and dishonesty all around us. Honesty, hard work and sacrifice is what our nation needs to learn the most at this hour. May *Allah* guide us to righteousness.

With all my prayers and best regards,

Yours sincerely,
GETI ARA BASHIR AHMAD

[1]F Amin acknowledged the letter. See F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/45. Not printed.

118

Mohammad Hasan to S. M. Yusuf

Telegram, F. 187 (2)-GG/20

PIPALS,
LAHORE,
4 March 1948

East Punjab Muslim League Assembly Party decided to send a deputation to place their grievances. Kindly appoint time and place of interview.[1]

MOHAMMAD HASAN

F. Amin advised him not to come as the order enabling Members of East Punjab Assembly to become Members of West Punjab Assembly was under issue. See F. 187 (2)-GG/21. Not printed.

119

Reply by M. A. Jinnah to Yahya Kemal Beyatli's Speech[1]

F. 125 (10)-GG/14

4 March 1948

Your Excellency,

It gives me great pleasure to welcome you today as the first Turkish Ambassador[1] to Pakistan. But my pleasure is enhanced as there is a unique significance about today's ceremony to the people of Pakistan for historical reasons. Your Excellency has yourself observed that many spiritual and sentimental ties born and grown in the course of a long history bind the people of Turkey to the people of Pakistan. Not only this, but by a turn of the world situation during the past 50 years or more, Turkey has been in our thoughts constant[ly] and has drawn our admiration for the valour of your people and the way in which your statesmen and leaders have struggled and fought almost single-handed in the midst of Europe for your freedom and sovereignty which have been happily maintained.

2. The exploits of your leaders in many a historic field of battle; the progress of your Revolution; the rise and career of the great Ataturk,[2] his revitalisation of your nation by his great statesmanship, courage and foresight—all these stirring events are well know[n] to the people of Pakistan. In fact right from the very birth of political consciousness

amongst the Muslims of this great subcontinent, the fortunes of your country were observed by us with deep sympathy and interest. I can therefore assure Your Excellency that the Muslims of Pakistan entertain sentiments of affection and esteem for your country, and now Turkey and Pakistan both as free, sovereign an independent countries can strengthen their ties more and more for the good of both.

3. We hope that with Your Excellency's assistance and cooperation we may be able to build up closer political and cultural ties with your State, and thus contribute our share to the attainment of peace and prosperity throughout the world. Finally, I extend a most cordial welcome to Your Excellency as the first Ambassador of Turkey to Pakistan, a welcome charged with the deepest affection born of historical and cultural ties and traditions of the past.

[1]For the speech of Yahya Kemal Beyath, see Enclosure to No. 97.

[2]Mustafa Kemal (1881-1938), the founder of modern Turkey and its first President (1923-38).

120

F. D. Douglas to F. Amin

F. 135-GG/43-4

PRESS INFORMATION DEPARTMENT,
GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN,
KARACHI,
No. F. 25/8/48-P.S. *5 March 1948*

My dear Amin,

Dr. Eric Streiff, Special Correspondent of the *Neue Zurcher Zeitung*, Zurich (Switzerland)—one of the biggest newspapers in Switzerland with an international reputation—is at present in Karachi. He has asked for an interview with the Quaid-i-Azam on Wednesday, March 10, if possible. He is leaving on a tour of western Pakistan shortly after the 10th. It is strongly recommended that the interview be granted.

Switzerland is at present out of our sphere of influence, in the sense that we have no publicity arrangements for getting our message across to the southern European countries. An interview with Quaid-i-Azam should, therefore, be extremely beneficial in creating goodwill for Pakistan.

I am also supplying him with a copy of the biographical sketch of the Quaid-i-Azam, which was prepared by Dr. Dadashi of Arshad Hussain's Publicity Department during the Quaid-i-Azam's birthday

celebrations, and which, I understand, has been officially approved.

I attach a list of written questions which Dr. Streiff wishes to put to the Quaid-i-Azam. There are only four questions. As Dr. Streiff's English is not fluent, though it is understandable, a typed copy of the answers[1] should be provided to him at the interview.

For your information, Dr. Streiff is staying with Mr. Rasom of Messrs Volkart Bros., Mcleod Road.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
F. D. DOUGLAS
Deputy Principal Information Officer

[1]See Enclosure to No. 129.

121

W. H. Shoobert to F. Amin

F. 204-GG/11

IMMEDIATE

MINISTRY OF FOOD, AGRICULTURE AND HEALTH,
KARACHI,
6 March 1948

My dear Amin,

As promised on the telephone this morning, I send herewith a revised draft for Quaid-i-Azam's speech on the 15th.

Yours sincerely,
W. H. SHOOBERT
[*Secretary*]

Enclosure to No. 121

Draft of the Speech by M. A. Jinnah for the Meeting of the Pakistan Red Cross to be held at the Governor-General's House on 15 March 1948

F. 204-GG/12-24

It gives me great pleasure indeed to welcome the members of the Governing Body of the Pakistan Red Cross Society and friends and sympathizers who are present here today. I thank you for the honour you have done me by inviting me to inaugurate this meeting and I am glad that you have given me the opportunity to do so. Many of the

members of the Governing Body are new to Red Cross work and, therefore, I thought it appropriate that I should mention the objects to which the Funds of the Society can legally be applied. I have tried to gather such information as I could with regard to the origin and history of Red Cross, which is replete with great sacrifices rendered by unselfish men and women who have done so much good to suffering humanity.

The Red Cross had its origin at Geneva, almost directly as the result of an accidental visit made in 1859 to the battlefield of Solferino in Italy by a young man from Geneva, named Jean Henri Dunant.[1] Dunant was deeply moved by the sufferings of the wounded and the groans of the dying. He wrote a book which made a great impression, and as a result of his enthusiastic efforts a non-official "Committee of Five" was founded in Geneva. In 1863, this Committee convened a semi-official conference which was attended by the representatives of sixteen different countries. Following the Conference the "Committee of Five" became the "Genevese Committee for the Relief of Wounded Soldiers" and "National Aid Societies" were formed in a number of countries.

A few months later, the Swiss Government called an official diplomatic conference which drew up the General Convention for the relief of sick and wounded in war. Sixty-three nations eventually acceded to this Convention. The Conference also decided that all those who worked to relieve suffering in war and were, under this Convention, entitled to protection, should adopt one distinctive emblem, irrespective of the country to which they belonged. They selected for that emblem, as a compliment towards the country in which the idea for international treaties for the protection of the defenceless victims of hostilities was born, the reverse of the Swiss flag, which is a white Cross on a red background. The emblem adopted by the Conference was, therefore, a Red Cross on a white background. It is generally recognized that this emblem should be universal to enable it to fulfil its mission to the greatest possible extent, especially on the battlefield, where the persons and institutions of the Armed Forces Medical Corps and of the Voluntary Aid Societies are, if under this distinctive emblem, protected against any enemy action by international conventions. Not less important is the symbolic value of the Red Cross in the field of international collaboration with the aim of mitigating the horrors of the War and ameliorating public heath and public welfare.

Switzerland is still the headquarters of the Red Cross Movement. The original "Committee of Five" has since 1876 been known by the name of the "International Committee of the Red Cross" and is still a purely Swiss organisation with an exclusively international activity.

The members are all Swiss nationals. One of the chief functions of this Committee is, in time of war, to serve, either directly or through their delegates, as intermediaries between Governments and National Societies of the belligerent Powers, in all cases where their assistance is requested. They endeavour, by all means in their power, to promote in every way the welfare of the victims of war. The Committee takes over similar functions in time of civil war and internal troubles, offering to all parties concerned their services in order to mitigate human suffering. In peace time and in war time, the Committee is the guardian of the Geneva Convention and the fundamental Red Cross principles and their distinctive emblem. That such an organization is an international necessity needs no emphasis. It is peculiarly appropriate that it should be located in Switzerland, as Swiss perpetual neutrality was guaranteed by the Powers in 1815[2] at the close of the wars of Napoleon and this neutrality has been respected ever since.

I must explain that the International Committee of the Red Cross is not the governing body, although it is the body which has to approve the affiliation of National Red Cross Societies to the International Red Cross, the name adopted in 1928. The Red Cross Community comprises the National Red Cross Societies, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and the League of Red Cross Societies. This League was founded in 1919 on the proposal of the American Red Cross. It is a federation of National Red Cross Societies, created with a view to promoting Red Cross activities in peace time and to help the National Societies to perfect their organization, to develop public health and public welfare in the national and international fields. The League has a Board of Governors comprising one representative each of the National Societies of the world. This Board meets every two years and its Executive Committee twice yearly. However, in war time it is often not possible to convene these sessions and the International Committee remains the only link between countries and their societies. No National Red Cross Society can be affiliated to the International Red Cross unless the country to which it belongs has acceded to the Geneva Convention regarding the care of the sick and wounded in war and the Convention regarding the treatment of prisoners of war. The Government of Pakistan have already communicated to Geneva their desire to adhere to these conventions.

In so far as a Governing Body of the International Red Cross exists, it is the International Red Cross Conference. It is the Supreme Assembly of the Red Cross and includes representatives of all National Societies of the International Committee and of the League. Official representatives of the States signatory to the Geneva Conventions are also

invited to the meetings and enjoy the right of vote. The International Conference passes resolutions on all questions concerning Red Cross policy in the international field. The Conference meets in principle every four years, except in times of world war, and in the intervals it is represented by a Standing Commission. The next meeting is to be held in Sweden this August. It will be an important one as a final meeting of several preliminary international meetings already held after the end of the Second World War. Its main task will be the revision of the Geneva Conventions concerning the treatment of the sick and wounded and prisoners of war and the protection of the defenceless civil population in war time. These Conventions are ready in a draft based on experiences gained during the Second World War. The Conference will furthermore lay down the future Red Cross policy on the international field. Having the importance of this Conference in view, we hope to be able to send Delegates of the Pakistan Government and of the Pakistan Red Cross Society which has now been formed by the Pakistan Red Cross Society Order 1947 to this Conference to be held in Stockholm this year.

It was in 1920 that an Indian Red Cross Society was formed. The Act was then passed "to constitute an Indian Red Cross Society and to vest in it the balance of the funds collected for medical and other aid to the sick and wounded and other purposes of a like nature" during the 1914-18 war. This Act was adopted under the Pakistan "Adaptation of existing Pakistan laws" Order of 1947, to bring into being the Pakistan Red Cross Society. At the first meeting of the Governing Body of this new Society today you will, among other things, consider the division of the assets of the old India Red Cross Society between India and Pakistan.

Ladies and Gentlemen, as will be clear from what I have told you, the aims of the Red Cross may be summarized under three heads:

a. Promotion of health
b. Prevention of disease
c. Mitigation of suffering throughout the world

In war time the proper function of the Red Cross is of course care of the sick and wounded. In peace time the activity of the Organization lies chiefly in the fields of:

a. Supplementary work for existing organization concerned with the three aims which I have mentioned above; and
b. Pioneering work to initiate social service in pursuance of those aims which might eventually be taken over by the Government or by local bodies.

It is most appropriate that the Red Cross should have available emergency services to be ready in times of floods, famines or epidemics or any other calamity that may overwhelm any country to go to the relief of suffering humanity.

The objects to which the funds of the Society may be applied, as laid down in the first schedule of Act XV of 1920 adapted for Pakistan, include:

i. The care of the sick and wounded men of Pakistan Forces, whether still on the active list or demobilized.
ii. The care of those suffering from tuberculosis, having regard in the first place to soldiers and sailors whether they have contracted the disease on active service or not.
iii. Child welfare
iv. Work parties to provide the necessary garments, etc., for hospitals and health institutions in need of them.
v. Assistance required in all branches of nursing, health and welfare work ancillary to any organizations which have or may come into being in Pakistan and which are recognized by the Society.
vi. Home service ambulance work
vii. Provision of comforts and assistance to members of Pakistan Forces, whether on the active list or demobilized.
viii. Such other cognate objects as may, from time to time, be approved by the Society.

In India in the past, the main peace time activities of the Society have been:

a. Maternity and child welfare services
b. Training of Assistant Midwives
c. Providing amenities in women's and children's hospitals.
d. Supply of ambulance cars to districts

Since partition of the sub-continent of India into two Dominions—Pakistan and India—such activities have been continued by the existing Branch Red Cross Societies in the Provinces of Pakistan. A fifth service with which our Society might well concern itself is the organization of blood banks; for there it would be the function of the Society to arrange for panels for the whole country, to enlist donors, and to send vans around to collect them. The scope of the work which can be done by Provincial Branches under the guidance of the Governing Body is very wide indeed.

There is also the Junior Red Cross, which has been organized by some of the Branch Societies in Pakistan, and operates in schools. The

teachers are generally known as Patrons or Red Cross Links. Services rendered by the Junior Red Cross are concerned with:

i. Organization of lectures
ii. International correspondence between members of the Junior Red Cross in one country and the Junior Red Cross in another, which has proved a potent force in promoting international understanding; and
iii. Helping in carrying messages and performance of similar services.

It is clear from the history of the Red Cross as I have tried to outline it to you that National Red Cross Societies are not official bodies, although throughout the past 80 years they have been closely associated with national and diplomatic actions. Even when countries sever all connections with one another in war their Red Cross Societies still have a common link in the International Red Cross Society in neutral Switzerland. Today, it gives me great satisfaction to welcome among us a representative of the International Red Cross–Dr. Wenger, who has been in Pakistan for some weeks visiting refugee camps, advising upon methods of improvement in our relief work there, and investigating means by which the International Red Cross can give us aid.

Indeed from the brotherhood of the International Red Cross much help has been forthcoming in Pakistan's hour of need.

The Red Cross Society of Canada sent to us a valuable gift of penicillin, and the Canadian Trade Agent in Karachi received a donation of some Rs. 12,000 which he spent upon blankets for our refugees.

The Australian Red Cross Society have informed us that it is proposed to ship blankets, woollen clothing, dressings and drugs worth sterling pound 6,000 to Pakistan; and from the same country a cash donation of about sterling pound 99 and warm clothing have been received for my relief fund.

From the Turkish Red Crescent Society 75 bales of warm clothing have been sent for distribution in refugee camps.

From the British Red Cross Society have come one complete hospital which is now functioning in Multan, 12 ambulance cars, two doctors from the United Kingdom and two engaged in Pakistan, a matron and three nursing sisters. Four more sisters are expected and a complete Casualty Clearing Station for 250 persons has recently arrived. From the same source during the last few months we have received supplies of milk, stores, and blankets apart from other aid of a substantial nature, and the services of Major General Sir Treffry Thompson, the Commissioner of the British Red Cross Society operating in Pakistan, whom I am gratified to see here today, are proving of the

highest value to this country.

By other countries also we have been given the most generous assistance, although not always, under the symbol of the Red Cross. From the Government of Iran came a gift of anticholera vaccine, and South Africa made offers of similar gifts. American voluntary relief agencies working through a committee for emergency aid to India and Pakistan have sent drugs, medical stores, powdered milk, cereals, blankets and warm clothing in large quantities. Fourteen different ships have brought these sorely needed gifts. Doctors and nurses have also come, and Mobile Medical Units of the Christian Committee for Relief in West Pakistan, composed of mixed American, British and India Christian personnel have done splendid work. How much all this has meant to our refugees, everyone here, will realize. It was inspiring to know that these, our friends, were working under most difficult conditions to supplement our own organizations while Muslim ladies came forward enthusiastically in hundreds to help their sick and injured brothers and sisters in a spirit of sympathy and sacrifice.

Among the doctors who, inspired by a high ideal of service, have come from abroad to work in an honorary capacity in our refugee camps, I must mention Doctor Holland, son of Sir Henry Holland, an honoured member of our Governing Body who has given long years of his life to the people of this land, and who is leaving us within a few days. Our good wishes go with him in his retirement. I would also mention Mr. Ghulam Mohammad, a businessman of Newcastle-on-Tyne who brought three British doctors for honorary service in Pakistan. Ladies and Gentleman! magnificent contributions to the common cause, such as those to which I have just referred, are assuredly a most faithful interpretation of the noble spirit of the Red Cross.

So, now that Pakistan Red Cross Society has been established by us, it will, I hope, play its full and destined part in the service of humanity alongwith other bodies and organizations in the international field to afford all possible relief and help to the suffering and distressed people wherever possible.

Swiss author; founded the International Red Cross Society in 1864

'Refers to the Battle of Waterloo where, on 18 June 1815, Napoleon Bonaparte was finally defeated by the Duke of Wellington and Field Marshal Blucher, commanding the British and Prussian armies, respectively.

122

S. A. Hamid to S. M. Yusuf

F. 2-GG/11

SIR A. HAROON MUSLIM GYMKHANA,
KARACHI,
6 March 1948

My dear Yusuf,

The Council of the Pakistan Olympic Association have decided to hold the 1st Pakistan Athletic Championship on April 9, 10 and 11, 1948, on the Polo Ground at Karachi. Quaid-i-Azam has very kindly granted permission to use the Ground. The Council have further decided to invite Quaid-i-Azam to perform the opening ceremony and Miss Fatima Jinnah to give away the prizes and to conclude the meet. A letter to this effect will be sent separately. We have received the official invitation from the Organizing Committee for the XIVth Olympiad, London, 1948, to represent Pakistan at the games to be held at London in July 1948, which the Committee have accepted. I would, therefore, very much appreciate if you could kindly arrange for an interview on 15th of March with Quaid-i-Azam, as he might desire to know the details of the occasion, before acceding to our request.

Yours sincerely,
S. A. HAMID
Captain
Honorary Secretary,
Organising Commitee for First Pakistan Olympic Games

123

Zulfikar Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. II)-GG/224

SARAI BAGOO RAM,
JINNAH CHAUK,
MONTGOMERY,
8 March 1948

May it please Your Excellency,

I beg to lay before you that I am the eldest brother of late Maulanas

Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali and had worked under you as a member of the Executive Council of Muslim League [for] several years while in Delhi. My services were lent to the Rampur State by the U.P. Government where I established the Excise Department on British lines and served the State for 9 years. I also established there the Weaving Department on Japanese lines. On the internment of my brothers, I left Rampur Service. A few years after, I retired from service and went over to Qadian where I was made Secretary to the Head of the Community and had the charge of general affairs including the political affairs of the Community. A few years after I had the charge of the Ahmadia Missions in Foreign Countries together with the commercial dealings through the missionaries. Then a few years after I was made Chief Secretary and worked as such for several years.

On the accession of the present Nawab of Rampur my services were lent to him and [I] had to run the Excise Department again, minus my judicial powers which I [had] exercised before for 9 years with great credit. After six years I was retired from the services as the H.H. the Nawab got a false report that my brother Maulana Shaukat Ali was opposing him in the matter of Chancellorship of the Muslim University, Aligarh.

I again came back to Qadian; had the charge of Foreign Missions.

I was then given the charge of propaganda work together [with] the charge of Ahmadia literature and the press. So Your Excellency can see that I had a vast scope and experience of work. I beg to offer my humble services to Pakistan Government in its Secretariat.

I have the honour to be,
Your Excellency's sincere well-wisher,
ZULFIKAR ALI KHAN

124

Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 187 (2)-GG/19

KARACHI,
8 March 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

As you would no doubt recall, I spoke to you some time ago about the desirability of declaring the Muslim M.L.As. of East Punjab as M.L.As. of West Punjab. You were inclined at that time to pass such an order.[1]

I have received a telegram from Mamdot in which he urges early action in this case. He points out that the delay is causing considerable resentment among the M.L.As. of East Punjab. The budget session of the Punjab Assembly starts on the 15th March and Mamdot feels that in order to enable these members to take part in the coming session and the party meetings it is necessary to have an early decision in the matter. If the East Punjab members are unable to take part in the session it is likely to cause acute dissatisfaction among the refugees.

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

West Punjab Legislative Assembly Order, 1948, and the West Punjab Legislative Assembly Amendment Order, 1948. See F. 187 (2)-GG/22 & 64 Not printed.

125

M. A. Jinnah to S. Wajid Ali

F. 55-GG/4

8 March 1948

My dear Wajid Ali,

I have received your letter of the 5th of March,[1] and you know how pleased I would be to accept your very kind invitation to dine with you, but I have so often explained to you that if I start accepting private invitations from friends, it will be impossible for me to manage it as there are so many who desire to invite me. If I were to discriminate, it will surely annoy the person whose invitation I may not be able to accept. Besides, I have not the time, or the mind at present to accept invitations from friends and individuals. I hope, therefore, that you will appreciate my difficulties.

I would be very glad to see your wife before she goes away to South Africa to see her father, and if there is any convenient date which may suit us both, would you both come and have tea with us. Please let me know what date will suit you.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

S. Wajid Ali, Esq.,
2 Mulchand Mansions,
McLeod Road, Karachi

[1]S. Wajid Ali had invited Jinnah and Miss Fatima Jinnah to dinner before 20 March. See F. 55-GG/3. Not printed.

126

S. M. Yusuf to Secretary, Home Dept., NWFP

F. 200-GG/2

9 March 1948

Sir,

I am directed to refer to your letter No. 368/CRO, dated the 19th February 1948,[1] and to say that the Quaid-i-Azam regrets that he cannot agree to his name being associated with Mr. Jaffar's book, *A Guide to the Archives of the Central Record Office, N.W.F. Province.*

2. The book is returned herewith.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
S. M. YUSUF

The Secretary to Government, NWFP,
Home Department,
Peshawar

[1]F. 200-GG/1. Not printed.

127

Monsignor Alcuim Van Miltunberg to F. Amin

F. 25 (Part IV)-GG/5

ST. PATRICK'S CHURCH,
KARACHI,
9 March 1948

Dear Sir,

Herewith I wish to inform you that the Most Reverend Leo Peter Kierkels, Delegate Apostolic to the East Indies, together with the Right Reverend Mgr.[1] E. Vagnozzi, Councillor of the Apostolic Delegation, has arrived here in Karachi and is staying at St. Patrick's Church for a few days.

The Apostolic Delegate has lately returned from Rome and has been commissioned by His Holiness Pope Pius XII to deliver a personal message of congratulations and good wishes on the independence of Pakistan to the Quaid-i-Azam.

The sole purpose of his visit to Karachi is to deliver this message to the Governor-General and it is therefore kindly requested, that the Quaid-i-Azam would allow an interview[2] to the Apostolic Delegate and Mgr. Vagnozzi.

Yours faithfully,
MGR[2] ALCUIM VAN MILTUNBERG
Superior,
Catholic Mission of Sind and Baluchistan

[1]Abbreviation of Monsignor, title of certain Catholic priests and bishops
[2]F. Amin intimated the time and date fixed for the interview. See F. 25 (Part IV)-GG/4. Not printed.

128

A. D. F. Dundas to F. Amin

F. 47 (2)-GG/5-6

SIBI,
9 March 1948

My dear Amin,

Baluchistan is in a very serious state over foodgrains again. I will not bother you with the details but we have got too little wheat and thousands of tons too much paddy. The Food Ministry have not been able to meet our requirement despite the letter which you took down from here by plane. However, the point of this letter is that Savidge[1] is now on his way to Karachi and that if he cannot get any satisfaction out of the offices there he will come round to you and ask for an interview, on behalf of Baluchistan, with the Quaid-i-Azam. I hope Quaid-i-Azam will be able to grant this in the exercise of his constitutional responsibility for the Province. Savidge will be able to put it all very briefly.

You need not do anything on this unless you hear from Savidge.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
A.D.F. DUNDAS

129

F. Amin to F.D. Douglas

F. 135-GG/45

10 March 1948

My dear Douglas,

Please refer to your letter No. F. 25/8/48-P.S. dated the 5th March 1948.[1]

The Quaid-i-Azam gave an interview to Dr. Eric Streiff, Special Correspondent of the *Neue Zurcher Zeitung*, Zurich (Switzerland) at 11 a.m. this morning, and a copy of the answers given by the Quaid-i-Azam to his questions is enclosed herewith. I have handed over one copy to Dr. Eric Streiff personally so that he may cable it to his newspaper today.

The Quaid-i-Azam desires that this should be released to the press tomorrow at 12 noon, so that it may appear in the press on Friday morning.

Yours sincerely,
F. AMIN

F. D. Douglas, Esq.,
Deputy Principal Information Officer,
Press Information Department,
Karachi

[1]No. 120.

Enclosure to No. 129

F. 135-GG/46-7

In an interview given by Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Governor-General, Pakistan, Karachi, on Wednesday the 10th March 1948, to Dr. Eric Streiff, Special Correspondent of the *Neue Zurcher Zeitung*, Zurich (Switzerland), he replied to the following questions:

Q. Whether there is any hope of India and Pakistan coming to a peaceful settlement of their own with regard to their differences and disputes on very vital and important matters?

A. Yes, provided the Indian Government will shed the superiority complex and will deal with Pakistan on equal footing and fully appreciate the realities.

Q. Is Pakistan going to remain in the Commonwealth of Nations?

A. To begin with that is a matter for the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan to decide, and secondly it is obvious that it depends upon so

many factors. We have to consider not one side of the business, but also see whether by remaining in the Commonwealth of Nations it will be as much to any advantage as to that of other sister nations in the Commonwealth.

Q. Whether in international affairs Pakistan and India will work jointly and also join hands for the defence of their borders—both land and sea—and cooperate against any outside aggression?

A. Personally I have no doubt in my mind that our own paramount interests demand that Dominion of Pakistan and the Dominion of India should coordinate for the purpose of playing their part in international affairs and the developments that may take place, and also it is of vital importance to Pakistan and India as independent sovereign States to collaborate in a friendly way jointly to defend their frontiers both on land and sea against any aggression. But this depends entirely on whether Pakistan and India can resolve their own differences and grave domestic issues in the first instance. In other words, if we can put our house in order internally, then we may be able to play a very great part externally in all international affairs.

130

M. A. Rahim to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. II)-GG/233-4

DACCA,
10 March 1948

Janab-i-'Ali Jinnah Sahib,

You are expected to visit Dacca shortly. The Bengalis are pretentiously [*sic*] against the Urdu language. They are afraid of the Punjabi element permeating in [*sic*] the local administration.[1] In your awaited speech at Dacca, you may say out openly [that] if that be their fear, they may reserve reasonably a certain number of posts to be held by the Bengalis (say 60%) and the rest by the non-Bengalis on the consideration that all are brothers in Islam. This proposal by Your Excellency may do good and eradicate that antagonistic attitude of these people.

Another point which you might stress is that the Bengalis should cultivate a different line of thinking to keep all the Muslims (whether Bengali or non-Bengali) united. Ideas and proposals which result in

disruption and rupture should be discarded—this should be the basic principle for unity.

May God bless you and protect you!

Yours sincerely,
M. A. RAHIM

·See Annex.

Annex to No. 130

BENGALI NON-BENGALI QUESTION IN EAST BENGAL

F. 3 (3)-PMS/2-5

In the pre-partition days, the relations between the Bengali Muslims and Muslims from outside Bengal in the public services was friendly and cordial. Muslims in East Bengal welcomed Muslim officers from other Indian Provinces; for in those days the problem was "Muslim vs. non-Muslims", but since partition, situation has undergone a change - and for the worse.

2. When the Province of East Bengal was constituted, non-Muslim officers, almost in a body opted for Hindustan, and a large number of vacancies were created in all departments, under the Government of East Bengal. In superior services, these were filled by Muslim officers who opted for Pakistan. Amongst them, non-Bengalees constituted a fairly large proportion. This was inevitable, because there was only one Bengali Muslim I.C.S. in the whole of East Bengal, and naturally many higher appointments had to be manned by non-Bengalees, amongst whom the Punjabees predominated. In the services under the Central Government, the share of Bengalee Muslims was negligible; and the deficiency due to the withdrawal of non-Muslim officials was made up by the influx of a large number of Muslim officials from outside Bengal, who had opted for Pakistan. The unemployed Muslim young men in East Bengal, and the section of officials who were looking forward to accelerated promotion due to exodus of the non-Muslim element in the services, did not, however, view the situation with equanimity and understanding. There generated and developed an undercurrent of hostility and resentment towards the newcomers.

3. But this feeling, confined to a small section of the intelligentsia, would have gradually subsided if it were not fanned by propaganda by party politicians. Contest for leadership in East Bengal between Mr. Khwaja Nazimuddin and Mr. Shaheed Suhrawardy had divided the Muslim Leaguers in two opposing camps. Division was perpetuated when in the formation of the Ministry, Suhrawardy Group was ignored. Pro-Suhrawardy

organ, the Bengali daily *Ittehad* started agitation against what was described as "Punjabi domination in East Bengal"; the pro-Nazimuddin organ, the daily *Azad* was lukewarm in counteracting this move, and in the beginning, preferred to swim with the current. The propaganda gathered momentum with the arrival of fresh batches of non-Bengalee Muslim officers from outside, against some of whom charges of nepotism and snobbery were also made.

4. Fuel was added to the smouldering fire by the controversy as to what should be the state language of Eastern Pakistan, Urdu or Bengali. In Dacca, the student community, which dominates the political landscape is amongst the most vehement protagonists of Bengali, while a section of public men, the Jami'yyat Ulama-i-Islam, Bengal, with its branches in different districts are championing the cause of Urdu. But in this controversy the target of the wrath of the champions of Bengali happens to be those whose mother tongue is not Bengali.

5. I do not think, however, that anti-non-Bengalee feeling is very widespread or universal throughout East Bengal. The feeling has not affected the general mass of population. There is still a gigantic reservoir of goodwill and friendliness amongst Muslim masses and intelligentsia towards their brethren from outside Bengal. Rural areas of East Bengal are saturated with *Ulamas, Madrasah* educated people who look up to Deobund, Saharanpur, Jaunpur, Rampur as their spiritual home. But the contagion has undoubtedly spread amongst a considerable section of the English educated intelligentsia, who thinks that morsel is being taken out of their mouth by outsiders. Politicians, Muslim communists, fifth columnists are all exploiting the situation for their own purpose. There is potential danger of disruption of the solidarity of Pakistan State.

6. I give below a few suggestions, as to how this disruptive tendency may be checkmated:

i. Anti-non-Bengalee sentiment being the creation of disgruntled politicians and servicemen, it need be tackled justly on political front. The East Bengal Ministry as at present constituted is not strong enough to deal with the situation. I think co-operation of Suhrawardy group of Muslim Leaguers should be secured by including some of them in the Ministry. Their loyalty to Pakistan ideal is indisputable and there is no reason why their talents, energy and resources should not be harnessed in the combined co-operative effort for building up the Pakistan State. An All-Party Ministry will be strong bulwark against fissiparous tendencies.

ii. The feeling persists in East Bengal that Eastern Pakistan is being

neglected by the Centre. Frequent and prolonged visits by Ministers of the Central Government will go a great way towards maintaining contact with public opinion in Eastern Pakistan and reinforcing and strengthening the position of East Bengal Ministry in dealing with disruptive elements.

iii. Officers from Superior Services in East Bengal should be employed in all the departments of the Central Secretariat at Karachi.

iv. In pre-partition days East Bengal Muslims had practically very little share in the Central Government Services such as Railways, Posts & Telegraphs, Customs, Income Tax, Central Excise, etc. Steps should be taken to remedy this discrepancy. Vacancies in Central Government Departments should be widely advertised in East Bengal and adequate representation of people from Eastern Pakistan ensured.

v. Emphasis on Muslim solidarity for the stability and very existence of Pakistan is an obvious necessity. Distinguished *Ulamas*, public men and propagandists should be mobilised to propagate the message of Muslim solidarity, throughout the urban and rural areas in East Bengal.

vi. Publicity Department should organise "Muslim solidarity" campaign through the press in Eastern Bengal. Articles, leaflets, booklets, posters, advertising campaign—all the techniques of publicity should be utilised to bring home to the Muslims the supreme necessity of maintaining a solid front against the subversive fifth-column activities of the enemies of Pakistan State.

vii. Through songs, talks, dramatic representation, Radio should try constantly to rivet public attention round the Central theme of "Muslim solidarity" and dangers arising out of its lapses.

viii. Film publicity should be utilised to serve the same purpose.

ix. Confusion arising out of Bengali-Urdu controversy should be cleared up and the futile controversy set at rest and buried.

x. Social contacts between Bengalees and non-Bengalees should be fostered, provincial exclusivism discouraged and manifestation of superiority-complex by non-Bengalees subdued and kept in proper control.

xi. A special message from Quaid-i-Azam about the evil of provincialism in Pakistan, the imperative need of forging common bonds of Pakistan citizenship, should be extensively broadcast throughout the length and breadth of Pakistan State.

[ABDUL MATIN CHAUDHURY]

131

George Cunningham to M. A. Jinnah

F. 221 (II)-GG/1-3

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
PESHAWAR,
11 March 1948

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am very sorry to have to add to the many things that you have to think about. But I have just been told by the doctor that I must go home before the hot weather and must indeed take it very easy in the meantime. The trouble is blood pressure, which developed rather alarmingly on Monday and laid me low. I have been kept in bed since then, though I am up in a chair for a few hours to-day.

It is a great blow to me to have to give up my work like this, but I have discussed the whole thing quite frankly with my doctor, and he says categorically that I must go. So, with great regret, I must ask you to let me resign my appointment not later than the 1st of May, and go straight home.

I am greatly distressed that I should have to ask you to find a successor[1] for this appointment at much short notice, and I am sure you know I would not do so if I did not feel that it is quite unavoidable.

Yours sincerely,
GEORGE CUNNINGHAM

[1]Jinnah appointed A D F. Dundas, Agent to the GG in Baluchistan, as Governor, NWFP, who assumed charge of the office on 9 April 1948. See F. 221 (II)-GG/31 & 38 Not printed.

132

Zahiruddin to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. II)-GG/203

SADARGHAT ROAD,
CHITTAGONG,
11 March 1948

'*Ali Janab* Quaid-i-Azam,

I have the honour to forward to you a copy of the resolution passed at a conference of all the District and Subdivisional officers of the

M.N.G. [Muslim National Guards] of Eastern Pakistan, held at Chittagong on the 10th March 1948, for your kind information.

Yours faithfully,
ZAHIRUDDIN
Naib Salar-e-Suba,
Muslim National Guards,
East Pakistan

Enclosure to No. 132

F. 120 (Vol. II)-GG/204

RESOLUTION

This meeting of the officers of the M.N.G. receives with heartfelt joy the news of Quaid-i-Azam's visit to Eastern Pakistan and respectfully requests him to accept the humble invitation of the Muslim National Guards to attend a rally of the Guards at Dacca and honour them by his presence in their midst. In this connection, this meeting requests the Hon'ble Premier and Nawab Bahadur, Chairman Reception Committee, to allot one full day of Quaid-i-Azam's time at Dacca to the M.N.G. and kindly communicate the final prog[ramme] to Eastern Pakistan Headquarters.

133

Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 220-GG/1

KARACHI,
11 March 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am enclosing copy of a letter from the C-in-C about the designation of PMA Cadet Battalion. I agree with the proposal made by Gen. Gracey and I think it would be appropriate if the Battalion is designated as the 1st PAKISTAN BN (QUAID-I-AZAM'S OWN). I will be grateful if you let me have your consent to the proposal made by the C-in-C.[1]

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN
Prime Minister, Pakistan

[1]Jinnah accepted the proposal made by the C-in-C. See F. 220-GG/3. Not printed

Enclosure to No. 133
D. D. Gracey to Liaquat Ali Khan

F. 220-GG/2

RAWALPINDI,
3 March 1948

DESIGNATION OF PMA CADET BATTALION

The Pakistan Military Academy, like other similar institutions, is organised on a battalion basis. The Academy, however, needs a designation for its battalion.

2. I consider that the Cadet Battalion should have a designation, as an appropriate one will engender the *esprit de corps* and infuse the spirit of duty and discipline in the cadets.

It will not be out of place to mention that the Cadet BN at the French Military Academy, St Cyr, is designated "1 ERE BATTALION DE FRANCE". At the IMA Dehra Dun the BN was designated "THE AUCHINLECK BN (LATER KEREN BN)", and the colours were presented to the BN by the then C-in-C, India.

3. After due consideration, I feel that the Cadet Battalion of the premier military institution in the country, could not have a more appropriate designation than 1st PAKISTAN BN (QUAID-I-AZAM'S OWN).

4. If you agree to the above mentioned designation, I would be grateful if you could approach the Quaid-i-Azam and obtain his permission and approval.

5. I would be grateful for an early reply.

[D. D. GRACEY
General
Commander-in-Chief, Pakistan Army]

134

Fatima Begum & Others to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 120 (Vol. II)-GG/128

LAHORE,
12 March 1948

Muslim League Sub-Committee perturbed over delay on *Shari'at*

Bill. People taking undue advantage. Injurious to women interest. Request grant sanction immediately.

FATIMA BEGUM
BEGUM SHAH NAWAZ
BEGUM BASHIR AHMAD

135

Umar Yasir Asim to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. II)-GG/120
[*Original in Urdu*]

DINAJPUR,
EAST BENGAL,
12 March 1948

Our beloved Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum
May God grant you long life. *Aameen*

Ever since we have heard the happy news that you are to visit this part of Pakistan, whereto thousands of Indian Muslims have migrated and are passing a life of misery, our hopes have been revived. Thousands of widows, orphans and young men, who have rendered supreme sacrifices to achieve their cherished goal [of Pakistan], could not reach you and were forced to migrate to Eastern Pakistan and make more sacrifices, and you do not know their plight. It seems that *Allah* Almighty has sent you to this little-known part of the country to solve our problems and bring an end to our miseries. It is, therefore, requested that you may kindly give us a few minutes during your stay in Dacca and listen to our tales of woes. We are eagerly awaiting your kind visit.

Servant of Pakistan,
UMAR YASIR ASIM
Muslim Mahajirs Committee

136

R. G. Casey to S. M. Yusuf

F. 65 (4)-GG/16

BROWN'S HOTEL,
DOVER STREET,
LONDON, W.1.,
13 March 1948

Dear Mr. Yusuf,

Just a note to say that B.O.A.C. tell me that the Qantas Constellation aircraft, on which my wife and I will be travelling, is due to arrive at Karachi at 6.55 p.m., on Wednesday, March 24th, and is due to leave again on the same evening at 9.55 p.m.

Even if it is still convenient for His Excellency the Governor-General to see my wife and myself[1] as we pass through, I am afraid that it would not be possible for us to appear in anything other than the clothes we are travelling in—and I hope that he might be good enough to excuse this.

I will be seeing Peter Goodwyn in the coming week.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
R. G. CASEY

S. M. Yusuf informed Casey that Jinnah would be on a tour of East Bengal and not be able to meet him in Karachi. See F. 65 (4)-GG/15. Not printed.

137

W. H. Shoobert to S. M. Yusuf

F. 220-GG/4

13 March 1948

NOTE

Government have taken over the old British Military Hospital which during the war was a R.A.F. Hospital. This now serves the needs of personnel employed by the Central Government in Karachi and their families. At present arrangements have been made for 250 beds but there is ample space for expansion to accommodate about 1,200 beds. Some of the buildings have been utilised for an up-to-date maternity

home and in others arrangements are being made for wards for officers and for foreigners in Karachi.

There are six dispensaries in each of the colonies of Central Government servants which act as feeders to this Central Hospital. It is the intention in due course to cater for postgraduate training in the institution and for the training of nursing staff which has already begun on a small scale.

Government have been extremely lucky in obtaining a very fine set of buildings, constructed specially for the purpose for which they are being used, and it is confidently hoped that this institution will become a model of its kind for the whole of Pakistan. Similar institutions in Delhi were named "the Irwin Hospital" and "the Willingdon Hospital". It has been suggested that this Pakistan Central Hospital might very appropriately be named "the Jinnah Hospital" after Quaid-i-Azam, the first Governor-General of Pakistan. H. M. Food, Agriculture and Health supports this proposal and I have been directed to seek the approval of Quaid-i-Azam[1] and his consent for the use of his name.

W.H. SHOOBERT
[*Secretary,*
Ministry of Food, Agriculture & Health]

[1]S. M. Yusuf communicated to Shoobert approval of Jinnah to the proposal on 18 March 1948. See D. 1168-GG/4. Not printed.

138

Geti Ara Bashir Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/38-41

ALMANZAR,
32 LAWRENCE ROAD,
LAHORE,
14 March 1948

My beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

I hope you and Miss Jinnah are quite well. May God Almighty grant you perfect health and a long long life. We hear that a Christian member is to be nominated on [*sic* for to] the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. On behalf of the Provincial Muslim League Women's Committee I request you to nominate Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram on [*sic*] the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. We all realise that Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram has served the Pakistan cause and the Muslim nation in many

ways during the last five years. She is an able and a sincere person, not like Mr. [S.P.] Singha and other Christians who have played double role game in the Indian political field. Please pardon me if I take the liberty of suggesting also the name of Mian Abdul Aziz (previously Chief Minister of Kapurthala) for the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. He is a very able man and he, along with his whole family, wife and daughters, has served Pakistan and Muslim League in many ways not known publicly. He has written many pamphlets in Urdu and English trying to educate the Muslim masses in the way of right political thought and action in our struggle for freedom. Our State needs the services of women and men who can work hard, sincerely and unselfishly. One's heart bleeds to find that with the establishment of Pakistan so many of our prominent persons have become corrupt, selfish and too ambitious.

As I was writing this letter I have just heard that Mrs. K. L. Rallia Ram's husband has passed away with heart failure. She is now a widow. Please do keep in your mind the sincere services of this noble lady to the State of Pakistan.

With kind regards and best wishes for your dear self and prosperity for our State—Pakistan.[1]

Yours sincerely,
GETI ARA BASHIR AHMAD

[1]Jinnah acknowledged the letter. See F. 120 (Vol. III)-GG/42 Not printed.

139

George Cunningham to M. A. Jinnah

F. 221 (II)-GG/4-6

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
PESHAWAR,
14 March 1948

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Please excuse a very short fortnightly report; the doctors have still got me in bed. There is nothing very much to tell you.

The budget session starts tomorrow and there is no dimination in the strength of the Government Party; in fact Kotu Ram has promised to support the League, if required. Qaiyum is confident. So I think that is all right, and I am very glad you decided to go through with the session.

A certain amount of Afghan propaganda is said to be going on

among the Afridis, Mohmands and Bajouris, and the D.C. Peshawar (who is also P.A. Mohmand) had been urging me to recommend a protest to the Afghan Government. But I suspect that some of our own people are really playing a double game. I don't like the idea of a demarche to Kabul just when Ambassadors are first to be exchanged.

As to myself, the doctors are still positive that I must go home and I have, therefore, with great regret and many apologies, to confirm the request I made to you in my letter of March 11th[1] to arrange for somebody to relieve me in this post before the end of April.

Yours sincerely,
G. CUNNINGHAM

[1]No. 131.

140

M. Ahmad to S. M. Yusuf

F. 111-GG/8

HIGH COMMISSION FOR PAKISTAN,
16 FITZHARDINGE STREET,
LONDON, W.1,
15 March 1948

Sir,

I am desired to enclose a letter[1] which has been received from the General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union of London, W.C.1. Apparently the letter conveys to the Governor-General a resolution passed by the Executive Committee of this Union expressing their deep concern at the recent death of Mr. Gandhi and extending their sympathy with [*sic* for to] the people of Pakistan and with [*sic*] the people of India.

I am to add that the High Commissioner has acknowledged a similar letter which has been received by him personally.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
M. AHMAD
First Secretary

[1]No. 103.

141

Gyan P. Srivastava to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. II)-GG/227-8

109 SERAIN GOBERDHAN,
BENARES,
15 March 1948

Your Excellency,

I do hope it will not be very difficult for Your Excellency to fish me out of your benevolent memory. It was really the luckiest moment of my life when in 1944, you substantially endorsed my *End Deadlock Plan,* which when published in book form in February 1946, came to be incorporated in Cabinet Delegation's May 16 Proposals—[1]three-tier government, compulsory grouping, minority committee and double majority system, are some of the features of the said Award now well-known, to have been borrowed from the book written by me, referred to above.

I welcome the statement[2] that Your Excellency has given to the fortunate Swiss pressman; indeed it is encouraging and very surely bright days are ahead for the two Dominions of Pakistan and India.

I am herewith enclosing[3] a four-page leaflet written on the eve of the Independence Day, 15th August 1947, urging a sort of Confederation of the two Dominions for matters of foreign affairs, common defence and national economic planning, with all the while an eye over the fact that the sovereignty, equality and independence of both the Dominions are not infringed and they co-operate in mutual goodwill and prosperity without tresspassing over each other's rights and privileges.

I know, Your Excellency has hardly any time to give attention to such humble submissions, yet I have a confidence born of experience and faith that Your Excellency will find twenty minutes to glance [*sic*] these pages—the capital-letter-typed material are the main proposals while the paragraphs following them are their elucidations.

A line in reply will immensely encourage my youngself and the

enthusiasm that is mine.

With sincerest regards and submission,

I am,

Your Excellency's,
GYAN P. SRIVASTAVA
Dr.
Law Consultant

[1]Appendix III, Vol. I, Part II, 32-42.
[2]See Enclosure to No. 129.
[3]See F. 120 (Vol. II)-GG/229-32. Not printed.

142

Leo P. Kierkels to M. A. Jinnah

F. 30-GG/175

17 PALACE ROAD,
BANGALORE,
15 March 1948

Your Excellency,

When the Dominions of India and Pakistan were inaugurated last year, I was absent from the country. But on the occasion of my recent return,[1] His Holiness Pope Pius XII commissioned me to assure the respective Governments that he has followed, with great interest, the movement and endeavours of these lands towards independence, and is very happy to see the fulfilment of their national aspirations by the erection [*sic*] of autonomous and free countries.

His Holiness, therefore, desires to present to the people of Pakistan and their distinguished leaders his sincere felicitations with the prayerful wish that, with Almighty God's assistance, they may always live happily, in peace and prosperity.

Making those sentiments and wishes also my own, with the highest consideration,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,
LEO P. KIERKELS
Apostolic Delegate of the East Indies

[1]Also see No. 127.

143

Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 206-GG/1

KARACHI,
15 March 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am sending you a letter received from the C-in-C which speaks for itself. I wonder if it will be possible for you to visit Kakul between the 25th April and 10th May 48. If you find it possible to do so on any day between the dates given above, both the officers and cadets would feel very much encouraged. The occasion is an important one and I think your visit will please the general public also.

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

Enclosure to No. 143
Douglas Gracey to Liaquat Ali Khan

F. 206-GG/2

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS,
RAWALPINDI,
11 March 1948

D.O. No. 008/3/C-in-C

My dear Prime Minister,

I have just been to Kakul to see the PMA and discussed the question of its opening. Naturally all the cadets are very anxious that the Quaid-i-Azam himself should open what is in fact Pakistan's only national academy, but owing to the recent bad weather which has put the completion of the parade ground back for some time, we decided that it would not be possible to organise a really good parade until much later than originally thought possible. We now suggest a date for opening the PMA should be fixed not before 25 April and not after 10 May.

The parade ground should be ready for practice about 10 April, but as the cadets have a break of three days then they will need at least 10 days after this break to get ready for this parade. The weather between 25 April and 10 May should be good in Abbottabad, but one can never be certain.

Would you please ask the Quaid-i-Azam if he will consent to open

the PMA[1] and tell him that all the officers and cadets will be most dissappointed if he cannot do so and also ask him to fix a date, if he consents to doing so, in the period I have suggested above.

I am sorry that we have had to postpone the opening, but the weather has made it unavoidable and it is essential for a parade of this sort, to be absolutely certain that time is given to ensure that everything is faultless.

Yours sincerely,
D. D. GRACEY

[1]Acknowledging Liaquat's letter of 16 March, Jinnah said he was considering going to Kakul between 25 April and 10 May, and that he would intimate the date of his visit to General Gracey. See F. 206-GG/3. Not printed.

144

R. G. Casey to S. M. Yusuf

F. 65 (4)-GG/18

BROWN'S HOTEL,
DOVER STREET,
LONDON, W.1.,
15 March 48

Dear Mr. Yusuf,

I am sorry to bombard you with air letters like this.

This is just a note to acknowledge and thank you for your letter of March 8th[1] in which I am sorry to hear that His Excellency the Governor-General will not be in Karachi on March 24th when my wife and I pass through. I would be grateful if you would give him my compliments and respects and say that I greatly regret that I will not have an opportunity of meeting him again on this visit.

It is good of you to say that you will have the recorded address[2] delivered to me at the Karachi Airport as I pass through.

With my best thanks for coping with these matters for me,

I am,

Yours sincerely,
R. G. CASEY

[1]F. 65 (4)-GG/15. Not printed.
[2]No. 88.

145

S. Wajid Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 55-GG/5

18 VICTORIA ROAD,
KARACHI,
15 March 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Allow me to thank you very much for your kind letter dated 8. 3. 48,[1] which I received on my return from Lahore today.

I am most grateful for the honour Your Excellency has bestowed on my wife and me by asking us to have tea with you before she leaves for South Africa.

Unfortunately we have to be in Bombay on the 16th as her boat will sail earlier than we expected. As time is short, Your Excellency may not be able to grant us the honour of waiting on you. I hope, however, that on my return from Bombay I shall be granted the privilege of seeing you.

May I take this opportunity of praying to *Allah* to bless you and keep you with us and for us for many years to come.

With respectful regards to you and Miss Jinnah,

Yours ever obediently,

S. WAJID ALI

[1]No. 125.

146

S. M. Yusuf to S. H. Raza

F. 187 (4)-GG/121

IMMEDIATE

16 March 1948

My dear Raza,

Please refer to your d.o. No. 1535, dated the 16th March 1948.[1] I hereby communicate the instructions of the Governor-General under Section 88 of the Government of India Act, 1935, as adapted, for the

promulgation of the Sind Economic Rehabilitation Continuance Ordinance, 1948.

Yours sincerely,
S. M. YUSUF

S. H. Raza, Esq.,
Secretary to the Governor, Sind,
Karachi

F. 187 (4)-GG/120. Not printed.

Enclosure to No. 146
S. M. Yusuf to Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah

F. 187 (4)-GG/119

IMMEDIATE *15 March 1948*

Your Excellency,

I am desired by the Quaid-i-Azam to refer to your d.o. No. 8/48, dated the 3rd March 1948,[1] forwarding six Bills passed by the Sind Legislative Assembly and reserved by you for his consideration. The Quaid-i-Azam has today given assent to all the Bills except the one to provide for Economic Rehabilitation in Sind. The Bill goes farther than the Ordinance which it is to replace. The additional provisions in the Bill, particularly the definition of Abandoned Property, and Section 7 raise very vital issues and the Governor-General is unable to give his assent without further consideration. He may have to return the Bill to the Sind Assembly for reconsideration. As the Sind Assembly is not in session at the moment and the Ordinance which this Bill is to replace is to expire on the 16th of March 1948, dislocation in the work of rehabilitation by the disappearance of the existing law and the powers it confers, can be avoided by re-enactment of the expiring Ordinance. The Governor-General, therefore, desires that an Ordinance may be immediately drafted reviving the expiring Ordinance and submitted for his approval.

2. The five Bills[2] to which the Governor-General has given his assent are returned herewith with the Governor-General's endorsement.

Yours sincerely,
S. M. YUSUF

His Excellency Shaikh Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah,
Governor, Sind,
Karachi

[1]F. 187 (4)-GG/106-8. Not printed.
[2]Names of the Bills were (1) Sind Maintenance of Public Safety Ordinance, 1947 (2) Karachi Hotels and Lodging House (Control) (3) Motor Vehicles (Sind Amendment) (4) Sind Rent Restriction (Amendment) (5) Sind Special Tribunal. See F. 187 (4)-GG/6-13, 48-53, 136-9, 222, 262-4. Not printed.

147

A. Hilaly to S. M. Yusuf
F. 11-GG/50

IMMEDIATE
D. O. NO. D. 1766/-P/48

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS

CLIFTON, KARACHI,
16 March 1948

My dear Yusuf,

Please refer to correspondence resting with my d.o. No. D. 948-P/48, dated the 11th February 1948.[1] We have just received a telegram from His Highness Prince Saud Bin Jiluwi, Viceroy of Hasa (Saudi Arabia), who is a cousin of His Majesty the King Ibn Saud as [*sic*] in copy enclosed.[2] A special plane for the return of the Amir has been sent from Saudi Arabia and reached Bombay yesterday. As you will see by the enclosed, acting on our invitation to him to spend a few days in Karachi on his way back, the Prince will arrive here at about 1 p.m. on Thursday the 18th March.

We are putting him and his entourage up at the Palace Hotel as State guests but it is a matter of great importance that he should have at least one meal and an interview with the Quaid-i-Azam, before the Quaid-i-Azam leaves for Dacca on the 19th [sic for March]. I would suggest therefore that the Amir, his brother, his counsellor and his interpreter (who talks English) should be invited[3] to a dinner or tea on Thursday the 18th March. Would you kindly obtain the Quaid-i-Azam's orders and let me know. I am writing to the Private Secretary to the Prime Minister for information, as Honourable Prime Minister will also be away. Probably the Foreign Office will hold a reception in their honour.

Yours sincerely,
A. HILALY

F. 11-GG/46. Not printed.

[2]See F. 11-GG/51. Not printed.

[3]Prince Saud Bin Jiluwi and his entourage called on Jinnah on 18 March. See F 1156/55, *QAP*. Not printed.

148

M. Yunus to S. M. Yusuf

F. 117-GG/53

CLAREMOUNT HOTEL,
VICTORIA ROAD,
KARACHI,
16 March 1948

Dear Sir,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your d.o. No. D 859-GG/48 dated 26th February 1948[1] for which I beg to thank you. I am grateful to His Excellency for his kind desire that you should acknowledge the receipt of my letter dated 16th February 48.[2] I am still more grateful to His Excellency for his kind desire that I should get in touch with you so that an interview may be obtained.

I arrived here yesterday in the early hours of the morning; and I am writing this letter to you to arrange for an interview; but I do not wish that you may arrange for an interview too quickly, which may not enable His Excellency to give me sufficient time or which in any manner interferes with his engagements, as I propose to stay here for a long time. I understand that His Excellency is going to Eastern Pakistan; it will be probably better that some time and date may be given to me on His Excellency's return from there. In the meanwhile, I am enclosing a note[3] of the points in which His Excellency may be interested to be placed before him with such informations and further materials as His Excellency may desire, so that His Excellency may be in possession of the facts on which he may put questions to me and I may answer them, which may be within my knowledge, power and understanding. I am also enclosing copies of letters[4] I have written to different Ministers in connection with the points given in my notes so that I may have such information on these points from the Honourable Ministers of Pakistan which [*sic*] may be of help to me to give information to His Excellency if he puts such questions that may require me to be in possession of such facts. A line acknowledging the receipt of this letter

saying that you may be able to fix a date and time for my interview will oblige.[5]

Hoping to be excused for the trouble.

Yours faithfully,
M. YUNUS

[1]F. 117-GG/52. Not printed.
[2]F. 117-GG/42. Not printed.
[3]Enclosure 1.
[4]Enclosure 2. For letter to J. N. Mandal, Law Minister, containing points mentioned in Enclosure 1, see F. 117-GG/60. Not printed.
[5]F Amin intimated that Jinnah would meet him on 31 March 1948. See F. 117-GG/62. Not printed.

Enclosure 1 to No. 148
Note by M. Yunus

F. 117-GG/56

CENTRAL MUSLIM LEAGUE BIHAR RELIEF COMMITTEE

1. The office in Bihar to be wound up.
2. Office to be opened at Karachi and Dacca.
3. All clothes and blankets numbering ten thousand to be transported to Karachi from Patna by boat via Chittagong. The Refugee Minister of Pakistan should approach the Government of India and obtain necessary permission and after obtaining permission from Government of India, a special officer may be sent to execute this work. If steps are immediately taken this [*sic*] will be available before the next cold weather begins, for the refugees from Bihar or elsewhere, who are now in Pakistan and badly need them.
4. Schemes may be formulated to give permanent relief to Bihar refugees both in Eastern and Western Pakistan.
5. Some companies may be financed and factories opened where Bihar refugees may be employed permanently.

POLITICAL AND LEGAL

Prominent Muslims in Bihar are being harassed in various ways. Under the Safety Act they are detained. Formerly the Safety Act permitted 6 months [*sic*] only; now the Act has been amended by the Legislature and a person can now be detained for a year. All means of illegal methods are being adopted by unscrupulous officers of the Bihar Government and false cases and false evidences are being manufactured against the Muslims. The following remedy is suggested:

The Government of Pakistan and the Government of India should

mutually arrange the following:

All pending cases against members of the minority community in either of the two Dominions should immediately be withdrawn and no fresh cases should be instituted against them in respect of any offence said to have been committed prior to 15th August 1947. The withdrawal of cases and the prohibition to institute fresh cases [should] apply only to the following class of cases:

a. all offences under the Press Act;
b. all offences of political and communal nature;
c. all offences relating to anything published in any paper or anything said or done in writing against the Government, Central or Provincial, or any department of such Government or any individual officer of such Government or such officer, irrespective of the fact as to whether the aforesaid offences are under the Penal Code or any other Law or Ordinance;
d. to save the property of the minority community in the two Dominions. The two Governments, by mutual agreement, should invite applications from Muslims and Hindus.

[*Incomplete*]

Enclosure 2 to No. 148
M. Yunus to Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan

F. 117-GG/59

CLAREMOUNT HOTEL,
VICTORIA ROAD,
KARACHI,
16 March 1948

My dear Ghazanfar Ali Sahib,

I am giving a note[1] in connection with Central Muslim League Bihar Relief Committee and the relief which I suggest. May I expect that you will kindly arrange for the thousands of blankets besides clothes that are lying in Bihar to be transported from Bihar via Chittagong to Karachi, and you may take necessary steps to help the Bihar refugees

either in Eastern or Western Pakistan.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. YUNUS

Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan,
Minister for Refugees,
Government of Pakistan,
Karachi

Not traceable.

149

F. Amin to Syed Ahmed

F. 65-GG/350

16 March 1948

Dear Sir,

I am desired by the Quaid-i-Azam to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your letter No. Ed. 1/48/18 dated the 10th January 1948,[1] and to say that he regrets it is not possible for him to give a message for your journal, much though he would like to, as he is extremely busy with other more important matters.

I am further to add that the Quaid-i-Azam is receiving many such requests from various Editors of journals and newspapers, but he feels that it would not be fair to give a message to one journal and refuse to another, and, therefore, he has for the present decided that he will not give messages to various newspapers.

I am further asked by the Quaid-i-Azam to thank you for a copy of *Karachi Commerce* which you are good enough to send him regularly.

Yours faithfully,
F. AMIN

Syed Ahmed, Esq.,
Editor, *Karachi Commerce*,
Hussain Ali Mamooji Building,
Outram Road, Karachi

[1]See F. 65-GG/349. Not printed.

150

Badruddin Ahmad to S.M.Yusuf

F. 120 (Vol. II)-GG/424

24 BAYLEY ROAD,
RAMNA, DACCA,
16 March 1948

Dear Sir,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I have dispatched today by air mail to your address for the Quaid-i-Azam a booklet entitled *East Pakistan's Immediate Danger* which has come out from the press today.

I wish it reached the Quaid-i-Azam before he comes to East Pakistan. The Father of the Nation must know the danger which is undermining the State through the machinations of the enemies of Islam.

Yours sincerely,
BADRUDDIN AHMAD

Enclosure to No. 150

F. 120 (Vol. II)-GG/428-39

EAST PAKISTAN'S IMMEDIATE DANGER

I have been prompted to write these few lines and publish them along with some official and semi-official note and letters[1] which I previously wrote on the subject by a sense of duty which I feel I owe to Islam and my nation. My first and foremost duty is, I think, to warn the nation against the grave and serious danger with which the eastern Province of the new Muslim State of Pakistan is immediately threatened.

East Pakistan's immediate danger lies in the cultural conquest of the Muslims by the Hindus, which has been in progress since the abolition of Persian as the court language of the country. The process gathered momentum, though imperceptibly, with the rise of influence and power of the Hindus in the administration of the country on the one hand and the growing apathy, due to their short-sightedness, of the Muslims to take to the learning of Urdu and thereby fill the vacuum which the diminishing extent and scope of the teaching of Persian caused in their cultural and religious education on the other. Old educated families who were imbued with Muslim culture gradully

died out, and the new generation grew up under the increasingly dominating influence of Hindus. Under such conditions, the extent of teaching of Persian and its scope could not be wider than those of any of the other languages, such as Arabic, Sanskrit, French and Latin, which were taught as classics in schools and colleges, and as such its influence was not powerful enough to give a permanent shape to the minds of its scholars. For, a nation's mind is influenced and organically shaped only by the language in which it thinks, talks and sings. When the country came under the British rule at the extinction of the Muslim power, educated Muslims still thought and sang and at least wrote their private epistles in the Persian language—a language written in the character of their Holy Scriptures, full of Islamic literature and saturated with Islamic culture and traditions. The Bengali vernacular in which the uneducated Muslims expressed their thoughts and emotions was also impressed by Persian and Arabic vocabularies as well as by an Islamic conception. But the abolition of Persian as the court language, which suddenly closed the door of the services of the State to them, and the "Resumption Proceedings", which turned their wealthy landlords into paupers almost overnight, left them stunned, and the downcast community had no able and farsighted leaders to pull them up and guide them to make up for what had been lost. The hapless Muslims thus left adrift began to swim with the current, and took to the Bengali of the Hindus, a language free from all Islamic influence and saturated with Hindu mythology. The Hindus as they grew in political influence and prosperity went on Sanskritising their Bengali which made it still more Hinduised. The continued influence of such a literature could not fail to develop an inferiority complex in the Muslims, and but for the non-proselytising nature of the Hindu religion a large number of them would perhaps have gone back to the fold of Hinduism in which their fore-fathers were born before they embraced Islam. There cannot be a more eloquent testimony to the depth of degradation to which the Muslims feel under the baneful influence of the culture produced by the Bengali language than the following passages which are quoted from Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen's *History of Bengali Language and Literature* published by the Calcutta University in 1911. The cultural conquest of the Muslims by the Hindus has been described by the author, though perhaps unconsciously, as follows:

"The goddess Laksmi or Cri was one of the most familiar deities worshipped by the Buddhists. On the door-way of many Buddhist temples the image of this goddess is found in a prominent position carved in bas-relief. It is curious to observe that a class of rural Muslim

folk of Bengal have, for their sole occupation, the reciting of hymns in Bengali in honour of Laksmi Devi. This function exclusively belongs to them, and their Hindu brethren do not seem to grudge this". (Page 368)

"Alaol has given descriptions of the religious ceremonies of Hindus, their customs and manners with an accuracy and minuteness which strike us as wonderful, coming as they do from the pen of a Muslim writer. In his accounts of the little rituals connected with the religious ceremonies of the Hindus such as the *Pracastha Vandana,* he displays a mastery of detail which could only have been expected from an experienced priest. The Muslim poet is profuse in his eulogies of Civa, the Hindu god, and all through the work writes in the spirit and strain of a devout Hindu. Curiously enough, his work has been preserved in Chittagong by Muslim readers. The manuscripts of Padmavati hitherto obtained, all belong to the border-lands of Arakan in the back-woods of Chittagong, copied in Persian characters and preserved by the rural Muslim folk of those localities. No Hindu has ever yet cared to read them. This goes to prove how far the taste of the Muslims was imbued with Hindu culture. (Pages 625-6)

"Many a Muslim offered *puja* at Hindu temples, as the Hindus offered *simni* at Muslim mosque. Mirza Hosen Ali, a native of the Tippera District, who lived a hundred years ago, not only composed songs in praise of the goddess Kali, but worshipped her at his house with great *eclat* and Gariv Hosen Choudhury of Dacca, a contemporary of the Mirza, another Muslim Zamindar, was a devout worshipper of Citala Devi, the goddess of smallpox, worshipped by the Hindus. Gol Mahamud is to-day the leader of a professional party of singers in Tippera who sing only praises of the goddess Kali, and his party carries the palm in this respect and gets engagements in preference to Hindu parties at the house of orthodox Hindus. Hindus have borne Muslim names and the Muslims are often called by Hindu names and such instances are very common in this country even now. (Pages 793-4)

"The Muslims of Rajshahi have the monopoly of *Bhasan gan* or songs on Manasa Devi. In Chittagong, this fusion of ideas and interchange of customs and usages seems to have reached its highest point. Aptavuddin, another Muslim poet of Chittagong, who wrote a poem called the *Jamil Dilaram* in 1750, writes that his hero, who was a Muslim, went to the nether world to seek a boon from the *saptarsies* or the seven sages of the Hindus. (Page 796)

"In a work called *Yamini Vahal* by Karimulla—an inhabitant of Sitakundu in Chittagong (1780 A. D.), the heroine, a Muslim, is represented as praying to the god Civa and in another work named *Imam*

Yatrar Puthi, the Muslim author, has a hymn addressed to Sarsvati, the goddess of learning....

"Karam Ali, a leading poet of Chittagong, sang exquisitely on Radha and Krishna. One of his *padas* runs thus:

"The poet Karam Ali says "Hear me Radha, Krishna is always in thine heart, enjoy the spiritual union, and do not weep ". (Pages 798-9)

"The works by Muslim writers noticed under the head 'Miscellaneous works' have been mainly brought to light by the researches of Munshi Abdul Karim, late Head Master of the Anwara School in Chittagong. We have not been able to see these MSS. but brief notices of them have from time to time appeared in the *Vangiya Sahitya Parisat Patrika* from which our accounts are gleaned. The MSS may be traced with the help of Munshi Abdul Karim.

"The works mentioned above disclose plenty of songs by Muslim writers on Radha and Krishna, which show that the love songs of the Vaisnavas were appreciated beyond the pale of their own society, and inspired even that race of iconoclasts who had once gloried in breaking up Hindu temples....

"The works of Muslim writers mentioned in the book are all written in more or less Sanskritised Bengali, and not in that style known as Musalman Bangala, which shows an admixture of Urdu, Persian and Arabic words with corrupt Bengali..." (Pages 803-4)

Munshi Abdul Karim, late Head Master of a Muslim School, must have devoted his life to making researches in Bengali literature. But how many Muslim Head Masters of Schools can pronounce Arabic, Persian or Urdu words correctly even to-day?

Thus did the Muslims lose in the course of time all conception of Islamic traditions and brotherhood, though political necessity, particularly of ensuring a share in power and influence in the administration of the country, may have compelled them to stick to the common organisation of the Muslims of India. A large number preferred the mode of life and dress of the Hindus, and those who did not go so far, at least felt more at home with Bengali Hindu than with non-Bengali Muslim.

Such had been the social and educational conditions of the Muslims of Bengal generally when the new Dominion of Pakistan came into being on the 15th of August, 1947.

Now the new Muslim State demands, for the homogeneity of the nation and the strength and security of its independence, *inter alia* a uniform and thoroughly overhauled system of education and a common State language. Any intelligent and self-sacrificing people will realise the importance and urgency of these national needs, and help the State in the fulfillment of them, and in fact all the provinces of the

Western Pakistan, the NWFP, the West Punjab, Sind and Baluchistan, though the languages of these provinces are not Urdu, have extended their fullest co-operation to the State. But East Bengal which forms the eastern part of the State has alone struck a discordant note. A section of the people of the Province has raised an agitation against Urdu being made the State language. This would not have been possible today, if in the past the Muslims of Bengal had farsighted leaders who would have seen that at least adequate provision was made for the teaching of Urdu to Muslim boys and girls in order to create a thoroughly Muslim outlook in them, which was particularly necessary in the province which was remote from the rest of Muslim (majority provinces of) India and completely isolated from independent Muslim countries. The mere creation of a new Muslim State now cannot change overnight a mentality which has developed under half a century's social and educational influence of the Hindus, and has not been chastened either, owing to its immunity from the horrors of arson, wholesale plunder and murder, which millions of Muslims in the northern Provinces of India have recently suffered at the hands of the Hindus. The agitators are at present incapable of foreseeing that unless the Muslims of this far-off Province fall in line with the rest of Pakistan, they will in the course of ten more years be completely denationalised and isolated from the Western Pakistan which is the stronghold of the State, being contiguous and akin in education and outlook to independent Muslim States, and extends the power of Islamic nations from Lahore to Morocco at one unbroken stretch. They cannot visualise that in that event they are bound to go down to Hindu India, losing completely their political identity and thus committing their children and grand children and future generations to the status of hewers of wood and drawers of water. At present their only fear is that if Urdu is made the State language, the Western Pakistanis will get all the jobs in the services of the State, a groundless fear which selfish politicians are trying to magnify in their shortsighted minds. But they do not see that such a contingency will not arise, as the displacement of English, which has been the State language hitherto, by Urdu must be gradual. When the Pathans who speak Pushtu, the Punjabis who speak Punjabi and the Sindhis who speak Sindhi have all welcomed Urdu as the State language, is there any good reason why Bengali Muslims should be afraid of doing so, betraying thereby an inferiority complex and extreme narrow-mindedness? Cannot they realise that they will at least have equal opportunities and facilities in the Muslim State, which would not have been and would never be the case if they were under the rule of the other Dominion, even with Bengali as the State language?

The agitators advance such commonplace arguments as that the prescription of Urdu as the State language will destroy the culture of Bengali Muslims, that Bengali-speaking population of Pakistan is larger than its non-Bengali speaking population, that Bengali literature is highly advanced, and so forth. In answer, I would say in the first instance that what is called the culture of Bengali Muslims was not threatened with destruction during a course of a hundred years when English was the State language of the country. Secondly, for Muslims there can be but one kind of culture and that is the Islamic culture, and, from the Islamic point of view, it does not matter in the least, if the Bengali or any other culture is destroyed. They cannot, like all other Muslims, go on shouting the national slogan *Islam Zindabad* and at the same time unlike them hug to their bosoms a culture begotten of heathen literature. Thirdly, numerical superiority does not connote merit or justify the continuance of cultural backwardness, otherwise history would have told us today a different story of the evolution of human civilization. As to the merits of the vernaculars, it is yet to be proved that any of the languages spoken in the sub-continent other than Urdu is fit to be adopted as a medium of advanced scientific education. Urdu on the other hand has in fact been the medium of such education for more than a quarter of a century in the Osmania University, whose degrees have been recognised by world-famous Universities like Oxford and Cambridge.

Some other arguments are put forward against the adoption of Urdu as the State language, which only an immature intellect and superficially educated mind could have thought to be a height of ingenuity. It would be idle to discuss and refute them, simply because they have been put forward by some persons who pose as leaders.

As matters stand it is high time that the leaders of the Province become alive to the serious danger which the Eastern Province of Pakistan is facing today and will ultimately succumb to, unless the system of education prevailing in the Province is without any further delay thoroughly overhauled, so as to make the learning of Urdu compulsory for the students. Any opposition from any quarter should be suppressed with a strong hand and without the least hesitation. A sensible and farsighted man will not hesitate for a moment to have his own festering finger chopped off to save his hand. But a timid and ignorant woman will never have the courage to punish her darling son who shows a pilfering tendency, and will not realise that the tendency will, if not checked at the very beginning, turn her darling into a robber and then into a murderer, leading him finally to the hangman's rope. It is for the leaders of Eastern Pakistan to make up their minds as

to which of the above two categories they should be under. Their task has not yet become too difficult, as the religious fervour of the Muslims of Bengal has not disappeared completely, and if a plebiscite were taken after explaining the pros and cons to the people on the question of whether Urdu should or should not be the State language of Bengal as well as the Western Provinces of Pakistan, I am almost certain that at least 80 percent of the votes would be in favour, and the mockery of the present agitation will be thoroughly exposed. Whether we have got wise and learned men, who alone have the capacity to be nation-builders, is however another question which time alone will solve.

I should like to mention that it is not the first time that I am pointing out to the nation the serious danger with which it is threatened, both politically and religiously, by the educational system, which is not only un-Islamic but anti-Islamic, prevailing in this Province. I sounded a note of warning against the national calamity that is bound to follow the persistent neglect to make proper and adequate provision for the teaching of Urdu to our boys and girls thirty years ago. I had travelled, while I was still a lad, in the independent Muslim countries of Egypt, Arabia, Syria and Turkey where my youthful mind was clearly and strongly impressed by the common features of Muslim thought and culture. When a few years after, I was appointed a Special Officer for Muslim education in Bengal, my official tours took me into the interior of the country, which enabled me to see how 99 percent of the Muslims of Bengal thought and lived. I was surprised and rather shocked to notice that the Muslims of my Province had nothing in common with our co-religionists of those independent Muslim countries and very little with those of northern and western India. It looked as if they were an entirely different people though passing by the name of Muslims. That such a large population of Muslim India should be alien to the Islamic conception, thought, temperament and culture, which instead of making them a source of strength made them a source of weakness and political danger to the Muslim world, naturally alarmed me, which made me investigate the causes. I found out that the chief cause lay in the fact that they did not know any Islamic language, and received their primary and middle education through the medium of Bengali and higher through that of English, both non-Islamic languages. This led me to write an official note on the teaching of Urdu in Bengal, in which I pressed the necessity of making proper provision for the teaching of the language to Muslim boys and girls reading in schools, colleges and *madrassas*, and recommended the constitution of a Board of Urdu Diploma Examination with a view to producing qualified teachers of the language. The note was printed by the Education Department and

circulated to all Divisional Inspectors of Schools and finally considered by a Special Committee which was appointed—I think it was in 1916— by the Government of Bengal to report on the ways and means of promoting the education of the Muslims of the Province. The Committee accepted my recommendations, but unfortunately they could not be given effect to on account of the First World War which was then in full swing and the scheme was put off for the time being. Shortly after, I left the Education Department, and the matter was not revived till after some years, when I spoke about it to Sir Abdur Rahim who was then the Education Minister. The Minister called for the file and immediately passed orders to give effect to the scheme. A Board of Urdu Diploma Examination was accordingly constituted by Government, which existed till the creation of the Province of East Bengal in the Dominion of Pakistan in August, 1947, and I suppose still exists.

The appendixes[2] contain materials which may be found to be interesting and useful by all those who realise the necessity and importance of the Muslims of Bengal learning Urdu and would like to know why the teaching of the language has not yet made any appreciable progress in the Province.

In conclusion, I should like to say:

To the youths of Islam—Read the history of the early days of Islam and see the unique sacrifices the Muslims made and the unparalleled discipline they showed, which led to their phenomenal rise in the world. Do not let petty considerations get the better of your sense of courage and foresight. Think and act as God and His Prophet want you to do, and spiritual enlightenment as well as material prosperity will come to you as a matter of course. You will never achieve them, if you will follow the dictates of your baser self.

To leaders—Please educate yourselves so as to be wise and learned, so that you may despise selfish motives and have the courage to swim against the current of all ruinous and suicidal agitations of the people and thus acquire the capacity to be builders of the nation. If you cannot write two sentences together correctly in any of the Islamic languages—Arabic, Turkish, Persian or Urdu— how can you be considered to be learned; and if you cannot realise what this means for a Muslim, how can you be considered to be wise?

To the Quaid-i-Azam—Darling of the nation! It is almost cruel to expect you to do more after the enormous strain you have undergone in your long struggle to make us a free people. You certainly deserve some rest now. God willing, you will enjoy rest and peace in Paradise. I only pray that the nation may not, through its unworthiness, lose the independence that you have achieved for it by your life-long labours, and when

you leave the world—as every mortal must—you may leave in happiness. *Aameen*!

I do not want to say anything to those who belong to the nation by mere accident of birth and only bear Muslim names, who have nothing at stake, as it will not make any difference to them whether they are under Muslim rule or under the rule of heathens, and who are incapable of thinking and acting like Muslims. The Creator of mankind says: "Deaf, dumb (and) blind, so they will not turn back"(*Al-Qur'an*, 2:18). Who among His believing creatures then can ever hope to be able to convert such men?

See F.120-GG/439-58. Not printed.
'Not traceable.

151

M. A. Jinnah to George Cunningham

F. 221 (II)-GG/7

16 March 1948

Dear Sir George,

I am in receipt of your letters of the 11th[1] and the 14th[2] of March. I am very sorry to hear that you have not been well, and I sincerely pray that you would soon be better. You do not know how extremely sorry I was to hear that you may have to go for the sake of your health much against your will.

I am going to the Frontier, as you know, about the beginning of April, and provisionally I have informed you about the date. However, sad it may be, but it must receive my attention and perhaps when I am in Peshawar, I may have a talk with you and see what we can do for the Frontier Province that you have served so long and so well.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

His Excellency Sir George Cunningham,
CCIE, KCSI, OBE,
Government House, Peshawar

[1]No. 131
[2]No. 139

152

N. N. A. Kureshi to S. M. Yusuf

F. 120 (Vol. II)-GG/189

MINISTRY OF COMMERCE, INDUSTRIES AND WORKS,
KARACHI,
17 March 1948

Dear Mr Yusuf,

I am given to understand by Mr. Mohsin F. Abbasi, Personal Assistant to the Hon'ble Education Minister, Govt. of Sind, that Mr. Karim Buksh Ali Mohammed of Bahawalpur has left some specimens of suspected gold-bearing minerals with the Quaid-i-Azam. If this information is correct, may I suggest, subject to the Quaid-i-Azam's orders, that the same may please be forwarded to this Ministry for examination by experts.

Yours sincerely,
N. N. A. KURESHI
Under Secretary

153

A. M. A. Hamid to Ghulam Mohammed
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 120 (Vol. II)-GG/192-4

24 MOHAMMAD NUR BUX LANE,
DACCA,
18 March 1948

Dear Mr. Ghulam Mohammed,

On my way here last night, I met the station master and booking clerk of Goalondo at their respective offices, and from them I came to learn that about 450 mds. (on an average) of fresh fish are daily booked from Goalondo alone and ten times as much do come to Goalondo on their way to stations beyond Goalondo, by the Narayanganj, Chandpur and Jamuna steamer service. About 20% of the fish are despatched to places within Pakistan and the rest to Caluctta, Jalpaiguri, Siliguri, Kurseong, Darjeeling and other places in Western Bengal. None of them could give me any idea of the conditions on the Khulna and Sara-Serajganj

lines but they told me that an additional quantity of about 250 mds. are sent daily from other stations on the Goalondo line (between Rajbari and Kushtia) within 50 to 60 miles of Goalondo; two *annas* a pound would therefore give you about 1.5 crore from Goalondo line alone.

I could also learn from them that about 450 baskets, each containing 500 eggs, and about 100 baskets of poultry, are also booked from Goalondo daily besides those coming by steamer. Salted fish is despatched only during the season but enormous quantities of sun-dried fish are sent to Assam and Burma from Chittagong and other adjoining places. Hide and skin in large numbers go to Calcutta both by rail and steamer and also by boat, but I wonder why no tax is being levied upon them. They should be treated exactly like jute and land tax levied accordingly.

Milk products, specially cream (in the form of *malai, khirsha* and *kheer*), *ghee*, butter, curd and *chhana*, in substantial quantity, are daily despatched to Calcutta from Goalondo, Mohonpur, Ullapara and other places. Fresh milk has become rare in East Bengal due to these exports. Hindustan people as such must not get them without paying some heavy tax. *Ghee* can be easily taxed at the rate of Re. 1 a *seer*. Taxes as proposed will not affect the trade.

People coming from Karachi and going to Eastern Pakistan are being systematically searched at the Dum-Dum Aerodrome and we too were no exception. My belongings were searched at Dum-Dum by custom officers, when returning from Karachi this time; so were others in my presence; one man had brought only 8 yds. of silk and had to pay custom duty. When they do this they must expect the same treatment from us and they cannot blame us in the least for the same. If we do this and tax all goods liable for taxation (specially hide, skin, jute and tea) in transit, we can get millions from these goods coming from Assam, Jalpaiguri, etc., and going to West Bengal and other places in India.

Yours sincerely,
A. M. A. HAMID
Member, Pakistan Constituent Assembly

Hon'ble Ghulam Mohammed,
Minister for Finance,
Karachi

154

M. Ikramullah to Zahid Husain

Telegram, F. 125 (2)-GG/13

MOST IMMEDIATE/CONFIDENTIAL [KARACHI,]
19 March 1948

Quaid-i-Azam has approved the appointment of Khwaja Shahabuddin as Acting Pakistan's High Commissioner in New Delhi. Kindly inform Prime Minister and obtain the agreement of the Indian Government. Also wire date by which time he should be in Delhi.

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Programme[1] of M. A. Jinnah's Visit to East Bengal
19th March to 29 March 1948

F. 216 (II)-GG/18-9

SECRET

FRIDAY, 19 MARCH

6 p.m.	Public arrival at Tezgaon Aerodrome

SATURDAY, 20 MARCH

8. 30 a.m.	Visit to troops at Tezgaon Parade. May also see proposed site for Cantonment, etc.
11 a.m. to 1 p.m.	Deputations and/or interviews
5 p.m.	Visit High Court: receive deputation from Bar: interviews to Hon'ble Justices
7 to 8 p.m.	Deputations and/or interviews

SUNDAY, 21 MARCH

10-30 a.m. to 1 p.m.	Deputations and/or interviews
5 p.m.	Public meeting. Address by Reception Committee. Speech by Quaid-i-Azam

MONDAY, 22 MARCH

8. 30 a.m.	Visit to East Pakistan Rifles, Pilkhana: will also inspect Pakistan National Guard there
11 a.m. to 1 p.m.	Deputations and/or interviews

6 to 7 p.m.	Address officers informally in garden of his house
7 to 8 p.m.	Deputations and/or interviews
8. 30 p.m.	Dinner with His Excellency
	TUESDAY, 23 MARCH
10. 30 a.m. to 1 p.m.	Deputations and/or interviews
5. 30 p.m.	Garden Party at Old Government House by Reception Committee
	WEDNESDAY, 24 MARCH
10 a.m.	University Convocation. Address students
6 to 8 p.m.	Deputations and/or interviews
	THURDAY, 25 MARCH
8.30 a.m.	Leave Tezgaon for Chittagong
9. 15 a.m.	Arrive Chittagong (Patenga)
10. 30 a.m. to 12. 30 p.m.	Deputations and/or interviews
1. 15 p.m.	Public lunch for 50 people at Chittagong Club
5. 30 p.m.	Visit to Port Area
	FRIDAY, 26 MARCH
10.30 a.m. to 1 p.m.	Deputations and/or interviews
5. 30 p.m.	Public Reception at Police ground. Address: Speech by Quaid-i-Azam
	SATURDAY, 27 MARCH
8. 15 a.m.	Leave for Patenga Aerodrome
10 a.m.	Arrival Tezgaon from Chittagong
11 a.m. to 1 p.m.	Deputations and/or interviews
	Afternoon free
7 p.m.	Reception by Hon'ble Prime Minister at Dacca Club
	SUNDAY, 28 MARCH
10.30 a.m. to 1 p.m.	Deputations and/or interviews
8. 30 p.m.	Broadcast from Radio Pakistan
	MONDAY, 29 MARCH
8 a.m.	Public departure from Tezgaon Aerodrome

·For the detailed programme, see F. 216 (II)-GG/101-13. Not printed.

156

Syed Karimuddin Ahmed to M. A. Jinnah

F. 216 (II)-GG/227-30

SIRAJGANJ, [EAST] BENGAL,
20 March 1948

Quaid-i-Azam,

Pardon me the liberty of writing to you. Let me first send you my humble greetings of welcome to this side of Pakistan.

The new situation that has recently developed in this Province deserves Quaid-i-Azam's attention. As in this affair the students seem prominent, I feel I should acquaint Quaid-i-Azam with the development of the affair. My reading of the situation is that practically no student movement exists here excepting that the students are being exploited to create a situation. Power politics seem to be at work. I base my reading on the fact that on questions which directly concerned the students there was no demonstration at all. But on political matters the demonstrations were at height. Today it has taken the shape of language question. The Bengali-Urdu controversy is just the first step towards the idea of creating East Bengal as a State with the power to secede. The talk of a new idea of Bengali culture is very frequent. Propaganda is made of the Punjabi exploitation. Mr. Liaquat Ali is now being frequently abused. Faults are being now found out in the State's working. The very unity of Musalmans in the name of Islam is being destroyed in the name of Bengali culture. The idea of brute majority of the Bengali people is being infused in the mass mind. In my humble opinion, the Hindu mind, the Communist working, and the foolishness of the Bengali Musalmans are paving the way for a great crisis. The idea of separate East Pakistan State is taking hold of the young mind of Bengali students.[1] These students are getting [the] upper hand, owing if I dare say, to, a very tolerant attitude of the Government by accepting some of their silly demands and even signing compromises with them. Such more toleration may turn the State into anarchy. It has come to that when the students do not feel shy in assaulting an Honourable Minister or the Members of the Assembly. Dacca is a small town and a capital with a residential university. It will always, therefore, prove a source of trouble on even small account. Today our politicians have only learnt to pit the students against their opponents because they can shout better. That should be stopped at once. I feel either the university be transferred from that small capital, or the capital itself.

The very idea seems fantastic but it deserves consideration. In the town-planning the university should be taken four, five miles away from the town or at least the university should be kept residential for post-graduate students only. The rowdy elements of the undergraduates be distributed to other towns. Practically each town has a college. In this connexion may I suggest, Sir, that at least the heads of all institutions should be Musalmans. The Govt. is subsidising practically all the colleges. The only difference in the change would be that instead of money, the college will get the Principal from the Govt. Freedom in education is necessary but only when it is capable of such freedom. If nothing is done now it will be too late. Further, I feel that the student's mind be diverted away from general politics. They should be engaged in military training which should be made compulsory, and also they be conscripted for social work like rural development or mass education. If they are put under compulsory military training they will be strictly guided under the military rule. Then alone they could be moulded on right lines.

I beg, Sir, to be kindly excused in taking such a liberty of writing you directly.

I sought an interview with you, Sir, to bring before our Quaid-i-Azam these few facts. The letter was sent to the Quaid-i-Azam's Secretary at Karachi long before Quaid-i-Azam's arrival at Dacca.

Pardon me again, Sir,

Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad!
Pakistan Zindabad!

I remain,
Sir,
A humble servant of Pakistan,
S. K. AHMED
Principal,
Sirajganj College

[1]See Annex.

Annex to No. 156
Charles H. Derry to George Marshall

US National Archives 845 F. 00/3-648

CONFIDENTIAL
No. 136

AMERICAN CONSULATE,
CALCUTTA,
6 March 1948

SUBJECT: THE POLITICAL SCENE IN EASTERN PAKISTAN

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit herewith[1] a memorandum, on the above-captioned subject, prepared by Mr. Thomas W. Simons, Attache at the American Embassy, Karachi, who is currently on temporary detail at Dacca, Eastern Pakistan.

Respectfully yours,
CHARLES H. DERRY
Consul-General

The Secretary of State,
Washington, D.C.

[1]Annexure.

Annexure to Annex to No. 156

CONFIDENTIAL
AIR MAIL

1 March 1948

MEMORANDUM

SUBJECT: THE POLITICAL SCENE IN EASTERN PAKISTAN

The current political situation in Eastern Pakistan must be reviewed against the economic conditions now prevailing. Most economic life is at a standstill. Nurtured in the pre-partition propaganda, the people expected that with the formation of the new State, economic activity would quicken.The reverse is true. The limited industrial activity that was here has tended to decrease. New industries, excepting the jute-pressing factories employing limited numbers of workers, have not been formed. Business and banking have fallen off considerably. Unexpectedly and contrary to Muslim League propaganda, the new Government has not been able to supply either the leadership or the money, or policy, with which either Pakistan or foreign interests could rejuvenate business or encourage industrial expansion. The leadership, although

Muslim, is largely unfamiliar with local conditions, economic activity, or industrial planning. Money for commercial or industrial development has either been withdrawn or is not in the hands of people out here. The Government has failed to announce any binding legal policy that will encourage people to venture their capital in Eastern Pakistan.

Among the masses the conditions are not much better. The high prices paid for jute are used to pay the high prices asked for food stuffs, particularly rice. The cultivators of rice in two procurement areas complain because the prices of rice are controlled for them but not in the deficit areas. The influx of people from areas where the people eat grains other than rice are dissatisfied because there is a shortage of wheat. Cloth is scarce and the price of it is high. It is true that the Government has received large quantities, relatively, of food-grains from West Pakistan—a fact that will be brought out in favour of the Government in the coming meeting of the Provincial Legislature. The fact remains, however, that both food and clothing for the large part of the population are scarce. Building material is also in short supply, and people are required to live in uncomfortable accommodations. The Government, or so it appears to the bulk of the population, is unable to create those conditions that were spoken of as imminent in pre-partition days.

The discontent found among the urban people—commercial, banking, industrial, working classes, and students— and the rural people will serve as the basis for political actions that may appear in the next fortnight in Eastern Pakistan. The dissatisfaction over economic conditions that prevails among the urban people is by far the more dangerous. This is particularly true of Dacca, where the Legislature is to meet. Already, groups of people in Dacca have exerted pressure upon the Ministry in small matters such as the use of college buildings for the Government Secretariat and the Legislative Assembly. There is a growing feeling that big issues are to be settled in the coming weeks. The leaders of the government will be taxed to the utmost to travel a direct course in the legislative halls.

The present Ministry is conceded by all to be unusually weak. Khwaja Nazimuddin, the Prime Minister, is accepted by all as both a good and honest man, but one who lacks intellectual capacity to grasp the essentials and the will to execute policies that are needed at the moment. He is also reported to lack the power to decide issues when confronted with them, and discloses no aptitude to lead his colleagues. It is asserted that he is interested primarily in attempting to keep his Ministry together. A considerable portion of his time during January was spent away from Dacca in connection with his election to the

Legislative Assembly. It seemed fairly certain until recently that the Prime Minister would retain his position but his speech in favour of Urdu as the Pakistan State language, given in Karachi at the Pakistan Constituent Assembly on February 25, 1948, has materially weakened his position in Dacca. As this is being written, it is impossible to learn the exact date of his return to Dacca. As a preventive measure, the principal Secretariat building has been closed as of March 2 to all who do not possess identity cards. Not much in the way of far-sighted leadership may be expected from the present Prime Minister. Mr. Hamidul Huq Chowdhury, the Minister for Finance and Revenue, Commerce, Industry, and Labour, is the only man who is considered of any practical value in the present Ministry. Last December he failed to win a seat in the Legislative Assembly and on February 15, 1948, a special order of the Governor was issued to keep him in office for another three months. While he is considered the best of the Ministry, he does not have the confidence of the business community and is reported to be affected by bribes. While he talks of growing plans, he does not give wanted assistance to men interested in establishing themselves in business. The writer suspects that he is carrying an unusually heavy load and that much of the blame directed to him arises from inaction on the part of other Ministers. It is also evident that there is a strong feeling that he will not be in office very long; hence, it is safe to aim one's shots at him. He does not have a strong Finance Secretary, while his Secretary for Commerce, Industries and Labour shows a great lack of experience in handling problems of his Department.

All observers, in the writer's experience, are agreed that the other members of the Ministry are ineffectual. It is asserted on all sides that they lack the power to make decisions. They appear keenly interested in maintaining themselves in their present positions. They are out of their offices and away from Dacca as much as they are present. The failure of the Ministry to do very much in the way of positive action on behalf of the Province rests somewhat upon its dependence on the Central Government at Karachi in financial matters and policy making. Despite any justification one may make on behalf of this Ministry, it appears that it is not popular and has earned little public confidence.

Most second rank officers—the secretaries, deputy and joint secretaries—and the majority of government workers are Muslims from outside Eastern Pakistan, largely from Punjab, United Provinces, Bihar and West Bengal. The newcomer has arrived with a strong feeling for the League as well as a dislike and distrust for Bengalis, including the Bengali Muslims. The East Bengal Muslim is notorious for his educational backwardness and also for his Bengali pride; he does not have a

long tradition of following implicitly the program of the Muslim League. The newcomer has in consequence procured almost all of the government jobs, even those in post offices, railroads, and district administration. The Bengali Muslims had expected that the Eastern Pakistan Government would be manned by its Provincial Muslims and this development has created among them a very strong resentment. This resentment is not local; it was evident in Chittagong, and reports from various districts indicate that the feeling is quite general.

The political sign-post that displays most forcibly this resentment is the Urdu question. The Bengali Muslim speaks Bengali which has distinct political, cultural, and provincial values that are traditional.

All Bengalis, either Muslim or Hindu, have been proud of their language and literature. During the late months of 1947, widespread dissatisfaction was manifest when there was talk of making Urdu the *lingua franca* of all Pakistan. Attempts to change from Bengali to Urdu in the schools have failed; the President (Vice Chancellor) of the University of Dacca—a prominent Muslim—has stated openly to the writer that Urdu is impossible as a replacement for Bengali; the great majority of Muslim Bengalis know no other language than Bengali. Ministers of the Central Government when speaking to Bengalis have been forced to speak either in Bengali or English, and students repeatedly have staged protest meetings against the introduction of Urdu. The question was considered almost settled in East Bengal when its people were surprised to hear that their Prime Minister, Mr. Nazimuddin, had declared in Karachi, on February 25, that "the feeling of the majority of the people in Eastern Pakistan was that Urdu was the only language that could be adopted as the *lingua franca* of all Pakistan.

The response of the Bengalis has been prompt. Students staged demonstrations the next day. News of two general strikes has been received up to the time of writing. The Government has felt called upon to take precautionary measures. On March 1, 1948, a press release attempted to ease the situation by explaining that:

> That issue can be decided at the appropriate time solely in accordance with the wishes of the people of this province alone as ascertained through their accredited representatives.

The Government also showed its concern over the gravity of the situation, for it went on:

> Government wishes to warn the people of this Province that the enemies of this State are already busy trying to exploit this decision with a view to creating a split among the Muslims of this Province on whose solidarity the strength of Eastern Pakistan primarily depends and that they have decided to deal firmly, as under the circumstances

they must, with any attempt on the part of political saboteurs to create trouble.

This release was issued simultaneously with the proclamation of the Bengal Special Powers Ordinance, 1946 whereby the District Magistrate of Dacca prohibited the holding of public meetings of more than five persons for a period of seven days following March 2, 1948. Section 144 Cr. P.C. was invoked to prevent the carrying of any weapons, including a *lathi,* and the picketing of institutions or Government offices. As pointed out earlier, the time of the Prime Minister's return is being kept a secret. Another precautionary step was taken when the new Legislative Assembly Hall was surrounded with a high barbed wire fence and Punjabi guards are standing watch. It is said that the postponement of the meeting of the Assembly from March 12 to 15th was made to allow a longer cooling-off period. Local observers of all communities acknowledge that the Urdu question is serious and can easily be used to touch off a very strong opposition movement that could unseat the present Ministry.

As will be seen from the above, the Government is facing the issue quite frankly. It would appear that it has sensed for some time the underground currents that are running counter to the policies of Government officials. In mid-January it started a drive to collect all unlicensed firearms and ammunition. Three weeks later, early in February, it issued an order to requisition half of all the firearms in each district. These firearms have been taken largely from Hindus and have weakened the minority. In mid-February it organized the *Ansars* (helpers) who now replace the former Muslim National Guard. A select group of these *Ansars,* about 15,000, are to be trained in the use of firearms requisitioned by the earlier orders. This new organization is becoming, so it is recognized, the strongarm body of the present Government.

Against this background, the present Ministry faces growing opposition. It is evident from what has been written above that the opposition comes mainly from the Muslims themselves. In the background is another member of the Nawab's family, Mr. Nazirullah, a relation of the Prime Minister. Almost from partition days, Mr. Nazirullah has opposed Mr. Nazimuddin. The former is reported to have control over student groups in Dacca and he is capable of organizing demonstrations that may cause trouble. He is also supporting Mr. Mohammed Ali, former Finance Minister under Mr. Suhrawardy. Mr. Mohammed Ali is given much credit here for having prevented Mr. Hamidul Huq Chowdhury from securing his seat. The third active member of this opposition group is Mr. Fazlul Huq, the "Grand Old Man" of Bengal politics. Opinion regarding Mr. Huq seems about equally divided; some say he has considerable strength,

others deny him much power. It was reported from one reliable source that he claimed forty members of the League in the Assembly—the writer has had no way of verifying that claim. One fact is certain: the opposition is active. What it will make of the present situation is not known yet.

Early in February it was reported the opposition was seeking, not control of the Premiership, but at least three Ministerial positions. On February 12, 1948, at a wedding celebrated in the Nawab's Palace, there appeared Messrs Suhrawardy and Mohammed Ali, among others. Members of the Dalmia Jain firm were also present. The relationship between this firm and certain Muslim League parties is not certain. It is felt by responsible observers that the connection is quite important. Shortly after this wedding it was reported that an agreement had been reached. It is now reliably reported that Mr. Mohammed Ali is to enter the present Ministry as an additional Minister. This seems to be the only significant change foreseeable at present. Much will depend upon the parliamentary tactics.

The Legislature is to be composed of 178 members, 49 Hindus and the rest Muslims. If it is true that Mr. Huq now has forty members; these combined with the Hindus would constitute a majority. It is now certain that the Hindus are going to take their seats in the Legislature. A group of influential Hindu leaders told the writer that the policy of the group was that of watchful waiting. It is recognized by non-communal observers that the Hindus are motivated by fear. Still their leaders assert that if a group of Muslims who would inspire confidence could be found, the Hindus would vote for unseating the present Ministry. It has been suggested that confidence in a different Ministry might depend upon the appointment of Hindus in the Ministry but, commendable as the idea may be, it is yet considered impractical and there is little likelihood of the Hindus having a chance to join the Ministry in the near future. In the present situation, the Hindus hold the balance of power in East Bengal.

The political strains in Eastern Pakistan have been controlled by delaying the calling of the Legislative Assembly. As the meeting of this body has been postponed from time to time, it was hoped that conditions would improve sufficiently to permit an orderly session to do its business quickly and then adjourn. While the success of this plan was recognized until a week ago, the inept speech of Mr. Nazimuddin has aroused dormant emotions. The outcome of the forthcoming meeting of the Assembly is now very uncertain. The balance of this month will contain critical days for this Province.

THOMAS W. SIMONS
Attache

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Abdul Hamid to M. A. Jinnah

F. 216 (II)-GG/62

5 ABDUL GANI ROAD,
DACCA,
20 March 1948

Your Excellency,

I am sending the figures of Muslims and non-Muslims of West and East Bengal as desired by you:

		WEST BENGAL	
Non-Muslims	...	1,58,93,593	
Muslims	...	53,01,020	25.01%
		EAST BENGAL	
Muslims	...	2,77,04,414	70.83%
Non-Muslims	...	1,14,07,498	

Yours obediently,
ABDUL HAMID

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S. M. Yusuf to Sri Prakasa

F. 120 (Vol. II)-GG/11

D.O. No. 1774-GG/48 *20 March 1948*

Dear Mr. Sri Prakasa,

I am not sure whether my writing to you is in accordance with diplomatic procedure. I, however, take the liberty of forwarding an application[1] from Abdul Sattar Khan, Sub-Postmaster in the Governor-General's House, which speaks for itself. I shall be grateful if you use your good offices with the Government of India to secure the release of Abdul Sattar's brother.[2]

Yours sincerely,
S. M. YUSUF

Sri Prakasa, Esq.,
High Commissioner for India in Pakistan,
Karachi

[1]Not traceable.
[2]See No. 170.

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Address by M. A. Jinnah to the Military Parade at Kurmitolla[1]
20 March 1948

Officers and men!

I thank you for the honour you have done me in giving me the salute. I shall always remember this opportunity that has been afforded to me.

You know that Pakistan had to start from scratch. East Bengal is one of its most powerful components and you have got now an opportunity which you have not had for, may I say, two centuries or more. Bengal, generally, in which of course East Bengal was included where happens to be the largest Muslim population, was considered as negligible in quality and quantity, for military purposes. The martial spirit of Bengal is historically known, and specially the part the Muslims played in the history of the past Bengal. That martial spirit, like many other great qualities, was oppressed and suppressed and the martial spirit was dead—with a sort of damper put on—and in Bengal we got to a point when, as I said, Bengal did not count for military purposes. Now, in free Pakistan which is going to be a great nation, one of the largest in the world, you have under sovereign, independent, free Pakistan, every opportunity to revive your martial spirit and show to the world what Bengal can do. It is in your hands. I am sure you realize that yours is the responsibility for the security and the defence of the State, and I am confident you will not fail but serve it loyally and faithfully, ready to die for its security and defence. I thank you.

[1]Yusufi, *Speeches of Quaid-i-Azam*, IV, 2708-9.

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Speech by M. A. Jinnah at a Public Meeting at Dacca[1]
21 March 1948

Assalaamo 'Alaikum! Assalaamo 'Alaikum! Assalaamo 'Alaikum!

I am grateful to the people of this Province and, through you,[2] Mr. Chairman of the Reception Committee, to the people of Dacca, for the great welcome that they have accorded to me. I need hardly say that it gives me the greatest pleasure to visit East Bengal. East Bengal is the most important component of Pakistan, inhabited as it is by the largest single bloc of Muslims in the world. I have been anxious to pay this Province an early visit, but unfortunately other matters of greater

importance had so far prevented me from doing so.

About some of these important matters you doubtless know. You know, for instance, of the cataclysm that shook the Punjab immediately after Partition, and of the millions of Muslims who in consequence were uprooted from their homes in East Punjab, Delhi and neighbouring districts and had to be protected, sheltered and fed pending rehabilitation in Western Pakistan. Never throughout history was a new State called upon to face such tremendous problems. Never throughout history has a new state handled them with such competence and courage. Our enemies had hoped to kill Pakistan at its inception. Pakistan has, on the contrary, arisen triumphant and stronger than ever. It has come to stay, and play its great role for which it is destined.

In your Address of Welcome you have stressed the importance of developing the great agricultural and industrial resources of this Province, of providing facilities for the training of the young men and women of this Province for entering the Armed Forces of Pakistan, of the development of the Port of Chittagong and of communications between this Province and other parts of Pakistan, of development of educational facilities, and finally you have stressed the importance of ensuring that the citizens of Eastern Pakistan get their due and legitimate share in all spheres of Government activity. Let me at once assure you that my Government attaches the greatest importance to these matters and is anxiously and constantly engaged in ensuring that Eastern Pakistan attains its full stature with the maximum of speed. Of the martial prowess of the people of this Province, history provides ample evidence and, as you are aware, Government have already taken energetic steps to provide facilities for the training of the youth of this Province both in the regular Armed Forces and as volunteers in the Pakistan National Guards. You may rest assured that the fullest provision shall be made for enabling the youth of this Province to play its part in the defence of this State.

Let me now turn to some general matters concerning this Province. In doing so, let me first congratulate you, the people of this Province and your Government, over the manner in which you have conducted yourselves during these seven months of trials and tribulations. Your Government and loyal, hardworking officials deserve to be congratulated on the speed and efficiency with which it succeeded in building up an ordered administration out of the chaos and confusion which prevailed immediately after Partition. On the 15th August, the Provincial Government in Dacca was a fugitive in its own home. It was faced with the immediate problem of finding accommodation for thousands of Government personnel in what was, after all, before Partition only a

small mofussil town. Hardly had Government got to grips with administrative problems thus created, when some seventy thousand Railway and other personnel and their families suddenly arrived in this Province, driven out of India partly by panic owing to the disturbances immediately following the Partition. There were further, owing to the wholesale departure of Hindu personnel, great gaps left in the administrative machinery and the entire transport and communication system had been disorganized. The immediate task that faced the Government, therefore, was hurriedly to regroup its forces and reorganize its administrative machine in order to avert an imminent administrative collapse.

This the Government did with extraordinary speed and efficiency. The administration continued to function unhampered, and the life of the community continued undisturbed. Not only was the administration speedily reorganized but the great administrative shortages were quickly made good, so that an impending famine was averted, and what is equally important, peace was maintained throughout the Province. In this latter respect, much credit is due also to the people of this Province, in particular to the members of the majority community, who showed exemplary calm and determination to maintain peace despite the great provocation afforded by the massacre and oppression of the Muslims in the Indian Dominion in the months immediately after Partition. Despite those horrible happenings, some forty thousand processions were taken out by the Hindu community during the last *Puja* in this Province without a single instance of the breach of peace, and without any molestation from the Muslims of this Province.

Any impartial observer will agree with me that throughout these troubles the minorities were looked after and protected in Pakistan better than anywhere else in India. You will agree that Pakistan was able to keep peace and maintain law and order; and let me tell you that the minorities not only here in Dacca but throughout Pakistan are more secure, more safe than anywhere else. We have made it clear that the Pakistan Government will not allow peace to be disturbed; Pakistan will maintain law and order at any cost; and it will not allow any kind of mob rule. It is necessary to draw attention to these facts, namely the building up of an orderly administration, the averting of an imminent famine and the maintenance of the supply of food to some forty million people in this Province at a time of overall food shortage and serious administrative difficulties, and the maintenance of peace, because there is a tendency to ignore these achievements of the Government and to take these things for granted.

It is always easy to criticize; it is always easy to go on fault-finding,

but people forget the things that are being done and are going to be done for them, and generally they take those for granted without even realizing as to what trials, tribulations, difficulties and dangers we had to face at the birth of Pakistan. I do not think that your administration is perfect, far from it; I do not say that there is no room for improvement; I do not say that honest criticism from true Pakistanis is unwelcome. It is always welcome. But when I find in some quarters nothing but complaint, fault-finding, and not a word of recognition as to the work that has been done either by your Government or by those loyal officials and officers who have been working for you day and night, it naturally pains me. Therefore, at least say some good word for the good that is done, and then complain and criticize. In a large administration, it is obvious that mistakes must be made; you cannot expect that it should be faultless; no country in the world can be so. But our ambition and our desire is that it should be as little defective as possible. Our desire is to make it more efficient, more beneficial, more smooth working. For what has the Government got for its aim? The Government can only have for its aim one objective—how to serve the people, how to devise ways and means of their welfare, for their betterment. What other object can the Government have and, remember, now it is in your hands to put the Government in power or remove the Government from power; you must learn the art to use it; you must try and understand the machinery. Constitutionally, it is in your hands to upset one Government and put another Government in power if you are dissatisfied to such an extent.

Therefore, the whole thing is in your hands, but I advise you strongly to have patience and to support the men who are at the helm of your Government, sympathize with them, try and understand their troubles and their difficulties just as they should try and understand your grievances and complaints and sufferings. It is by that co-operation and that good spirit and goodwill that you will be able not only to preserve Pakistan, which we have achieved, but also make it a great State in the world. Are you now, after having achieved Pakistan, going to destroy it by your own folly? Do you want to build it up? Well then for that purpose there is one essential condition, and it is this—complete unity and solidarity amongst ourselves.

But I want to tell you that in our midst there are people financed by foreign agencies who are intent on creating disruption. Their object is to disrupt and sabotage Pakistan. I want you to be on your guard; I want you to be vigilant and not to be taken in by attractive slogans and catchwords. They say that the Pakistan Government and the East Bengal Government are out to destroy your language. A bigger falsehood was

never uttered by a man. Quite frankly and openly I must tell you that you have got amongst you a few Communists and other agents financed by foreign help, and if you are not careful, you will be disrupted. The idea that East Bengal should be brought back into the Indian Union is not given up, and it is their aim yet, and I am confident—I am not afraid, but it is better to be vigilant—that those people who still dream of getting back East Bengal into the Indian Union are living in a dream-land.

I am told that there has been some exodus of the Hindu community from this Province. I have seen the magnitude of this exodus put at the fantastic figure of ten lakhs in the Indian press. Official estimates would not put the figure beyond two lakhs at the utmost. In any case, I am satisfied that such exodus as has taken place has not been the result of any ill-treatment of the minority communities. On the other hand, the minority communities have enjoyed, and rightly so, greater freedom, and have been shown greater solicitude for their welfare than the minorities in any part of the Indian Dominion.

The causes of this exodus are to be found rather in the loose talk by some war-mongering leaders in the Indian Dominion of the inevitability of war between Pakistan and India; in the ill-treatment of the minorities in some of the Indian provinces and the fear among the minorities of the likely repercussions of that ill-treatment here, and in the open encouragement to Hindus to leave this Province being sedulously given by a section of the Indian press, producing imaginary accounts of what it calls the plight of the minorities in Pakistan, and by the Hindu Mahasabha. All this propaganda and accusations about the ill-treatment of the minorities stand belied by the fact that over twelve million non-Muslims continue to live in this province in peace and have refused to migrate from here.

Let me take this opportunity of repeating what I have already said: we shall treat the minorities in Pakistan fairly and justly. Their lives and property in Pakistan are far more secure and protected than in India and we shall maintain peace, law and order and protect and safeguard fully every citizen of Pakistan without distinction of caste, creed or community.

So far so good. Let me now turn to some of the less satisfactory features of the conditions in this Province. There is a certain feeling, I am told, in some parts of this Province, against non-Bengali Muslims. There has also lately been a certain amount of excitement over the question whether Bengali or Urdu shall be the State language of this Province and of Pakistan. In this latter connection, I hear that some discreditable attempts have been made by political opportunists to

make a tool of the student community in Dacca to embarrass the administration.

My young friends, students who are present here, let me tell you as one who has always had love and affection for you, who has served you for ten years faithfully and loyally, let me give you this word of warning: you will be making the greatest mistake if you allow yourself to be exploited by one political party or other. Remember, there has been a revolutionary change. It is our own Government. We are a free, independent and sovereign State. Let us behave and regulate our affairs as free men; we are not suppressed and oppressed under the regime of a foreign domination; we have broken those chains, we have thrown off those shackles. My young friends, I look forward to you as the real makers of Pakistan; do not be exploited and do not be misled. Create amongst yourselves complete unity and solidarity. Set an example of what youth can do. Your main occupation should be—in fairness to yourself, in fairness to your parents, in fairness to the State—to devote your attention to your studies. If you fritter away your energies now, you will always regret. After you leave the portals of your universities and colleges, then you can play your part freely and help yourself and the State. Let me warn you in the clearest terms of the dangers that still face Pakistan and your Province in particular as I have done already. Having failed to prevent the establishment of Pakistan, thwarted and frustrated by their failure, the enemies of Pakistan have now turned their attention to disrupt the State by creating a split amongst the Muslims of Pakistan. These attempts have taken the shape principally of encouraging provincialism.

As long as you do not throw off this poison in our body politic, you will never be able to weld yourself, mould yourself, galvanize yourself into a real true nation. What we want is not to talk about Bengali, Punjabi, Sindhi, Baluch, Pathan and so on. They are of course units. But I ask you: have you forgotten the lesson that was taught to us thirteen hundred years ago? I may point out, you are all outsiders here. Who were the original inhabitants of Bengal—not those who are now living. So what is the use of saying "we are Bengalis, or Sindhis, or Pathans, or Punjabis". No we are Muslims.

Islam has taught us this, and I think you will agree with me that whatever else you may be and whatever you are, you are a Muslim. You belong to a nation now; you have now carved out a territory, vast territory, it is all yours; it does not belong to a Punjabi or a Sindhi, or a Pathan, or a Bengali; it is yours. You have got your Central Government where several units are represented. Therefore, if you want to build up yourself into a nation, for God's sake give up this provincialism.

Provincialism has been one of the curses; and so is sectionalism—Shia, Sunni, etc.

It was no concern of our predecessor Government; it was no concern of theirs to worry about it; they were here to carry on the administration, maintain law and order, and to carry on their trade and exploit India as much as they could. But now we are in a different position altogether. Now I give you an example. Take America. When it threw off British rule and declared itself independent, how many nations were there? It had many races: Spaniards, French, Germans, Italians, English, Dutch and many more. Well, there they were. They had many difficulties. But mind you, their nations were actually in existence and they were great nations, whereas you had nothing. You have got Pakistan only now. But there a Frenchman could say 'I am a Frenchman and belong to a great nation', and so on. But what happened? They understood and they realized their difficulties because they had sense, and within a very short time they solved their problems and destroyed all this sectionalism, and they were able to speak not as a German or a Frenchman or an Englishman or a Spaniard, but as Americans. They spoke in this spirit: 'I am an American' and 'we are Americans'. And so you should think, live and act in terms that your country is Pakistan and you are a Pakistani.

Now I ask you to get rid of this provincialism, because as long as you allow this poison to remain in the body politic of Pakistan, believe me, you will never be a strong nation, and you will never be able to achieve what I wish we could achieve. Please do not think that I do not appreciate the position. Very often it becomes a vicious circle. When you speak to a Bengali, he says: 'yes you are right but the Punjabi is so arrogant'; when you speak to the Punjabi or non-Bengali, he says 'Yes, but these people do not want us here, they want to get us out'. Now this is a vicious circle, and I do not think anybody can solve this Chinese puzzle. The question is, who is going to be more sensible, more practical, more statesman-like and will be rendering the greatest service to Pakistan? So make up your mind and from today put an end to this sectionalism.

About language, as I have already said, this is in order to create disruption amongst the Musalmans. Your Prime Minister has rightly pointed this out in a recent statement and I am glad that his Government have decided to put down firmly any attempt to disturb the peace of this Province by political saboteurs or their agents. Whether Bengali shall be the official language of this Province is a matter for the elected representatives of the people of this Province to decide. I have no doubt that this question shall be decided solely in accordance with

the wishes of the inhabitants of this Province at the appropriate time.

Let me tell you in the clearest language that there is no truth that your normal life is going to be touched or disturbed so far as your Bengali language is concerned. But ultimately it is for you, the people of this Province, to decide what shall be the language of your Province. But let me make it very clear to you that the State Language of Pakistan is going to be Urdu and no other language. Any one who tries to mislead you is really the enemy of Pakistan. Without one State language, no nation can remain tied up solidly together and function. Look at the history of other countries. Therefore, so far as the State Language is concerned, Pakistan's language shall be Urdu. But as I have said, it will come in time.

I tell you once again, do not fall into the trap of those who are the enemies of Pakistan. Unfortunately, you have fifth-columnists—and I am sorry to say they are Muslims.—who are financed by outsiders. But they are making a great mistake. We tolerate the enemies of Pakistan; we are not going to tolerate quislings and fifth-columnists in our State and if this is not stopped, I am confident that your Government and the Pakistan Government will take the strongest measures and deal with them ruthlessly, because they are a poison. I can quite understand differences of views. Very often it is said, "Why cannot we have this party or that party"? Now let me tell you, and I hope you will agree with me that we have as a result of unceasing effort and struggle ultimately achieved Pakistan after ten years. It is the Muslim League which has done it. There were of course many Musalmans who were indifferent; some were afraid, because they had vested interests and they thought they might lose; some sold themselves to the enemy and worked against us, but we struggled and we fought and by the grace of God and with His help we have established Pakistan which has stunned the world.

Now this is a sacred trust in your hands, i.e. the Muslim League. Is this sacred trust to be guarded by us as the real custodians of the welfare of our country and our people, or not? Are mushroom parties led by men of doubtful past to be started to destroy what we have achieved or capture what we have secured? I ask you one question. Do you believe in Pakistan? (Cries of yes, yes) Do you want East Bengal or any part of Pakistan to go into the Indian Union? (No, no). Well, if you are going to serve Pakistan, then I say that the honest course open to every Musalman is to join the Muslim League party and serve Pakistan to the best of his ability. Any other mushroom parties that are started at present will be looked upon with suspicion because of their past, not that we have any feeling of malice, ill-will, or revenge. Honest change is welcome, but

the present emergency requires that every Musalman should come under the banner of the Muslim League, which is the true custodian of Pakistan, and build it up and make it a great State before we think of parties amongst ourselves which may be formed later on sound and healthy lines.

Just one thing more. Do not feel isolated . Many people have spoken to me that East Bengal feels isolated from the rest of Pakistan. No doubt there is a great distance separating the East from the West Pakistan; no doubt there are difficulties, but I tell you that we fully know and realize the importance of Dacca and East Bengal. I have only come here for a week or ten days this time, but in order to discharge my duty as the Head of the State I may have to come here and stay for days, for weeks, and similarly the Pakistan Ministers must establish closer contact. They should come here and your leaders and members of your Government should go to Karachi which is the capital of Pakistan. But you must have patience. With your help and with your support we will make Pakistan a mighty State.

Finally, let me appeal to you—keep together, put up with inconveniences, sufferings and sacrifices, for the collective good of our people. No amount of trouble, no amount of hard work or sacrifice is too much or to be shirked if you individually and collectively make contribution for the collective good of your nation and your state. It is in that way that you will build up Pakistan as the fifth largest state in the world, not only in population as it is but also in strength, so that it will command the respect of all the other nations of the world. With these words I wish you Godspeed. *Pakistan Zindabad!*

[1]Yusufi, *Speeches of Quaid-i-Azam,* IV, 2710-21.
[2]Nawab Khwaja Habibullah Bahadur of Dacca.

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Dhirendranath Datta to M. A. Jinnah

F. 216 (II)-GG/85-8

DACCA,
21 March 1948

Your Excellency,

We, the members of the East Bengal Congress Assembly Party, take this opportunity of your august presence in this capital town of our East Bengal to lay before you the following matters, amongst others,

which have been found to be operating to the great inconvenience of the people of this Province.

EFFECT OF THE PAKISTAN GOVT. CIRCULAR REQUIRING PERMITS FOR BOOKING OF CERTAIN GOODS FROM PAKISTAN TO INDIAN DOMINION

2. Though the Province of Bengal has been partitioned, the social, cultural and economic relations still subsist and will be subsisting for a long time to come between the people of the two provinces of East Bengal and West Bengal; a large number of people of both these two provinces daily move from one province to the other for normal needs arising out of the said relations. The recent circular issued by the Government of Pakistan laying down the necessity of obtaining permits from the Deputy Chief Controller, Exports and Imports, Chittagong, for the following description of goods before booking them or taking even personal belongings in the course of journey by travellers from Pakistan to India, viz.

i. building and engineering materials—all kinds
ii. chemicals, drugs and medicines and preparations thereof
iii. instruments, apparatus and appliances and all parts thereof
iv. machinery and millwork
v. machine tools of all description
vi. metal and ore including ferrous and non-ferrous
vii. paper and pasteboard—all sorts and manufactures thereof
viii. sanitary wares—all sorts
ix. vehicles and parts thereof—all sorts
x. textile; (i) cotton manufacture—all sorts; (ii) woollen manufacture—all sorts
xi. typewriters
xii. sewing machines
xiii. electric fans
xiv. brassware of all description
xv. iron safes
xvi. corrugated iron sheets
xvii. metal ornaments
xviii. fire-arms and ammunition, has caused and has been causing embarrassment and hardship to the people moving from East Bengal to West Bengal. The hardship has been very much aggravated by the circular being made applicable even to passengers' luggage of personal effects and metal ornaments worn on the person of women travellers. The manner in which the circular is being applied in practice is causing misery to the travelling public and therefore creating panic in the minds of the minority

communities of East Bengal.

3. We all desire that there should not be exodus from the East Bengal to the Indian Union of the minority communities. But this circular, if it is intended to prevent exodus, will not produce the desired effect; on the contrary, it will bring about the most disconcerting situation which may lead to a large scale exodus from the Province.

REQUISITION OF HOUSES

4. Indiscriminate requisition of houses for purposes of Government in many urban and semi-urban areas of East Bengal has rendered many persons practically homeless and has also led to panic and consequent exodus. The manner in which occupants of requisitioned houses were and are being driven out of their premises has caused and is causing hardship to them which beggars all description.

SEIZURE OF GUNS

5. The wholesale seizure of guns from the licensees has caused panic amongst the minority communities specially amongst those living in rural areas. It is to be pointed out in this connection that thefts and dacoities have already increased and indiscriminate seizure of guns is leading to further increase of these crimes.

INCOME TAX ADMINISTRATION AND ITS EFFECT

6. The manner in which the assessment of income tax is being done in the Province has compelled many assessees to give up their trade and business and to leave the Province. There are innumerable cases in which income tax has been imposed in complete disregard of the actual income of the assessees. These cases generally involve members of the minority communities. Cases are not rare in which it is found that Income Tax Officers follow a discriminatory principle also in the matter of assessment.

LEVY OF SALES TAX

7. Sales tax is also levied arbitrarily disregarding accounts, without following at all the principles of the Sales Tax Act.

GENERAL ECONOMIC SITUATION

8. It is a well-known fact that in East Bengal there is a great scarcity of cloth, yarn, coal, sugar and even of some essential foodstuffs. And the recent customs barrier imposed by both the Pakistan and the Indian Dominions are tending to increase this scarcity and has made the already high prices of these commodities soar higher with the result that these commodities are now beyond the purchasing capacity of the common man. The inevitable result of this economic breakdown is large scale migration of both Hindus and Muslims from the Province

to places of Indian Union.

CONFUSION AS TO WHAT PAKISTAN STATE IS

9. Your Excellency's statement at the opening session of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly to the effect that Pakistan would be a democratic secular State and that Hindus and Muslims in Pakistan would cease to be Hindus and Muslims in political and economic spheres, created a very good impression in the Dominion and was very heartening to the minority communities. But the subsequent statements of different high functionaries of the State that Pakistan is a Muslim State and the constitution would be framed according to *Shari'at* has created confusion and grave misgivings in the minds of the non-Muslims and is greatly contributing to produce a sense of insecurity in their mind. A statement from Your Excellency will go a long way to clarify the position.

LAW AND ORDER POSITION IN THE PROVINCE

10. Though there were some serious communal disturbances in certain areas of the Province immediately after its creation, the communal tension cannot be said to have altogether disappeared. In some localized areas there have been some untoward happenings due to strained feelings between the two major communities. From a sense of insecurity of life and property and also for economic reasons there has been an exodus of few lakhs of people of the minority communities from the province to areas in the Indian Dominion.

ESTABLISHMENT OF GOOD RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO DOMINIONS

11. It is urgently needed that suitable steps should immediately be taken to establish friendly relations between the two States. Otherwise, the sufferings of the common man will be aggravated.

We desire an authoratative statement from you on the following matters:

i. Passport between the two States,
ii. Currency and its exchange value, and
iii. Easy facilities for exchanging currency and all forms of coins

We need hardly emphasise that we approach Your Excellency as loyal citizens of the State and we desire that the Hindus and Muslims should live together here in peace and happiness and there should be no exodus, but we feel that the above grievances of the people, if not redressed, will lead to results which will be most detrimental to the best interest of the State.

DHIRENDRANATH DATTA
Deputy Leader,
East Bengal Congress Assembly Party

162

Report on M. A. Jinnah's Meeting with a Deputation of Hindu MLAs of East Bengal

F. 216 (II)-GG/89-90

[DACCA,]
21 March 1948

A deputation of Hindu Members of the East Bengal Assembly presented an address to Quaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah, Governor-General of Pakistan, containing numerous matters which should really be handled by the Central Governments of the two Dominions—Pakistan and India. The Quaid-i-Azam said that he could not very well discuss those matters as some of them were already being discussed between the Prime Ministers of Pakistan and India at a high level.

As regards their local grievances and difficulties about food, accommodation, requisitioning of property, facilities of travel and communication between the West and East Bengal, and so on, the Quaid-i-Azam said that they must realize the difficulties with which this new State was confronted. According to his information and understanding, Pakistan was a thousand times better in all these matters than many other countries including India. He said that it was also clear that in Pakistan life and property of every man was safe. He added, "I do not for a moment say that in the discharge of their duties, the various departments of the Govt. could not do better. I should say that there is room for improvement in various directions, but in order to achieve that object the best course is that the Hindus should in spirit and action whole-heartedly co-operate with the Government and the various branches of administration as Pakistani and if that spirit is created it will be easy for the Government to discharge their functions smoothly. I can see that people have not even now got over their old mentality, and they still think that this is a foreign Government. They must really appreciate the present position, namely that there is a revolutionary and a fundamental change and that the Governments of East Bengal and Pakistan are now our own Governments. Then why should the Government do anything except what is in the best interests of the people. Why should there be any doubts and suspicions? I can assure you that the object of the Government is to do their utmost for the welfare and happiness of the people. It is up to the people who have any grievances or complaints to make the approach to the Government and ask for a redress instead of carrying on an unnecessary propaganda and

creating confusion in the press. Government have not heard so far that your Prime Minister is not accessible. You can always approach him but you must change your mentality and think in the right perspective.

"All these matters to which you have drawn my attention are primarily the responsibility of the Provincial Government and I am sure that if you go the right way, you will have no difficulty in getting redress. I cannot possibly go into all this and sit on judgment over the administration by hearing only your version, nor have I got time during this short visit to do so. I will however pass on your representation to the Prime Minister for his consideration."

163

Dwarakanath Barori & Others to M. A. Jinnah

F. 216 (II)-GG/76-81

DACCA,
21 March 1948

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

First of all kindly allow us to express our heartiest thanks to Your Excellency for the opportunity you have given to us to place before you the legitimate demands and grievances of the Scheduled Castes of Eastern Pakistan. We feel really proud and honoured for this kindness shown to us.

Before actually going into the details of our demands and grievances, we, with a prayer to God the Almighty, for your long and healthful life, desire to reassure you of our unflinching loyalty and make it clear that we approach Your Excellency more as our beloved Quaid-i-Azam, a saviour of the oppressed and downtrodden humanity, than as a Governor-General of Pakistan. We remember with hearts full of gratitude and pride, your past and present efforts to improve the lot of the poor and neglected Scheduled Castes. Your unstinted support to the representatives of the Scheduled Castes in the Minorities Sub-Committee of the last Round Table Conference in England secured us the first recognition as one of the distinct and separate elements in the political life of India. We do remember also your great kindness to offer us the great honour by selecting our accredited leader, Hon'ble Mr. J.N. Mandal, as a Member of the Interim Government of India, and subsequently choosing him to preside over the inaugural session of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. We look upon you not

only as the creator of Pakistan but also as the guardian of the Scheduled Castes. We pray to God to grant you a long lease of life to carry your own message, "Live and let others live," to a successful end.

Your Excellency, it may be that some of the Scheduled Caste leaders have been misled and are trying to do some mischief to the cause of the Scheduled Castes by making some unworthy and unfounded statements. But the Scheduled Castes Federation has been able to successfully counteract their mischievous propaganda. It is a notable fact that the Scheduled Castes have, long long ago, cut off their social and political connection with the Caste Hindus on account of the social and political oppression by the latter from time immemorial, and joined hands with the Muslims in all political movements of the country for the achievement of their political rights and privileges, and the Scheduled Castes Federation under the able leadership of Hon'ble Mr. J. N. Mandal fought for the achievement of Pakistan in full cooperation with the Muslim League since the Day of Direct Action.[1] Pakistan is our own homeland and we are determined to live here under all circumstances and to share its weal and woe equally with our Muslim brethren. We are equally determined to defend Pakistan from outside aggression—irrespective of the caste and creed of the aggressors at the cost of our last man. We also do believe that the Scheduled Castes will have their real emancipation in Pakistan which would allow no distinction between man and man under your able guidance. We, who have been deprived of the elementary rights of a human being by the Caste Hindus, thousands of years ago since the day of Manu,[2] cannot grow any real love for them, nor can we expect any justice at the hands of those born tyrants—the protagonists of the caste system and man hatred. We are sure a gesture of sympathy and goodwill would completely win over the Scheduled Castes. If they are once won over by persuasion and sympathy, they will certainly form a potential strength to defend and grow [*sic*] Pakistan.

DEMANDS AND GRIEVANCES

1. We earnestly hope that Your Excellency will be pleased to see that the assurances and statements made from time to time by the leaders of Muslim League and by Your Excellency for the furtherance of the cause of the Scheduled Castes be materialised since we have succeeded in attaining Pakistan.

2. Although we have been moving for the inclusion of members of the Scheduled Castes in the Cabinet of Eastern Pakistan since the inception of Pakistan, the Government of Eastern Pakistan have not considered it their duty to include any one of the Scheduled Castes in

the said Cabinet, as a result of which our people are gradually going to be more and more disappointed and the Caste Hindus are utilising this opportunity to make a mischievous propaganda among our people just to create a disaffection among them towards the Pakistan State. We humbly and respectfully hope that you would be so kind as to give a special consideration to our claim on this subject and make immediate arrangement for the inclusion of at least two Scheduled Caste members in the Cabinet of Eastern Pakistan Government from the Scheduled Castes Federation, as recommended[3] by our accredited leader, Hon'ble Mr. J.N. Mandal, Minister, Government of Pakistan.

3. Your Excellency is fully aware of the fact that the Scheduled Castes community has been fighting for a separate political entity for a very long time and you, as a saviour of the oppressed, have all along espoused their cause in this direction. Our respectful submission is that you would be graciously pleased to see that separate electorate be provided for us with adequate weightage in the Constitution of Pakistan.

4. We do hope that Your Excellency will be gracious enough to see that adequate provision be made in the Constitution of Pakistan to fix a ratio in all the public services, Central and Provincial, Civil and Military, including Diplomatic and Foreign Services, according to population of the Scheduled Castes with adequate weightage.

5. It is gratifying to note that Your Excellency's Government have been of late pleased to grant a sum of rupees five lakh for the advancement of education[4] among the Scheduled Castes. The Government of Eastern Pakistan have also allotted an amount of rupees five lakh for the same purpose, but we most respectfully submit that these grants are not at all sufficient to meet the requirements of the Scheduled Castes. But in consideration of the fact that Pakistan State has just begun its life, we do not like to embarrass the Government, for the present, with any further demands. We confidently hope that Your Excellency would be pleased to see that adequate provision be made in the Constitution of Pakistan to earmark a reasonable amount in the budgets of the Central and Provincial Governments according to the needs of the Scheduled Castes for the said purpose.

6. Your Excellency knows fully well that the economic condition of the Scheduled Castes is extremely miserable. Agriculture and labour employed in agriculture and similar other pursuits are the main source of their livelihood. Unless adequate measures are taken to elevate their economic life, their condition will go from bad to worse. We most

respectfully hope that Your Excellency would be very kind to see that the Scheduled Castes be provided with due share in the commercial and industrial enterprises initiated by the Government. In this connection we beg to add that in Eastern Pakistan, 95% of the fishermen belong to the Scheduled Castes. Fishing is their only source of living but it has become impossible to carry on fishing for want of nets which require sufficient quantity of yarn for their nets. As they did not get yarn for the said purpose for a pretty long time, they reached almost the point of starvation. Your Excellency's Government may be pleased to direct the authority concerned to take immediate steps in the matter.

7. It is fully known to Your Excellency that the Scheduled Castes have all along cooperated with the Muslim League in all political movements of the country for the elevation of their political status and the representatives of the Scheduled Castes, particularly of Eastern Pakistan, have rendered most valuable services for the achievement of Pakistan and for the extension of its territories by launching Bengal anti-partition movement, fighting for inclusion of Sylhet in Pakistan during the last Sylhet Referendum and for inclusion in Pakistan as much territory as possible before the Boundary Commission with this confidence that in Pakistan the Scheduled Castes will be provided with all the legitimate rights and privileges necessary for their all-round advancement. The Muslim League have also, from time to time, assured us of the same. Now that Pakistan has been achieved, the Scheduled Caste people would naturally desire to see that the assurances so given be now translated into action. Soon after the establishment of Pakistan, Your Excellency also was pleased to make a historic announcement that the minorities in Pakistan would be treated not only with justice but with generosity. We humbly and respectfully submit that your Government may be pleased to take effective measures directing the machineries of the same to treat the Scheduled Castes people justly and fairly so as to remove all sorts of misgivings from their minds.

Before we conclude, let us once more express our heartfelt gratitude for the patient hearing Your Excellency has given us. We know we have many shortcomings, we have neither the education nor the capacity to represent our case properly and systematically, but we believe that to a great soul, however, "love and simplicity in the least speaks most" and we hope "What poor duty cannot do, respect will take in might, nor merit" [*sic*]. May the Almighty God grant you a long

span of life to fulfill the onerous mission of your noble life.

With best regards,

We remain,
Your Excellency,
Your humble deputationists,
DWARAKANATH BARORI AND 14 OTHERS
Representatives of Scheduled Castes Federation of Eastern Pakistan

[1]16 August 1946.
[2]Manu, a Hindu scholar, had compiled a code on legal and allied topics including the caste system. See *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 14, 812.
[3]No. 179, Vol. VI, 274-5.
[4]See Annex to No. 164, Vol. VI, item 6, 255.

164

Statement by M. A. Jinnah[1] to a Deputation of Scheduled Castes Federation at Dacca

21 March 1948

We stand by our declarations that members of every community will be treated as citizens of Pakistan with equal rights and privileges and obligations and that the minorities will be safeguarded and protected.

He added: "But you must have a little patience and give us time to make the effort to give effect to those declarations. I assure you of our goodwill and solicitude for the welfare of the Scheduled Castes in particular, as you have been downtrodden for centuries, deserve more help that any other community. I have always advocated your cause and I shall continue to do so."

In regard to their proposal that two Scheduled Caste Ministers[2] should be included in the East Bengal Ministry, the Quaid-i-Azam said: "It is not that we are against including the Scheduled Castes in the Ministry, but the present position of the Scheduled Castes in the Assembly is that you have only five members who follow you out of 19. We are after all working on the lines of democracy and if we were to take one of those five, it would neither be good for you nor for the East Bengal Ministry, because it will at once be said, as far as we are concerned, that was only a creature of the Bengal Prime Minister who had picked him up, whereas he did not enjoy the confidence of the overwhelming majority of the Scheduled Caste members of the Assembly. This has been

one of the difficulties in our way for which we ourselves are most anxious for a solution."

[1]Yusufi, *Speeches of Quaid-i-Azam*, IV, 2709-10.
[2]No. 163.

165

Saud Bin Jiluwi to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F.11-GG/52

HASSA[SAUDI ARABIA,]
21 March 1948

Arrived safely after I left your dear country and keeping in my heart best memory[1] and thanks.

SAUD BIN JILUWI

[1]See No. 147.

166

S. M. Fazal Haq Qadrie to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. II)-GG/239-40

PAHARTALI,
CHITTAGONG,
21 March 1948

Quaid-i-Azam,

It is believed that Eastern Pakistan might have welcomed you on your first visit at Dacca, the capital of E. Pakistan in a befitting manner.

Every one knows but no one knows better than you the part played by the Muslims of the minority provinces, specially U.P. and Bihar, in achieving Pakistan with the result that the Muslims of those provinces are still facing untold sufferings and troubles and most of our prominent leaders are in jail in connection with the National Guard Organisation. Quaid-i-Azam! Let me tell H.E. at once that we did our part and Pakistan has been achieved and now we have to see what the Muslims of Pakistan are doing for us in return and how their leaders are fulfilling their great promises which they made from time to time in All India Muslim League sessions. Now the question is whether the

promises are being fulfilled.

A very large number of Muslim employees came from these provinces to serve the East Bengal Railway, with great zeal and spirit but I must inform H.E. that more than 75 p.c. went back to rest of India for want of cooperation from the Muslims of Bengal and cold treatment of the officers, and thus a huge amount of Pakistan was wasted at a time when Pakistan needed money badly. Now the controversy over the language has greatly shocked us and this has thrown cold water on our future projects though it is only a move from some selfish leaders who are doing this mischief for their own benefit, otherwise the masses are behind the present popular Ministry. It will not be out of place to remind H.E. that Mir Jafar belonged to Bengal. History teaches us that a ruler must be more particular from [*sic*] his own countrymen than from the foreigners. I, therefore, most respectfully beg H.E. to keep these two facts in view, in case of Bengal. We must thank our Almighty God that our present Premier Khwaja Nazimuddin is above suspicion and is very reliable and trusted leader under whose control the Govt. of Bengal is going on very smoothly, specially at a time when H.E. is extremely busy in most important affairs of Dominion; but to strengthen his hand, central help is greatly needed so that he may be able to run the strong Govt. and evils may be nipped in the bud. For this, competent police officers and military from other provinces will be required to help him in his administration.

H.E. is known as a great disciplineer [*sic* for disciplinarian] as you took very strong action when H.E. had no power and it is regrettable that discipline is wanting in East Pakistan.

As regards help to the Muslims of the minority provinces, we want one help and only one that the Muslims of Pakistan be organised and make a strong Pakistan and this will solve our difficulties and the intended objects.

[*Portion missing*] interview in the presence of the Railway Officers so that I may show how the money of Pakistan was and is being wasted through their negligence and how they allow the growth of the provincialism.

I am,
Your Excellency's sincere and
obedient servant,
S. M. FAZAL HAQ QADRIE
Khadimul Mulk

167

Address by M. A. Jinnah to Gazetted Officers at Dacca[1]

22 March 1948

Now that freedom had been achieved, there was a revolutionary and fundamental change in the country, said the Quaid-i-Azam, in a short address at an informal meeting at his residence of the gazetted officers of the East Bengal Government.

Mr. Jinnah added that they, the officers, should fully realise that they were no longer under a foreign power, and that they were now serving the people of the country. The days of bureaucracy were gone for ever from Pakistan, and in their dealings with the people they should reflect this great change as servants of the people. It was not enough that they should act justly, but that the people should feel that justice has been done to them. He asked them to remember this in their interviews and dealings with the people.

The Quaid-i-Azam stressed the need for strict impartiality. He said that government officers should keep themselves aloof from politics. It was not [for them nor] should they align themselves with one political party or the other. They were to serve loyally and selflessly whatever political party was in power.

At the end of the address, he said, he was prepared to answer questions and clear any points, and when no questions were put he smilingly said, "It seems you agree with me. I wish you Godspeed."

[1]The *Morning News*, Calcutta, 24 March 1948.

168

Mohammad Solaiman to F.Amin

F. 216 (II)-GG/95

DACCA,
22 March 1948

Dear Sir,

This is just to inform you that we have started the Institute of Engineers, Pakistan, the opening ceremony of which is going to be performed by His Excellency the Governor of East Bengal on the 23rd March 1948, at 10-30 a.m. at the premises of the Institute at Ramna. We

synchronised this ceremony with the visit of Quaid-i-Azam hoping that he might be able to lay the foundation stone of the Institute but owing to his manifold engagements we feel that it will be asking too much to request him to come to the laying ceremony of the foundation stone. As such the members of the Council of the Institute of Engineers, Pakistan, earnestly request to be allowed to lay the foundation stone of this national institution which is already under preparation in his name.[1] Further it would give the members of the Council great encouragement if Quaid-i-Azam would be graciously pleased to send his blessings on the occasion of the inauguration ceremony of the Institute.

The presidential address, the report of the Secretary, and the programme of opening ceremony of the institution is enclosed[2] for the information of the Quaid-i-Azam.

Yours faithfully,
MOHAMMAD SOLAIMAN
President,
Institute of Engineers, Pakistan

[1]The request was granted. See No. 209.
[2]See F. 216(II)-GG/96-101. Not printed.

169

Mizanur Rahman to S.M.Yusuf

F. 120 (II)-GG/303

5 PALTAN ROAD,
DACCA,
22 March 1948

Dear Sir,

Enclosed[1] please find a copy of my *Shukrana,* a Bengali poem, specially composed on the occasion of the Quaid-i-Azam's first visit to East Pakistan. I shall be obliged if you kindly place it before Quaid-i-Azam. The English rendering of the poem is in the typed-sheet appended.

2. I am to explain that the poem is in Muslim Bengali interspersed with Islamic words freely used and usually understood by the Muslims of East Pakistan. It will be noticed that there is not much difference, except for the script, between this kind of Bengali and Urdu. This point has some importance in reference to the present language controversy. This feature is capable of facilitating ultimate fusion between Muslim Bengali and Urdu with the problem of script satisfactorily solved.

3. As the author of several books in Bengali, including translation and commentary on the Holy *Qur'an* in part, *Life & Message* of Allama Iqbal and translation of his *Shikwa* and *Jawab-i-Shikwa,* and as Hon. Secretary of the Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu, Bangala, since 1944, vide copy of the brochure enclosed,[2] I may claim some insight into these languages. I wonder whether a common name, say Pakistani, applied both to Urdu and Muslim Bengali which are mutually akin, could not solve the tangle of a common State language for Pakistan more satisfactorily. The term Pakistani is more appropriate for Pakistan's common State language. Perhaps there will be no opposition to Muslim Bengali being termed as Pakistani. In fact, the move is already in embryo over here.

Your sincerely,
MIZANUR RAHMAN
Deputy Secretary,
Govt. of East Bengal

See F. 120 (II)-GG/307-13. Not printed.
[2]See F. 120 (II)-GG/314-51. Not printed.

Enclosure to No. 169

F. 120 (II)-GG/304-6

HAIL QUAID-I-AZAM, HAIL
By
Mizanur Rahman

I

Enchanting is the world to-day,
Soul-stirring is Dacca with decoration gay,
Every house shining bright,
And every tongue shouting in delight
Hail in million voices, Hail,
Hail Quaid-i-Azam, Hail!

II

The heaven above is lit with light;
The earth below is humming with delight
In praise of Salimullah, the noble dead,
And in appreciation of the Leader Great.
The yonder Shah Bagh, for ages desolate,
Is replete once again with stirring strain
Of the Nation's League in that bower born

Out of the heart's desire of Dacca's Knight
And others of large-hearted lead and light.
The League Flag to-day is sky-embracing,
Thanks to Quaid-i-Azam's magnificent guiding,
Compelling admiration from the world unending.
All and sundry cry Hail,
In million voices Hail,
League of the Nation, Hail!

III

Now is free the land erstwhile in chain,
Now are the slaves in Freedom's vein.
The tales of shame no longer last,
The signs of sorrow are things of the past.
This day is the day of Festival
For Hindus, Christians, Muslims, all
United out of heart's inspiring call.
The slaves' sickening noise mars no more
The peace and bliss of this land of yore.
This day is the day of giving thanks,
This day is the day of making friends,
Of shaking hands with hands,
For assembled are we to-day on one platform
To pay our homage to beloved Quaid-i-Azam.
All and sundry cry Hail,
In million voices Hail,
The nation's Greatest Leader, Hail!

IV

Jinnah is our nation's soul,
Jinnah is our nation's honour's roll,
Jinnah is sincerity unalloyed.
His iron frame, slender as the sword,
Contains strength without measure,
And arguments without answer.
He is in the world without peer,
His position beyond compare,
And his never-failing gifts have made
Pakistan World's Fifth Largest State,
And ourselves Rulers of the same.
All and sundry cry Hail,
In million voices Hail,
Pride of the nation, Hail!

V

Listen, Muslims listen!
O self-forgotten, frail in faith,
Devoid of wisdom, weak in mind, listen!
Listen to the poet's trumpet-strain,
Stirring and magnificent:
In thy heart's sanctum is *Tauheed's* trust;
In thy hands hollow, held high aloft,
Flutters the Flag of Faith and trust
The star-bespangled crescent in sabre cast.
To destroy thy name, thy life's achievements,
Can never be a task of easy accomplishment.
Under the shadow of sword dost thou grow,
And for the sake of God dost thou come and go.
Muslims are ye, ever-ready for righteous fight;
Over thy heads shines the great torch of light
Radiating from the Holy *Qur'an*, thy heavenly guide,
The light eternal, celestial, bright.
All and sundry cry Hail,
In million voices Hail,
Light of the nation, Hail!

VI

Listen, confounded fools, listen:
Ye Muslims of the modern times,
Heedless, uninformed, crest-fallen,
Listen to the message true,
The old thing told anew.
It is thee who gave birth to modern lore,
Thy home is the world over to be sure;
For Ye are Muslims, with hearts illumined
By the eternal effulgent light
Emanating from the *Kalma* Divine;
There's no God but Allah Ever-Sublime.
And in the ocean of thy life rolls the tide
Of love for mankind
And brotherhood Divinely prescribed.
All and sundry cry Hail,
In million voices Hail,
Saviour of the nation, Hail!

VII

No dread, no fear need frighten thee,

The light of Islam is for ever to be.
In the long run, triumph it must,
If in thy heart's temple be the Trust
Of Faith, Unity, Discipline well-preserved,
As by the Nation's Trusted One emphasised.
Thy God is Allah, Exalted, Eternal, True;
Mighty is thy beloved Prophet too:
'Friend of Allah rightly appellationed,
Last of the Messengers Divinely commissioned.
By the magic wand of that hallowed name,
Hath Jinnah of undying fame
Given us Pakistan, with gifts Divine,
To make it a fragrant flower-shine.
With might and main cry Hail,
In million voices Hail,
Pakistan, the Holy Land, Hail!

VIII

With hearts open and hands upraised,
Let us pray to Allah, Durbar Great,
That in this world and the next,
And in the guiding of Pakistan State,
May Quaid-i-Azam complete success attain.
Let us make his strong hands stronger still
To tide over the troubles and dangers up-hill,
That may come and the path of Pakistan fill.
May Quaid-i-Azam Live Long and Hale!
May his name and fame for ever prevail!
Let All cry, Amen!
In million voices, Amen!
Hail Quaid-i-Azam, Hail!
With kith and kin, Hail!

Note. The poem was specially composed in Bengali and translated into English by the poet on the occasion of Quaid-i-Azam's first visit to East Pakistan on 19 March 1948.

170

Sri Prakasa to S.M. Yusuf

F. 120 (Vol. II)-GG/12

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR INDIA,
DAMODAR MAHAL,
KARACHI 5,
22 March 1948

My dear Mr. Yusuf,

I am glad to have your letter,[1] through Abdul Samad Khan. I had already made enquiries in this case and was expecting that the person concerned would have been released by now. I am taking up the matter again and shall inform you as soon as I am in a position to do so.

I am glad you have written to me direct. I hate formalities, and you may please address me direct whenever you may so like. Direct communication, besides creating pleasant personal contacts, helps to expedite business.

Hoping all is well,

Yours sincerely,
SRI PRAKASA

·No. 158.

171

Muhammad Toaha & Others to M. A. Jinnah

F. 216 (II)-GG/114-15

DACCA,
22 March 1948

Your Excellency,

We, the representatives of various institutions of Dacca, have the honour to state that, in supporting the demand of Bengali to be one of the two State languages of Pakistan, we place the following reasons:

But before we state the reasons we must be frank and clear about some points. The movement for Bengali language is a spontaneous movement of the whole population of Eastern Pakistan and it is not backed or guided by any communists, foreign agents or saboteurs as our Hon'ble Prime Minister himself admitted in his statement of 16th

March 1948.[1] We are fully aware of the activities of our enemies, who want to take undue advantage out of the movement to destroy Pakistan.

We consider Pakistan dearer to us than our blood and we assure our Quaid-i-Azam that we shall face even death before we allow our enemies any opportunity. We know that narrow provincialism and separatism are dangerously detrimental to the building up of Pakistan, and the Bengali-non-Bengali question is propaganda of our enemies, to create division between Muslims. We clearly understand that unity and solidarity amongst the Muslims are needed more at present than at any other time. We strongly believe that those who still foster the idea of East Bengal joining the Indian Union are living in a dreamland as Your Excellency declared yesterday.[2] And we completely dissociate ourselves from these disruptive elements.

Now, to support our demand of Bengali as one of the two State languages of Pakistan, we place before Your Excellency the following points:

i. that, cent per cent of the people of Eastern Pakistan, who constitute about two-thirds of the whole population of Pakistan, want that Bengali should be one of the two State languages of Pakistan on the ground of "greatest good for greatest number".
ii. that, the people of Eastern Pakistan believe that in building up a strong and powerful nation of the people of Pakistan, adoption of Bengali as one of the State languages will be a stronger cementing work than anything else.
iii. that, there are States in the world which have more than one State language and are facing no difficulty in running their administration.
iv. that, it is the conviction of the people of Eastern Pakistan that difference of language is not a bar against preserving the Islamic brotherhood and solidarity for, in spite of differences of languages, they feel that they are brothers of the Muslims of Arabia, Turkey and Persia, indeed of the whole Muslim world.
v. that, the people of Eastern Pakistan are aware of the dangers of narrow provincialism and their demand is not to displace Urdu but to maintain it as they want to maintain Bengali.
vi. that, in every other country of the world a language spoken by the majority of the population, has been adopted as State language, such as U.S.A.
vii. that, we think that the only way for the political, educational and economic upliftment [*sic*] of the vast majority of the people of Pakistan is not the adoption of the language which is not even

understood by them; but the adoption of a language which is ingrained in their blood.

We have the honour to be,

Your Excellency,

M[UHAMMA]D TOAHA
Vice President, F.H. Muslim Hall Union
ABDUS SABUR CHOWDHURI
Engineering College
NURUL AHMED CHOWDHRI
Agricultural College
MOMINUL HUQ
Dacca Medical College

[1]Not traceable.
[2]See No. 162.

172

Abdul Hamid to M. A. Jinnah

F. 216 (II)-GG/111

5 ABDUL GHANI ROAD, RAMNA,
DACCA,
22 March 1948

Your Excellency,

I am sending herewith a resolution of the Chandpur Teachers' Guild which has been sent to me for delivery to Your Excellency.

Yours obediently,
ABDUL HAMID

Enclosure to No. 172
Jatindra Kumar Datta to Abdul Hamid

F. 216 (II)-GG/112

CHANDPUR,
17 March 1948

Sir,

I have the honour to submit herein a copy of resolution No. 3 adopted by the Chandpur Teachers' Guild on 12.3.48 for favour of your kind communication to His Excellency the Governor-General of Pakistan.

Resolved that this Guild expresses its implicit faith in the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the Governor-General of Pakistan.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
JATINDRA KUMAR DATTA
B.A.
Secretary,
Chandpur Teachers Guild

The Hon'ble Mr Abdul Hamid,
Minister of Education, Eastern Pakistan
Dacca

173

A. M. Nasiruddin to D. K. Power

F. 216 (II)-GG/294

BY SPECIAL MESSENGER

DISTRICT MAGISTRATE'S HOUSE,
CHITTAGONG,
23 March 1948

My dear Power,

I enclose herewith a draft address to be presented to Quaid-i-Azam by the Reception Committee, Chittagong, and another[1] to be presented to Miss Fatima Jinnah by the Ladies' Reception Committee of Chittagong. Kindly intimate approval and let me know same through the Military Secretary to the Governor-General, who is coming here tomorrow afternoon by plane.

Yours sincerely,
A. M. NASIRUDDIN

D. K. Power, Esq., P.A.S.
Dy. Secretary, Home (Political) Dept.
East Bengal Secretariat
Ramna, Dacca`

[1]Not traceable.

Enclosure to No. 173
Draft[1] *Address of Welcome to M. A. Jinnah at a Public Reception at Chittagong*

F. 216 (II)-GG/295-8

May it please you, Quaid-i-Azam,

On this auspicious occasion of your first visit to Chittagong, the Eastern gateway of Pakistan, we, the members of the Reception Committee, representing the people of Chittagong and their various public institutions, have the proud privilege of offering you our respectful welcome. It is indeed a red letter day in the history of Chittagong.

You, Sir, must indeed rank as one who has achieved a miracle in the history of the human race in its evolutionary quest for ever-widening freedom. With joy and gratitude, we pay our homage of love and affection for all that you have achieved for us.

It is your selfless sacrifice, constant solicitude and untiring patience that have nursed the Muslim League from infancy to mature strength when its voice has to be recognised as the voice of the nation. Against tremendous odds, and in spite of many a gale and storm, in spite of deserters and self-seeking saboteurs, you have piloted the ship with the greatest determination and wisdom till it safely reached the port of destination to the great wonder of the world and the utter bewilderment of our enemies.

You are, Sir, the architect and builder of Pakistan, and to its people, you, Sir, are the gift of God. All the high hopes of the nation are centred around you. Inspired by hope and ambition, we would venture to address a few words to you.

We hope and trust that Pakistan will be based on the sure foundations of social justice and Islamic socialism, which emphasise the equality and brotherhood of man. There should be equal opportunity for all.

Whilst recognising the importance of discipline and restraint, we feel that the old bureaucratic outlook of the administration, wherever it exists, should change and give place to a new order of friendly and helpful co-operation with the citizens on the part of public servants, who should dedicate themselves to the service of the people. Nepotism and corruption, the root causes of so much suffering and heartburning, should be ruthlessly uprooted from every branch of the administration, and we would submit, Sir, that equally important is that the people of the land should have that essential confidence which is alone derived from an honest and selfless administration.

The main concern of the Government should be the raising of the standard of living of the people which is appallingly low in East

Bengal. A comprehensive programme of social service should be drawn up and the Muslim League and other public organisations should concentrate on working it out in co-operation with the Government. We realise, Sir, that under your superb leadership, the priceless treasure of political freedom has been won. Now we have to build economic freedom—freedom from want for our people. For this, the need for industrialisation is paramount. Both large and small industries, including cottage and domestic industries, should be set up either by the State or with the assistance of the State. Mechanisation of agriculture and extensive use of fertilisers are urgently needed for stepping up agricultural production. Agriculture being the main occupation of our people, should receive the greatest attention from Government. Cheap power is the pre-requisite of any industrial planning. In the absence of coal and oil, hydro-electric power should be developed on a wide scale. One such project for this area, known as the Barkal Hydro-Electrical Project,[2] has been engaging the attention of the Government for some considerable time though no substantial progress has been made till now.

Chittagong, known as Islamabad in the past, has been a historic place throughout the efflux of centuries. Its geographical and strategic position attracted the Arabs, the Portuguese, Arakanese, Pathans, Mughals and the British, but the dominant influence has been throughout that of Islam. As the only seaport of East Bengal with a vast hinterland, in the past it was an important centre of trade and commerce with many foreign countries. But during the last two hundred years, the development of this port was grossly neglected due to the colossal growth of Calcutta at the expense of all other places in Bengal. With the establishment of Pakistan, Chittagong, as a port, has at last a chance to shed the domination of Calcutta. It is by nature fitted to be a major port on the coastline of this subcontinent and by nature too, in proximity is found the largest area of jute production in the world. Much prosperity, wealth and happiness could result not only to the population of Eastern Pakistan but to the people of the entire State if the port were developed to be really one commensurate to the very considerable extent of jute export that should rightly flow from it. We pray, Sir, that everything possible be done by Government to expedite port development and high priority be given to the procurement of all necessary materials for this purpose. Chittagong should also be the port of embarkation for the pilgrims of East Bengal. Both the banks of the River Karnafuli should hum with the buzz of industries, big and small. The improvement of the city on modern lines would transform it into one of the most beautiful cities of the East. Nature has endowed

Chittagong lavishly, but we have made a mess of it, mostly due to lack of funds. During the last two years unprecedented and recurrent floods had caused terrible havoc to the district. Irrigation projects with a view to control floods should receive high priority. Development of communication, which is of utmost importance to the economy and defence of the country, should engage the serious attention of the Central Govt. As Chittagong verges on two foreign countries, the road and rail communication of Chittagong should be extended up to the frontiers of India and Burma. We earnestly hope that in making future recruitment to the three Defence Forces of Pakistan, the people of Eastern Pakistan should receive their adequate share so that they may have equal opportunities of serving the State. We hope the training centres of Pakistan Army, Navy and Air Force may be established in Chittagong in the near future. The sailors of Chittagong have a fine record of seamanship to their credit. Their courage and devotion to duty had earned them much praise. Fine sailing ships, built in Chittagong, once used to sail the seven seas of the world. With the advent of steamships and foreign domination our shipping industry declined rapidly. But the lure of the sea still continues to exercise its spell over our people. We hope that Chittagong will soon regain its lost glory for building and sailing fine ships. A dry dock should be put up at Chittagong for meeting the needs of the navy and mercantile marine. With our long coast-line, we need a strong merchant navy for trade as well as for defence. Shipping industry should receive all encouragement and active help from the State.

As Chittagong will be an industrial centre of great importance, we hope that well-planned development of the city should [*sic*] be undertaken without further loss of time. We hope that Chittagong will be provided with a university, having a full-fledged engineering college, a polytechnical institute, a well-equipped medical college and women's college. One university for a population of more than forty million is totally inadequate. Primary education should be made free and compulsory for all. Adult education should receive a great impetus from the Central as well as Provincial Governments.

Sir, the great distance of Karachi from East Bengal and the difficulties of communication have resulted in a feeling of isolation from the Centre. We deeply appreciate your recent announcement at Dacca[3] that you, Sir, and the Ministers of your Government will in future spend considerable time in East Bengal in our midst.

We pray to God the Almighty that He may grant our beloved Quaid-i-Azam a long life and good health so that he may consolidate and build Pakistan as one of the most prosperous and powerful States

of the world, based on the foundations of justice, peace and equality of men. We pray further that may *Allah* endow noble Miss Fatima Jinnah, your beloved sister, with health and strength to help and sustain you in the discharge of the onerous task of your exalted office.

We pledge our love, loyalty and devotion to you and your Government in all your actions and policies.

Pakistan Zindabad!

We beg to subscribe ourselves,
Your humble admirers,
MEMBERS OF THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE

[1]The Address was presented to Jinnah on 26 March 1948. For Jinnah's reply, see No. 202
[2]The dam was built at Kaptai in Chittagong Hill Tracts.
[3]No. 160.

174

Bharat Chandra Sircar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 216 (II)-GG/254-7

43 GOVINDA DAS LANE,
DACCA,
23 March 1948

May it please Your Excellency,

The All Bengal Scheduled Castes Federation deems it a great privilege to convey its message of goodwill and sympathy to the Eastern Pakistan Dominion [*sic*] and expresses its felicitation at the exalted position and unique honour that has been bestowed upon Your Excellency as the Governor-General of Pakistan Dominion.

On this momentous occasion, it is but just and proper that this Federation should enlighten Your Excellency on its genesis, aims, objects and the useful works done in the past for the amelioration of the condition of the scheduled classes [*sic* for castes] who have been intellectually, politically and economically backward and are yet to wait for long to attain the full stature of manhood, if not nationhood, for gubernatorial aid and assistance in that direction. The All Bengal Scheduled Castes Federation, therefore, takes the liberty of presenting before you an idea of its gradual development since its inception and the mutual relation between the Pakistan Government and its people so

far as the Scheduled Castes are concerned, which is as follows:

1. That it is with an eye to the upliftment [*sic*] of the Depressed Classes of the Hindu community from the deepest mire of ignorance, illiteracy and chronic poverty that originally the All Bengal Depressed Classes Federation came into being in the year 1932 with the late lamented Rai Bahadur Reboti Mohan Sircar, the then M.L.C. as its President and Mr. Amulyadhan Roy, ex-M.L.C. as its Secretary, and later on Mr. Jajneswar Mondal, M.A., B.L., Advocate, High Court, as its Secretary.

2. That this Federation, which was registered under the Indian Companies Act of 1931, received its due recognition from the Government and it is to be noted with pleasure that on the historic occasion of presenting the views of the Federation before the Statutory Commission[1] about the constitutional advancement of India, the All Bengal Depressed Classes Federation received a new light from Sir John Simon as to the desirability of reorganising the Federation on a more comprehensive basis and bringing within its fold the various sections of the Scheduled Castes whereupon the leading members of the Federation put their heads together and appreciated the precious suggestion of that august personage and ultimately the All Bengal Depressed Classes Federation was transformed into and renamed as the All Bengal Scheduled Castes Federation in the year 1932.

[*Para 3 omitted*]

4. That keeping in view the problems of education, health, sanitation and economic and industrial improvement of the Scheduled Castes, for their solution with the State help and support, the All Bengal Scheduled Castes Federation solemnly affirms its loyalty to the Eastern Pakistan Government and is ever ready to extend its hand of fellow-feeling, love and comradeship to the Pakistan Government of which Your Excellency is the supreme head.

5. That be it mentioned here in this connection that the All Bengal Scheduled Castes Federation, drawing its inspiration from the All Bengal Namasudra Association, solemnly affirms its firm faith in the stability of Your Excellency's Government and is pledged to fight against all disruptive forces undermining the Pakistan Government and disturbing the communal peace and harmony in the country.

6. That in view of the inauguration of the Pakistan Dominion on the achievement of the long cherished goal of India's independence, it is earnestly believed that the All Bengal Scheduled Castes Federation will not be deprived of its legitimate share of rights and privileges, political or otherwise, at Your Excellency's generous hands in the

administration of the Government and in the distribution of the services at the disposal of Your Excellency's Government.

Soliciting the favour of Your Excellency's patronage, help and support.

I am,

Your Excellency's gracious goodness,

Your Excellency's most loyal,

faithful and devoted servant,

BHARAT CHANDRA SIRCAR

Secretary,

The All Bengal Scheduled Castes Federation

[1]The Commission, better known as the Simon Commission, was appointed by the British Government in 1927 to review the working of the constitutional reforms introduced in India in 1919 and to recommend further expansion of self-government.

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Ahmed Ayoob to M. A. Khuhro
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 120 (Vol. II)-GG/235-6

OPP. KHORI GARDEN,
KARACHI-2,
23 March 1948

Sir,

Under instruction from Lady Adamji Haji Dawood, I beg to place the following for your favourable consideration:

You are doubtless aware that Sir Adamji breathed his last in Karachi about two months back. He had vast business and industrial enterprise in Burma and India. With the establishment of Pakistan, he transferred major portion of his business and industrial connections to Karachi in Pakistan. Very large sums of money had been invested by him in establishing very many businesses and industries after the mass exodus of the Hindu merchants from Pakistan.

The late Sir Adamji called even his own personal family from Calcutta to Karachi. With a view to finding a decent shelter for his family, in consonance with the dignity and prestige which he occupied in the business and public life of our country, he bought a house at Clifton. Unfortunately, we were told that the needs of the country were greater than ourselves. This house was requisitioned for Hon'ble Mr. Mandal.

We had naturally to look out for another good house for our family.

The late Sir Adamji, thereafter, bought another house named Shanti Bhavan at Clayton Road. The transaction was complete and we were about to move into the said bungalow. Just then, an immediate order [came] that this house was requisitioned for Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Minister for Communications. We were told that as his previous house was under repairs, he would vacate this house in a couple of months. As soon as he vacates it, it will be handed over to us. We may mention here that the furniture alone is worth about Rs. 60,000.

We learn now that Hon'ble Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar is vacating this house within a few days. As our family is very large and we are desperately in need of a good house for ourselves, we shall thank you to please instruct the Rent Controller to issue an allotment order in our favour for Shanti Bhawan on Clayton Road.

Thanking you in advance,

Yours faithfully,
AHMED AYOOB

The Honourable Premier,
Government of Sind,
Karachi

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Mahomedali Habib to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. II)-GG/418-9

LAKSHMI BUILDING,
BUNDER ROAD,
KARACHI,
23 March 1948

Your Excellency,

I beg to inform you with great regret that my nephew Dostmahomed, the General Manager of Habib Bank, died as a result of an injection administered by Dr. A. G. Qureshi, Additional Assistant Deputy Health Officer, Karachi Municipal Corporation.

Mr. Dostmahomed was to have gone for *ziarat* to Karbala Sharif and as per regulations he had to take anti-plague inoculation on 6th March 1948. As a result of this inoculation, the late Mr. Dostmahomed developed tetanus on 13th March. Dr Mahomedali Mistry, M.R.C.P., M. D. (Lond.), Col. Shah, Pakistan Central Hospital, Col. Rehman, Personal

Physician to His Excellency Governor-General, Surgeon Habib Patel, Dr. Gustad Mehta, Dr. Khan of the Civil Hospital, Karachi, all treated him. Mr. Dostmahomed succumbed to the disease of tetanus within 27 hours and died on 14th March.

I have come to know from Col. Shah of another case of tetanus and yet a third case from Dr. Gustad Mehta from the same cause and I do not know how many more poor and ignorant people are being killed. The purpose of this letter is not that action should be taken against Dr. Qureshi, but an enquiry committee may be appointed to investigate the reasons and causes which are killing innocent pilgrims.[1] My doctors say there are only two reasons which could bring on this terrible disease to the victims. One is bad serum and the other is that the injection syringe and needles are not sterilised or disinfected after each inoculation.

Yours faithfully,

MAHOMEDALI HABIB

Jinnah expressed his grief over the fatal incident and forwarded the letter to the concerned authority for enquiry. See F. 120 (Vol. II)-GG/420. Not printed.

177

S. Moin Uddin Chishty to M. A. Jinnah

F. 200-GG/3

CHISHTY BROTHERS,
ARCHITECTS AND ENGINEERS,
THE MALL, LAHORE,
23 March 1948

Your Excellency,

In consequence of the mass migration, unparalleled in the history of the world, the public as well as the Government are faced with the acute problems of rehabilitation. [Because of] the scarcity of area, shortage of capital and non-availability of building material, the housing of refugees has become a problem. Keeping all the circumstances in view, I have compiled a book and have thereby tried, with the technical knowledge and experience at my command, to make rehabilitation easy and practical. These proposals have been lined out [*sic*] on paper in the form of plans, photographs and perspective views. This book will be the first of its kind in the Dominion of Pakistan. I need not stress the necessity of such a literature in the newly born Muslim State

as it is well-known to all concerned. It is my earnest desire to present this book to Your Excellency in person and place before you some suggestions regarding its publication. I shall be extremely indebted if suitable time and date is given to me for this purpose in the near future.[1]

Your Excellency's humble servant,
S. MOIN UDDIN CHISHTY
Architect

[1]F. Amin regretted that Jinnah could not find the time to grant an interview. See F. 200-GG/4. Not printed.

178

Evelyn Wrench to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. II)-GG/8

THE *SPECTATOR*,
99 GOVER STREET,
LONDON,
23 March 1948

Dear Jinnah Sahib,

I wonder if I might bother you about this matter? On our return from America ten days ago, we received the enclosed letter[1] from our Muslim bearer, Abdul Majid, from Lahore. He was with us for two years during our stay in India and on the occasion when you attended the meeting of American journalists at the Hotel Cecil at the beginning of 1944, he ushered in the guests.

He seems to have had, like so many Muslims, a very bad time and I wondered if there was some way in which he could be utilised. He always served me faithfully and was in the Indian Army originally, serving up on the Khyber Pass.

During our stay of several months in North America, I was glad to find that there were many more people beginning to understand the Muslim point of view. I had the pleasure of talking with my friend, the Pakistan Charge d'affaires, Major [M.O.A.] Baig, at Washington when we lunched with the Indian Ambassador.

With all good wishes to you and Miss Jinnah,[2] and hoping that

ever-increasing prosperity lies before Pakistan,

Yours very sincerely,
EVELYN WRENCH

[1]See F. 120 (Vol. II)-GG/9. Not printed.
[2]Jinnah thanked him for the letter. See F. 120 (Vol. II)-GG/10. Not printed

179

S. M. Yusuf to N. N. A. Kureshi

F. 120 (Vol. II)-GG/188

23 March 1948

My dear Kureshi,

Please refer to your d.o. No. W (GS)-384, dated the 17th March, 1948.[1] Most of the specimens of minerals brought by Mr. Karim Buksh Ali Mohammed are with Pir Illahi Bakhsh, Minister for Education, Sind, and may be had from him for examination by experts. The few specimens available with Quaid-i-Azam will be sent, if considered necessary, by the Ministry of Commerce, Industries and Works, after they have contacted Pir Illahi Bakhsh in the matter.

Yours sincerely,
S. M. YUSUF

N.N.A. Kureshi, Esq.,
Under Secretary,
Ministry of Commerce, Industries and Works,
Karachi

[1]No. 152.

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M. A. Jinnah to George Cunningham

Telegram, F. 221 (II)-GG/10

DACCA,
23 March 1948

MOST IMMEDIATE

Your communication received.[1] Making arrangements relieve you as soon as possible. I am not inclined to cancel my Frontier programme. Please put immediately most senior political officer in charge of arrangements

of my visit programme. Would appreciate if you send me immediately panel of names who may act for you.

M. A. JINNAH

[1]See F. 221(II)-GG/9. Not printed.

181

Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 221 (II)-GG/12

TOP SECRET
No. 1014

KARACHI
23 March 1948

Your telegram No. 6 of March 23rd.[1]

I am very sorry that Sir George Cunningham has been [word missing] and wants to be relieved immediately. I agree that till final arrangements are made Dundas should act for Cunningham and Savidge for Dundas. I shall discuss permanent arrangement with you on your return.

[1]Jinnah had informed Liaquat that in view of illness of Cunningham, Dundas would act as Governor, NWFP, and Savidge (Revenue Commissioner) as Agent to the GG in Baluchistan requesting, however, that he suggest any better names before final choice was made. See F. 221 (II)-GG/11. Not printed.

182

S. M. Ahmed to M. A. Jinnah

F. 216 (Vol. II)-GG/288

13/21 PLASSEY BARRACKS,
DACCA,
24 March 1948

Oh Quaid-i-Azam!

My *salaam* to you, the Father of Pakistan— the father of our freedom. *Allah* hath not given you a son, for He wanted you to be the father of the helpless Muslim community in India.

Quaid-i-Azam! You are Governor-General of Pakistan, but you are not in rest even at this age of yours. *Allah* hath, certainly, built a place of comfort and happiness for you in Paradise—the *Jannat al-Firdous*. May *Allah* bless you in the life of eternity.

Quaid-i-Azam! This is a poor young man, writing to you these few lines from a little cottage in Dacca, on the occasion of your kind visit to East Bengal, who also sent a piece of paper to you through the Hon'ble Prime Minister Alhaaj Khwaja Nazimuddin.

Quaid-i-Azam! It is my long cherished aspiration to speak with you personally at least once in my life; but I do not know whether God will give me this opportunity. Who knows whether I will have to leave this material world earlier or you!

Quaid-i-Azam! I have nothing to tell you for my personal gain, but for the mission of my life—the welfare and reconstruction of the present Muslim community. I also submit three sheets of printed paper[1] for your kind perusal.

May it please you, now, Quaid-i-Azam, to call me to speak with you for a minute or two, during your stay in East Bengal.

May it also please you, Quaid-i-Azam, to say a good word to me, if I have done any little amount of good work, and if you think that I can do some more in future.

Long Live our Quaid-i-Azam!
Long Live our Pakistan!

A poor servant of the nation,
S. M. AHMED

[1]Enclosures 1&2.

Enclosure 1 to No. 182

F. 216 (Vol. II)-GG/293

[DACCA,
August 1947]

BEWARE OF THE ENEMY OF PAKISTAN[1]

Dearly beloved brethren-in-Islam!

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Do you know your enemies are strengthening their footing to destroy your Pakistan which you have won after a long fight of fifteen years? If you do not know it now—know in time. Your enemies are those who are tactfully and silently trying [their] utmost to embarrass the administration. They are living with you, but you do not

know them. These men cannot take a little pain when other people are dying for a morsel of food and when we cannot provide our mothers and sisters with a piece of cloth.

Brethren! It is true that we are suffering for want of proper accommodation, good quality food, adequate supply of water, etc.; yet we have to realise that some one in the administration is not in possession of "Aladin's Lamp". We must enquire whether all concerned in this great task are sincerely working with a spirit of co-operation. We cannot throw the blame on one or two. It is the difficult task of ours to put the wheel in order.

Brethren! The day has come when you must consider the difficult situation through which we are passing, what resources we have got in Eastern Pakistan as a result of partition of Bengal by the British arbitration. Moreover, the Premier is extremely busy with our flood-stricken brothers in Chittagong and Noakhali, Bihar refugees in Jessore District and other places. There are other problems, viz. getting supply of foodstuff, textile, coal, etc. There is also difficulty of communication with Western Pakistan.

Brethren! Do you realise what situation you are creating by your provincialism? Why you forget that you have got Pakistan at the cost of your brothers' interest, who have been in Hindustan? Don't you like your brothers to come to your side and live with you? Will it be wise to send them back to their places and make room for your enemies with whom you have fought so long? For heaven's sake, don't be ungrateful, unjust and envious. By *Allah*, you do not forget the teachings, ideals, fundamental principles and practice of your religion—Islam. Please don't forget your identity that you are Muslim first of all. If you forget all these, it will be an invitation to your own destruction. *Allah* will not come down to help you unless you obey His law.

In conclusion, we should say that our Government is not up to the standard, for this is the same form of Government under British imperialism. British have withdrawn, but we have not yet been able to withdraw their system of administration wholly. It will take time. So we don't like to give a blow to the administration of the eastern part of Pakistan Dominion, just at its infant stage, although we are suffering beyond description. Let us be established through various hardships, then we will take up matters which stand against our leaders. We will see what is wrong with them. We appeal to every member of the Pakistan Dominion to consider that this is not the proper time to judge. Let us wait, have patience for sometime, and be prepared for a struggle for

the Right and the Truth. Remember that our enemies are trying both inside and outside the Dominion to kill the "Baby Pakistan".

Pakistan Zindabad!

Fraternally yours,
S. M. AHMED
Secretary, Pakistan Youngmen's Welfare League
MD. SHAMSUR RAHMAN

[1]Issued on behalf of the Pakistan Youngmen's Welfare League, Dacca.

Enclosure 2 to No. 182

F. 216 (Vol. II)-GG/291-2

DACCA,
30 September 1947

AVOID INTER-CONFLICTS IN PAKISAN[1]

Brethren-in-Islam!
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

After we have issued our first manifesto—Beware of the Enemy of Pakistan,[2] misunderstanding arose in certain quarters that we attacked some group of people as enemies. It was not our intention to call our brethren as enemies, but we simply warned them that there were enemies of Pakistan.

Brethren! In these days of crisis—what should be our duty towards Pakistan—should be the question of each and every soul who loves Pakistan. It has been examined that the Pakistan Baby has inherited some disease from her parents; but we will have to give the baby a better treatment. She must recover and for this, we will have to keep patience. We must obey our Doctor-in-Chief, the Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. The disease is not incurable. After a little patience we will be able to give our Pakistan a complete, new and perfect shape. The Government of Pakistan and its provinces will be on the perfect democratic principles of Islam. The reign of Islam—the truth will prevail everywhere and the untruth will surely die. The day is fast approaching when the Government, its highly paid officers and greedy contractors will realise their mistakes. All of them will come in one rank and in one file [*sic*] with their poor brethren.

Brethren! The problem of provincialism is rising to its height day by day. Punjabis (to say up-country men) are thinking to rule over Bengalees and Bengalees are thinking of "Bengal for Bengalees". For

these, none is to blame but the enemies who are exciting [*sic*] some of these Punjabis and Bengalees. Now every Punjabi and up-country man should feel that they are sincerely for the service of East Pakistan giving up their feeling of superiority over Bengalee Muslims and every Bengalee should welcome Punjabis and up-country men as their own brothers. Punjabis should know that they have come to a land of poverty and Bengalees should think in terms of others' sufferings and sacrifices for the sake of Pakistan. We should be careful that our enemies may not take advantage of the situation. None should think in terms of Bengalee or Punjabi. We all belong to Pakistan and are nothing but Pakistanis.

Brethren! In case of any difference of opinion or dispute, let us sit together and discuss it. If that is not settled in this way, and if we have the courage to fight for the right, then let us refer the matter to some wise men or direct to Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah. There is no good, no courage and morality in attacking or insulting the man who is a friend in our need.

Brethren! There was a time when the Musalmans ruled gloriously throughout the length and breadth of Hindustan. Although to-day we have got a truncated Pakistan, we are happy that we have got our independence which has brought an opportunity for us to develop again according to our traditional genius. Considering this, it is a matter of regret that from the very beginning-the fifth-columnist is at work and he has succeeded in enlisting support of some of our misguided Muslim brethren. If this continues, the day is not far off when other nations will say that the beginning of our history was also its end. Our brethren in western Pakistan who, at the moment, are busy surmounting enormous difficulties resulting from bloodshed and massacre in East Punjab, Delhi and other parts of Hindustan, will then say that Bengal which produced Mir Jaffar in the 17th century [*sic*] has again held up the progress by producing fifth-columnists when we were embarking on our career and destiny of national glory. We, therefore, consider it necessary to warn the nation at this stage. If we retrace the dangerous steps which we have already taken, the nation will be saved. But if we continue along these lines, we are doomed to disaster.

Pakistan Zindabad!

Fraternally yours,
S. M. AHMED

[1]Issued on behalf of the Pakistan Youngmen's Welfare League, Dacca.
[2]See F. 216 (II)-GG/293. Not printed.

183

M. Ikramullah to Secretary, External Affairs, Colombo

Telegram, F. 125 (17)-GG/1

SECRET/IMPORTANT *24 March 1948*

Your telegram No. 7-Publex March 16th.[1] Unless we hear to the contrary, suggest following press announcement be made simultaneously in Karachi and Colombo on 30th repeat 30th March. *Begins*: Being desirous of maintaining and further strengthening the existing relations between their two countries, Governments of Pakistan and Ceylon have decided to exchange diplomatic representatives at High Commissioner level. *Ends*.

[1]Not traceable.

184

Draft of the Address by M. A. Jinnah to the Convocation at Dacca University[1]

F. 216 (Vol. II)-GG/50-7

[24] *March 1948*

Mr. Chancellor, Ladies and Gentlemen!

When I was approached by your Vice-Chancellor with a request to deliver the convocation address, I made it quite clear to him that there were so many calls on my time that I could not possibly prepare a formal convocation address on an academic level of arts, literature, science, philosophy and law. I did, however, promise to say a few words to the students on this occasion and it is in fulfilment of that promise that I address you now.

In doing so, let me state at once that I speak not as the Head of the State but as a friend and as one who has always held you in affection. Many of you have come to the end of your scholastic career and stand at the threshold of life. Unlike your predecessors, you fortunately leave this University to enter life under a sovereign independent State of your own. It is necessary that you and your other fellow students fully understand the implications of the revolutionary change that took place on the birth of Pakistan. We have broken the shackles of slavery; we are now a free people. Our State is our own State; our Government is our own Government, not the agent of any foreign power but a Government

of the people, responsible to the people of this State, working for the good of this State. Freedom, however, does not mean licence. It does not mean that you can now behave just as you please, do what you like irrespective of the interests of other people or of the State, as now, a very great responsibility rests on you. On the contrary, now more than ever, it is necessary for us to work as a united and a disciplined nation. What is now required of us all is constructive spirit to build and not militant spirit when we are fighting for our freedom.

Let me tell you something of the difficulties that we have overcome, [and] of the dangers that still lie ahead. Thwarted in their desire to prevent the establishment of Pakistan, our enemies turned their attention to finding the ways and means of weakening and destroying it. Thus, hardly had the new State come into being when came the Punjab and Delhi holocaust. Thousands of men, women and children were mercilessly butchered and millions were uprooted from their homes. Over 50 lakhs of these arrived in the Punjab within a matter of weeks. The care and rehabilitation of these unfortunate refugees, stricken in body and in soul, presented problems which might well have destroyed many a well-established State. But those of our enemies who had hoped to kill Pakistan at its inception by these means were disappointed. Not only has Pakistan survived the shock of that upheaval, it has emerged stronger and more chastened and better equipped than ever.

There followed in rapid succession other difficulties, such as the withholding by India of our cash balances, of our share of military equipment, and latterly the institution of an almost complete economic blockade of your province. I have no doubt that all right-thinking men in the Indian Dominion deplore these happenings and I am sure the attitude of mind that has been responsible for them will change, but it is essential that you should take note of these developments. They stress the importance of continued vigilance on our part. Of late, the attack on your province particularly has taken a subtler form. Our enemies, among whom I regret to say there are still some Muslims, have set about actively encouraging provincialism in the hope of weakening Pakistan and thereby facilitating the reabsorption of this province into the Indian Dominion. Those who are playing this game are living in a Fool's Paradise, but this does not prevent them from trying. A flood of a false propaganda is being daily put forth with the object of undermining the solidarity of the Muslims of this State and inciting people to commit acts of lawlessness. The recent language controversy, in which, I am sorry to note, some of you allowed yourself to get involved even after your Prime Minister had clarified the position, is only one of the many subtle ways whereby the

poison of provincialism is being sedulously injected into this province. Does it not strike you as rather odd that a certain section of the Indian press to whom the very name of Pakistan is anathema should in the matter of the language controversy, set itself up as the champion of what it calls your "just rights"? Is it not significant that the very persons who in the past have betrayed the Muslims or fought against Pakistan, which is after all merely the embodiment of your fundamental right of self-determination, should now suddenly pose as the saviours of your just rights, and incite you to defy the Government on the question of language? I must warn you to beware of these fifth columnists.

Let me restate my views on the question of a State language for Pakistan. For official use in this province, the people of the province can choose any language they wish. This question will be decided solely in accordance with the wishes of the people of this province alone, as freely expressed through their accredited representatives at the appropriate time and after full and dispassionate consideration. There can, however, be only one *lingua franca*, that is, the language for intercommunication between the various provinces of this State, and that language should be Urdu.

Its State language must obviously be Urdu, a language that has been nurtured by a hundred million Muslims of this sub-continent, a language understood throughout the length and breadth of Pakistan and, above all, a language which, more than any other provincial language, embodies the best that is in Islamic culture and Muslim tradition and is nearest to the languages used in other Islamic countries. It is not without significance that Urdu has been driven out of the Indian Dominion and that even the official use of the Urdu script has been disallowed.

These facts are fully known to the people who have tried to exploit the language controversy in order to stir up trouble. There was no justification for agitation but it did not suit their purpose to admit this. Their sole object in exploiting this controversy is to create a split amongst the Muslims of this State, as indeed they have made no secret of their efforts to incite hatred against non-Bengali Muslims. Realising, however, that the statement that your Prime Minister made on the language controversy on return from Karachi left no room for agitation, in so far as it conceded the right of the people of this province to choose Bengali as their official language if they so wished, these persons changed their tactics. They started to demand that Bengali should be the State language of the Pakistan Centre and since they could not overlook the obvious claims of Urdu as the official language of a Muslim State, they proceeded to demand that both Bengali and Urdu

should be the State languages of Pakistan. Make no mistake about it. There can only be one State language, if the component parts of this State are to march forward in unison. And that language, in my opinion, can only be Urdu.

I have spoken at some length on this subject so as to warn you of the kind of tactics adopted by the enemies of Pakistan and certain opportunist politicians to try to disrupt this State or to discredit the Government. Those of you who are about to enter life, be on your guard against these people. Those of you who have still to continue your studies for sometime, do not allow yourself to be exploited by any political party or self-seeking politician. As I said the other day, your main occupation should be—in fairness to yourselves, in fairness to your parents and indeed in fairness to the State—to devote your attention solely to your studies. It is only thus that you can equip yourselves for the battle of life that lies ahead of you. Only thus will you be an asset and a source of strength and of pride to your State. Only thus can you assist it in solving the great social and economic problems that confront it and enable it to reach its destined goal among the most progressive and strongest nations of the world.

[1]Also see Yusufi, *Speeches of Quaid-i-Azam*, IV, 2722-8.

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Memorandum by Muslim League Members of the East Bengal Legislative Assembly from Sylhet

F. 216 (Vol. II)-GG/299-301

DACCA,
24 March 1948

May it please Quaid-i-Azam,

Most humbly and respectfully we beg to lay the following matters before Your Excellency for Your Excellency's very kind consideration:

1. That the sub-division of Karimganj, which formed an integral part of the district of Sylhet, has been arbitrarily partitioned. According to the Radcliffe Award,[1] the town of Karimganj should have fallen in the Pakistan territory but against the terms of the Award, it has been forcibly taken possession of by the Indian Union.

Patharia Hills are being wrongly claimed by the Assam Govt. It originally was included in the old Jaldhup Thana which was later sub-divided

into two *thanas*, Barlekha and Beanibazar, and both these *thanas* have been assigned to the Pakistan State.

Bholaganj Market at the foot of the Khasi Hills is an important outlet for all hill produces. It was within the territorial boundaries of the district of Sylhet. But, taking advantage of our inadequate border arrangements, it has forcibly been occupied by the Indian Union.

Steps may kindly be taken to retrieve these territories.

2. The Tippera State, which is surrounded on three sides by Pakistan territory and with a large Muslim population, has joined the Indian Union. The State is dependent on Sylhet and Tippera Districts for many of its essential supplies. The only outlet for its forest produce is through the rivers of Sylhet. Uptill now no tariff or customs barrier has been placed between the State and Pakistan. Moreover, many Hindus are migrating into the State with money and materials from Pakistan.

3. There are still some Khasi States, including the big Nongstoin State, which have not as yet joined the Indian Union and they are very eager to maintain friendly relationship with the Government of Pakistan. But no serious attempts seem to have been made to facilitate their joining Pakistan.

4. Inhuman treatment is being meted out to the majority Muslim population of Indian portion of Karimganj and of Cachar District of Assam on various pretexts. This is a very serious problem to which Quaid-i-Azam's attention is solicited. A large number of Muslim League workers are in jail and quite a large number have been forced to leave their hearths and homes and are now refugees in Sylhet.

5. The district of Sylhet has got a large inter-dominion border. But uptill now no import and export policy seems to have been formulated. As a result, great difficulty is being felt by the people of Sylhet in their trade dealings with the people of the Khasi States and other parts of the Indian Union, while the Assam Government is putting all kinds of impediments and obstructions on the travelling public including Pakistan officials.

6. Grievances of Sylhet officers should be immediately redressed.

7. All post-war schemes that were adopted for the district of Sylhet by the Government of Assam before partition may kindly be implemented.

8. It is the earnest desire of the people of Sylhet that all existing educational, industrial, agricultural and other institutions and offices of Sylhet should be maintained.

9. The district of Sylhet with a large sea-going population should get adequate opportunity in Pakistan naval recruitment and training.

10. The tea industry worth the name in the whole of Pakistan falls in Sylhet. But no step has been taken for the upkeep and improvement of

this industry.

11. The first grade Government College at Sylhet should be converted into a residential university at an early date.

MUNAWAR ALI
AND 12 OTHERS

[3]Annex III to No. 30, Vol. V, 47-50.

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Memorandum by Joint State Language Committee of Action

F. 216 (Vol. II)-GG/132-4

DACCA,
24 March 1948

The members of the Committee of Action beg most respectfully to place before you the following facts for favour of your kind consideration.

The Committee of Action formed with only Muslim young men/ladies representing the Dacca University and other institutions believe that Bengali should be one of the State languages of Pakistan, because:

Firstly, they feel that this language is spoken by two-third[s] of the entire population of Pakistan and as it is the people's State the demand of the majority of the people should be accepted.

Secondly, in modern States of to-day, more than one language have been accepted. To name some of them, Belgium (Flemish and French), Canada (English and French), Switzerland (French, German and Italian), South Africa (English and Afrikaans), Egypt (French and Arabic), Siam (Thai and English) and U.S.S.R.• which has accepted as many as 16 languages in the State.

Thirdly, of all the provincial languages in this dominion, Bengali is the only language rich enough to take the place of the State language because this language in regard to richness has been given the seventh place in the world.

Fourthly, the Muslim poets and authors like Alwal, Nazrul Islam, Kaikobad, Syed Emdad Ali, Wajed Ali, Jasimuddin and host of others have enriched the language by their contribution.

Fifthly, this language has been developed by Sultan Hossain Shah of Bengal as a court language against Sanskrit and fifty per cent of its vocabulary comes from Persian and Arabic languages.

Sixthly, we believe that it is impossible for four crores of people of Bengal to change their mother-tongue and any imposition of any other

language as medium of instruction and court language on us will repeat our position under British Raj and illiteracy is bound to prevail among the masses. By all canons of modern democracy everyone has the right to language.

Now we come to the brief history of this movement. It is necessary because it has been said that this movement has been started to create a rift among the Muslims. This movement has been started by Tamaddun Majlis, a cultural organisation whose duty it is to look for the cultural security of Pakistan in this zone. It started with the blessings of Moulana Akram Khan, Hon'ble Nurul Amin, Hon'ble Habibullah Bahar and other Bengali-speaking Ministers, and officials like Mr. Zakir Hossain. I.G.P., Mr. Ismail, D.I.G., and other high Govt. officials who put their signatures to a statement demanding Bengali to take its right place in Pakistan. In our Committee of Action, only those students and workers were taken in who fought for Pakistan in the different phases of its struggle; even the Prime Minister, Khwaja Nazimuddin, had to agree that he is satisfied that this movement has not been started by the enemies of the State. Unfortunately for us, the interested quarters are still making attempt to give false colour to this movement.

The students and youths of eastern Pakistan have done their best for the achievement of Pakistan. During the foreign rule, they were oppressed, repressed and harassed by the Govt. officials for their implicit faith in Pakistan. Unfortunately the same oppression and repression are being perpetrated on them with the same zeal of the past as it has happened in Dacca on the 11th and 15th March. Of course, it is true that red tapism is still reigning over the people and the officers cannot yet forget the past heritage and feel they are now serving the free people in a free State. We understand that their psychology cannot be changed overnight. But we fervently appeal to you to tell them that a revolutionary change has come and they must be conscious about it.

In conclusion, we beg to say that in a completely democratic country every citizen has certain fundamental rights and the right to agitation and movement constitutionally, and this movement for the Bengali language will be continued till our right is vindicated.

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Note by Sher Jang Khan

F. 120 (Vol. V)-GG/193

KARACHI,
24 March 1948

ISSUE OF RESERVE BANK OF INDIA (PAKISTAN) NOTES IN PAKISTAN

In accordance with Section 5 (2) of Part II of the Pakistan (Monetary System and Reserve Bank) Order, 1947, the Reserve Bank of India will, with effect from the 1st April 1948, issue in Pakistan the existing latest patterns of Reserve Bank of India bank notes of the denomination of Rs. 2, Rs. 5, Rs. 10 and Rs. 100 inscribed with the words "Government of Pakistan" in English and Urdu. Notes bearing this inscription will not be legal tender in India and will not be accepted by the Bank at its offices, branches or agencies in India, though they will be full legal tender in Pakistan.

Government of India currency notes or Reserve Bank of India bank notes without the words "Government of Pakistan" in English and Urdu inscribed on them shall, until the 30th day of September 1948, be legal tender at any place in Pakistan in payment or on account of the amount expressed therein.

SHER JANG KHAN
Manager,
Reserve Bank of India

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Fazlul Qadir Chaudhry to M. A. Jinnah

F. 216 (Vol. II)-GG/130-1

CHITTAGONG,
24 March 1948

POINTS FOR DISCUSSION WITH QUAID-I-AZAM AT DACCA

i. To thank for the relief given to the people of eastern Pakistan, particularly to the people of Chittagong, after the devastating flood cyclone in 1947.
ii. Chittagong—Karnafuli Hydro-Electric Project

iii. Exploring coal and oil mine in Chittagong
iv. Establishment of a residential University at Chittagong
v. Establishment of a geological survey office with a drilling party at Chittagong
vi. Establishment of a laboratory
vii. Improvement of Chittagong Municipality and introduction of Improvement Trust
viii. Improvement of Chittagong Port and addition of six jetties
ix. Recruitment—for higher services, a Public Service Commission must exist and under it a Board for Recruitment to lower grade services and menials should be established; besides, for each district, a separate Board should also be constituted.
x. Withdrawal of nomination system for District Boards and Municipalities and other local bodies should be given effect to.
xi. Ministers should wash off their hands from [*sic* for of] showing any kind of favour, nepotism or despotism in making appointments. All appointments should be made by Public Service Commission and the Board. They must devote whole time and energy for nation building and development work.
xii. Establishment of a Development Board for improvement of Chittagong Municipality and Port be formed with three or four expert engineers of different branches. No non-official member should be taken in. An experienced I.C.S. officer with driving force should be appointed as Secretary, to work in co-ordination with all departments concerned.

FAZLUL QADIR
MLA

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Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 221 (II)-GG/14

KARACHI,
SECRET *24 March 1948*

Continuation my yesterday's telegram[1] regarding acting arrangements in Dundas vacancy. [words missing] and Dundas have been asking for transfer of Major Sahibzada Mohammad Khurshid to Quetta. Khurshid is at present Resident, Waziristan, but has held a number of appointments throughout Baluchistan and was also *Wazir-i-Azam*, Kalat

State. His experience of Baluchistan is unrivalled. He is much senior to Savidge. I would therefore suggest Khurshid should be acting Agent to the Governor-General and Chief Commissioner, Baluchistan. If you agree I will ask Cunningham to agree though he would find it rather difficult to spare Khurshid. No objection whatsoever to Savidge acting for Dundas until relieved by Khurshid. I may add that Khurshid is most senior Muslim Officer of former Indian Political Service barring Colonel Rahim who is now in Greece and Iskander Mirza who is Defence Secretary.

[1]No. 181.

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M. A. Jinnah to Liaquat Ali Khan

Telegram, F. 221 (II)-GG/13

TOP SECRET/MOST IMMEDIATE

DACCA,
[*24*] *March 1948*

Your telegram No. 1014 of March 23rd.[1]

Please announce appointments of Dundas and Savidge and ask Dundas to take charge immediately. Inform Cunningham. My Frontier visit cannot be cancelled but I postpone it to eleventh April. Please instruct Dundas to carry out programme arrangements which will be finally settled and sent to him from here if possible. I have already asked Cunningham to depute most senior political officer to take charge of programme arrangements. This officer will help Dundas.

[1]No. 181.

191

Address by M. A. Jinnah to the Gazetted Officers at Chittagong[1]

25 March 1948

I thank you for giving me this opportunity to see you collectively. My time is very limited and so it was not possible for me to see you individually. I have told you two things. I have already said what I had to say to the Gazetted Officers at Dacca.[2] I hope you should [*sic*] read an account of what I said there in the newspapers. If you have

not, I would request you to take the trouble of reading what I said there. One cannot say something new everyday. I have been making so many speeches and I expect each one of you to know my views by now.

Ladies and gentlemen! I want you to realize fully the deep implications of the revolutionary change that has taken place. Whatever community, caste or creed you belong to, you are now the servants of Pakistan. Servants can only do their duties and discharge their responsibilities by serving. Those days have gone when the country was ruled by the bureaucracy. It is people's Government, responsible to the people more or less on democratic lines and parliamentary practices. Under these fundamental changes I would put before you two or three points for your consideration:

> You have to do your duty as servants; you are not concerned with this political or that political party; that is not your business. It is a business of politicians to fight out their case under the present constitution or the future constitution that may be ultimately framed. You, therefore, have nothing to do with this party or that party. You are civil servants. Whichever gets the majority will form the Government and your duty is to serve that Government for the time being as servants, not as politicians. How will you do that? The Government in power for the time being must also realize and understand their responsibilities that you are not to be used for this party or that. I know we are saddled with old legacy, old mentality, old psychology, and it haunts our footsteps, but it is up to you now to act as true servants of the people even at the risk of any Minister or Ministry trying to interfere with you in the discharge of your duties as civil servants. I hope it will not be so, but even if some of you have to suffer as a victim—I hope it will not happen—I expect you to do so readily. We shall of course see that there is security for you and safeguards for you. If we find that is in any way prejudicial to your interest we shall find ways and means of giving you that security. Of course you must be loyal to the Government that is in power.
>
> The second point is that of your conduct and dealings with the people in various departments, in which you may be: wipe off that past reputation; you are not rulers. You do not belong to the ruling class; you belong to the servants. Make the people feel that you are their servants and friends, maintain the highest standard of honour, integrity, justice and fair play. If you do that, people will have confidence and trust in you and will look upon you as friends and well-wishers. I do not want to

condemn everything of the past, there were men who did their duties according to their lights in the service in which they were placed. As administrators they did justice in many cases but they did not feel that justice was done to them because there was an order of superiority and they were held at a distance and they did not feel the warmth but they felt a freezing atmosphere when they had to do anything with the officials. Now that freezing atmosphere must go; that impression of arrogance must go; that impression that you are rulers must go and you must do your best with all courtesy and kindness and to try to understand the people. Maybe sometimes you will find that it is trying and provoking when a man goes on talking and repeating a thing over and over again, but have patience and show patience and make them feel that justice has been done to them.

Next thing that I would like to impress upon you is this:

I keep on getting representations and memorials containing grievances of the people on all sorts of things. Maybe there is no justification, maybe there is no foundation for that, maybe that they are under wrong impression and maybe they are misled, but in all such cases I have followed one practice for many years, which is this: whether I agree with anyone or not, whether I think that he has any imaginary grievances, whether I think that he does not understand, but I always show patience. If you will also do the same in your dealings with an individual or any association or any organization you will ultimately stand to gain. Let not people leave you with this bearing that you hate, that you are offensive, that you have insulted, or that you are rude to them. Not one person who comes in contact with you should be left in that state of mind. You may not be able to agree with him but do not let him go with this feeling that you are offensive or that you are discourteous. If you will follow that rule, believe me you will win the respect of the people.

With these observations I conclude what I had to say. I thank you very much indeed that you have given me this opportunity to say these few words to you and if you find anything good in it follow it; if you do not find anything good in it do not follow it.

Thank you very much.

The *Pakistan Times*, 26 March 1948.

[2]No. 167.

192

Sri Prakasa to S. M. Yusuf

F. 120 (Vol II)-GG/13

DAMODAR MAHAL,
KARACHI 5,
25 March 1948

My dear Yusuf,

.In continuation of my reply to your D. O. letter No. 1774-GG/48 dated March 20, 1948[1] sent by hand to me, I am glad to say that I have received a telegram yesterday dated 23rd March saying that Abdul Gaffar Khan was released on that date. I am glad that that is so, and I hope you will please pass on the good news to Abdul Sattar Khan. I am also glad you wrote to me directly, for that saved much time.

Hoping all is well with you.

I am,
With kind regards,
Yours sincerely,
SRI PRAKASA

·No. 158.

193

H. A. Rahim to M.A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. I)-GG/2-3

STREET 321, MARYSVILLE,
CALIFORNIA,
25 March 1948

Dear Sir and Brother,

I would like to congratulate you on the splendid work you have done to help Pakistan and also on the splendid work you are still doing.

The Muslims have hoped and waited many years to see their motherland free and independent. We were all very proud and happy when it did happen, and then came the tragic news of the death of a great leader, Mohandas Gandhi. We were all very sorry to hear of his death. As long as we have leaders like you, and many others like you.

would like to see Pakistan as industrial as the United States.

I met you in Bombay many years ago with my father. Since then, I have lived in the United States. I have been back to India five or six times but each time you were not in India.

My wife, daughters, and myself give our sincere regards to you and your sister Fatima Begum.

Right now, I am speaking to the American people showing them why Palestine should not be partitioned. I would like to hear from you soon.

Fraternally yours,
H. A. RAHIM
Representative for California
National Farm Labor Union

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Memorandum by the Buddhist Association, Chittagong

F. 216 (II)-GG/324-7

25 March 1948

We, on behalf of ourselves and the community which we represent, beg leave to accord you, Quaid-i-Azam, our hearty welcome and deepest felicitation on the occasion of your first visit to the ancient historic sea-port town and wish you long, happy and prosperous life, and invoke the blessings of our Lord for your protection.

2. At the outset, we assure you with all the emphasis at our command that we shall remain ever faithful to the Dominion of Pakistan, of which you are the father and guardian, and shall remain steadfast in our devotion to the service of the State and fully co-operate with our head and heart to further its cause and, if need be, shall defend it with our blood; as we sincerely believe that our weal and woe are interwound with those of the Dominion and vista of our prospect and prosperity has been opened unto us with the establishment of Pakistan Dominion.

3. The Buddhists, who are mostly concentrated in East Bengal spreading over Chittagong, Chittagong Hill Tracts, Noakhali, Tippera and Barisal and numbering about four lakhs of people, are the only remnants of the followers of Buddhism in the land of its birth and as such the natural custodians of the holy places which are centres of attraction of Buddhist world comprising one-third of the human population. Thus, the Buddhists of the place, though small in number, have a place of importance in polity of nations and body politic of the Government [*sic*].

Pakistan will become a great country, as powerful as any other country in the world.

I have a small family; my wife, who is an American, and four daughters. My two oldest girls are graduating from high school this year. We are all willing to help the people in Pakistan. Pakistan Government would save quite a bit of money if she had teachers to teach the students there instead of sending the students to the United States every year.

I represent the National Farm Labor Union affiliated to American Federation of Labor in the State of California. In California, this Farm Labor Union has a membership of more than seven thousand people. I have given [*sic*] my time and money to help the people in this Union; now my first thought is to my brothers in Pakistan. My experience in this country during the last twenty-five years has been in industry, agriculture, and organization.

If everyone does their part, it won't be long before Pakistan will become an industrial country like the United States. My family and I are willing to give our services to help Pakistan.

Many of my friends are willing to help Pakistan as voluntary workers, such as experienced mechanics, experienced supervisors in agriculture, and others in other kinds of work. I would like to set up a co-operative business there like what we have in the United States. The voluntary workers will work for six months without pay, and after that the co-operative business will pay the workers their wages, if Pakistan will furnish these people with transportation.

I am organizing a company here called the Pakistan and American Company. This Company will supply Pakistan with whatever she needs, and it will also take care of all Pakistan's exports and imports. I would like to know your opinion about this company. I would like to open industries in Pakistan so that we would not have to look to other countries for imports.

I heard that petroleum has been found in Pakistan. Please do not lease this oil to any company until you let me know. If you lease the oil to any company they will take the crude oil to other countries and that will not give the people of Pakistan much work. Later on, the company will bring the petroleum back to Pakistan and sell it for ten times as much as the oil is worth.

Oil can produce two hundred different articles besides gasoline. Some of them are candles, mineral oil, vaseline, and many other things. I learned this from the Standard Oil Company. Therefore, if Pakistan produces these articles she will benefit from the profits. It will also give thousands of people employment and better living conditions. I

4. We cannot but express our hearty thanks and offer our deep depth of gratitude to you for your magnanimity in appreciating this view and in taking one of the members of our community in the committee on the fundamental rights of the citizens of Pakistan and rights of minorities in the Constituent Assembly, and we do hope that the same recognition will be given to this community at the time of framing the constitution and some weightage will be given in the allotment of seats in the Legislatures, both Central and Provincial.

5. The Buddhists of Chittagong, who claim their heritage to martial race of Magadha, have imbibed the martial spirit of their forefathers with martial blood running in their veins and martial spirit interwoven with the very texture of their beings. When opportunity was thrown open to them under the aegis of the British rule, they fought many a battle and skirmishes with the laurels of success alongside the British Government after having formed a platoon of their own known as Magh Palton, many members of which rose to the ranks of Adjutants, Subedar Majors, Subedar Bahadurs, Subedars, etc., the highest military ranks allotted to Indians at the time. These Buddhists, if given the same facility and opportunity, will, we believe, be able to distinguish themselves in the military. We, therefore, earnestly hope and fervently pray that members of this community will be given due share in defence of their motherland by recruiting them in good number in the Army, Navy as well as in the Flying Corps, and that some of the educated youth will be given commissioned ranks.

6. Pali, properly speaking ancient Magadhi, in which our Holy Scriptures are written, is not only the sacred language of the Buddhist world but also receptacle of invaluable treasures of ancient history, literature, art, philosophy, science, and all what is good for human progress and peace and prosperity of the world. It is therefore our earnest request that Pali may be popularised in the Pakistan Dominion.

7. As a result of excavation, many treasures of ancient culture have been unearthed both in India and Pakistan. We believe that there are many such treasures to be found in Pakistan Dominion. We hope and pray that such treasures, if found as a result of research and excavation, will be preserved.

8. The interest of Buddhists having long been left in the lurch and neglected, they could not make much headway in the field of education as well as in that of economy and as a result are economically poor and educationally backward. They therefore deserve fostering care under protecting wings of the Dominion. We therefore most humbly pray that special encouragement be given to the Buddhist boys and girls by grant of free stipends and special scholarships for higher studies in the art, science and technology, both here and abroad, and suitable appointments be

given to educated youth in different branches of administration as a sort of allurement for higher studies, and special inspectors for Buddhist education be appointed to look after their educational progress.

9. Though Lord Buddha, the most enlightened one, was born in India, no public holiday has so long been declared in the land of his birth in sacred memory of that great messenger of peace on his birthday—the *Baisakhi Purnima* which is the third sacred day of the Buddhists, being the day of his birth, enlightenment and demise. Our hearty thanks are, however, due to Nawab of Bhopal who, though a follower of different faith, has in his magnanimity declared that sacred day as public holiday in his State, in spite of the fact that there is not a single Buddhist in the State. We therefore do beseech you in all humility to declare *Baisakhi Purnima* Day as public holiday in the Dominion, as a gesture of goodwill to the Buddhist world and act of generosity to those who live under your protection.

10. As Chittagong is the only outlet of Eastern Pakistan, its trade and communications in between Eastern and Western Pakistan as well as with outside world, lie through Chittagong. We visualise in our mind's eyes that in not distant future Chittagong will be turned into a cosmopolitan city vying with Calcutta in trade, commerce and industry and will, in course of time, outreach Calcutta in its importance as a centre of trade, industry and culture. In our considered opinion, Chittagong Port should be developed and a hydro-electric scheme should be taken up immediately as a first step in that direction. Development of industry and agriculture chiefly depends upon skilled labour and expert knowledge. If the sons of the soil are not scientifically trained, industry cannot flourish in it. It is, therefore, necessary that colleges of Agriculture, Science, Technology, Survey and Engineering should be established in Chittagong for training the boys in the art as a preliminary step.

11. Chittagong being situated on the eastern frontier, is exposed to enemy attack, by land as well as by sea. So, it will have to be turned into a bastion of eastern defence. It therefore appears to us to be essential for defence of the country that an academy for training of the [sons of the] soil in the art of war, in the Army, Navy and Flying Corps should be established in Chittagong, the people of which are by nature sea-faring and martial.

In fine [*sic*] we again accord our hearty welcome and express our gratitude to you for taking the trouble of visiting this ancient town of eastern Pakistan and wish you good luck and Godspeed.

On behalf of the Buddhist representatives,
DIPANKARA SRIGUANA BHIKSHU
President,
Buddhist Association

Enclosure to No. 194

F. 216 (II)-GG/155

CHITTAGONG,
25 March 1948

BLESSINGS

May all good attend thee,
May all gods protect thee,
May you be happy through
The power of all the Enlightened.

May all good attend thee,
May all gods protect thee,
May you be happy through
The power of all the Good Laws.

May all good attend thee,
May all gods protect thee,
May you be happy through
The power of all the Holy saints.

Whatever living beings there are
Either feeble or strong, all-
Either long or great,
Middle-sized, short, small or large.

Either seen or which are not seen
And which live far or near
Either born or seeking birth
May all creatures be happy-minded.

Let no one deceive another
Let him not despise another in any place
Let him not out of anger or resentment
Wish harm to another.

As a mother at the risk of her life
Watches over her own child, her only child
So also let every one cultivate

A boundless friendly mind
Towards all beings.

DIPANKARA SRIGUANA BHIKSHU
High Priest & President,
Buddhist Association

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Dhirendra Narayan Das to M. A. Jinnah

F. 216 (II)-GG/319-23

CHITTAGONG,
25 March 1948

May it please you, Quaid-i-Azam,

On behalf of the Scheduled class people of this district numbering about 70,000, I extend a hearty welcome to you, Quaid-i-Azam, in our midst on the occasion of your august visit to this historic place which has to its credit an ancient culture and a high tradition of service to humanity not inferior to that of any other place that has the honour to form part of the newly-born State of Pakistan.

2. I feel proud to belong to the community of fishermen that form a majority of scheduled class, which, in spite of their grim poverty and complex social disability, did not lag behind in their desire for freedom and marched forward with others for the realisation of that cherished ideal. We are at our journey's end, thanks to the fortuitous combination of circumstances and the democratic forces that arrayed against totalitarian Fascism in the last global conflict as a result of which our political emancipation was brought nearer and has ultimately become a reality. We are a free people today. Your visit to this historic place, the eastern gateway to free Pakistan, as the first Governor-General of this State, will go down in history as a unique occasion and we have every reason to rejoice over the events that led to this happy combination.

3. We are, indeed, a free people today but the task that lies ahead of us in building ourselves as a nation worthy of the freedom is too gigantic to admit of any easy solution. We have to fight against heavy odds and we are confident that through your wide vision and infallible leadership

we shall cross the waves and storms around us and peace and prosperity shall abound in this land of our birth. As one who has espoused the cause of uplift of the fellow members of the down-trodden community to which I have the honour to belong, I beg to draw your kind attention to the intense misery and suffering under which they are being grounded [*sic*]. For ages they have been deprived of the benefits of modern civilisation of which we so loudly boast.

[*Rest of para omitted*]

4. The measures so long adopted by the Government for my community have been slow and half-hearted. The little that was done for our relief and rehabilitation in the wake of the great famine [of 1943], came too late and was defeated by corrupt official chicanery. Our indebtedness has swelled and our conditions have moved from bad to worse. Our problem has now reached a stage when any delay in tackling it might spell disaster.

5. The main prop of the members of our community is deep sea fishing in winter and allied trade and industry in other parts of the year. They are landless and their lot is tied down either with the devil or the deep sea....

[*Remaining para 5 to para 8 omitted*]

9. I am conscious of the limitation of the authorities and of the resources at their disposal to handle the problems before them for a satisfactory solution. But a good beginning on the part of the Government with a determination to solve our problems will sustain us and shall be a source of our inspiration to face all difficulties with hope and courage.

[*Para 10 omitted*]

May you live long, Quaid-i-Azam, to see us happy and prosperous.

I beg to remain,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

DHIRENDRA NARAYAN DAS

Joint Secretary,

Chittagong Scheduled Class Association

196

Raja Nalinaksha Roy and Others to M. A. Jinnah

F. 216 (II)-GG/329-30

CHITTAGONG,

25 March 1948

We, the three Chiefs of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, feel highly

honoured that we have the privilege today to pay our homage to the supreme head of the Dominion in which God has ordained us to be included. We offer Your Excellency our loyalty and devotion and we are comforted to know that we have the interest and protection of the great State you represent.

2. We are no less grateful to the Government of East Bengal for having recognised and assured us of the maintenance of our prestige and privileges in the same traditional manner in which we have enjoyed them in the past. Our whole Excluded Area, Chittagong Hill Tracts, is fully covered by the territories of the three Chiefs, viz. Chakma Circle 2499 sq. miles, Bohmong Circle 1935 sq. miles and the Mong Circle 704 sq. miles in total 5135 sq. miles (inclusive of about 1400 sq. miles of Govt. Forest Reserves) consisting of several hill tribes: Chakmas, Moghs, Tipperas, Mros, Lushais, Khumis, Khyangas, Chaks and a few number of plain's people.

3. We are anxious to preserve our identity and country as a separate entity under the aegis of the Pakistan Dominion.

4. Your Excellency will appreciate our apprehension with regard to merging our simple people into the body politic of a far more advanced country like that of plain districts and our fears with regard to becoming involved in the complexities of the laws and regulations of regulated districts which would be quite unsuited to our simple social structure and needs, exposing us to exploitation which we could not withstand.

5. Owing to the fact that we are still a simple and credulous people we view with great apprehension our inclusion as an ordinary regulated district. We particularly dread exploitation in business by plainsmen and the imposition of the Bengal Tenancy Act with its intricate points of law and complex system of tenure as also the consequential result of the prohibition of *Jum* cultivation which would spell disaster and ruin for a large number of our people. Apart from this, our people being quite ignorant of such systems which involve *Khata*, on-demand payment and *Hundi* transaction, would fall into a variety of traps which temptation and allurement would place before them with the result that they would pledge away all they possessed and get little or nothing in return.

6. We, therefore, beg Your Excellency most respectfully to permit us to develop on our own traditional lines[1] and as a separate country[*sic*], till we can stand on our own legs, by the development of self-sufficiency, under the strong protection and benign help of the State. On the attainment of such a position of strength and culture, we would offer ourselves as one whole, to stand as a bastion of the State on this

far eastern border, to serve it loyally and unremittingly, as its sentinels of the Frontier, against any external aggression.

We subscribe ourselves,
most devotedly and loyally,

KEOJAW SAN PRUE	RAJA NALINAKSHA ROY	[UNSIGNED]
Bohmong Chief	*Chakma Chief*	*Mong Chief*[2]

For observations and remarks by different Government officers relating to the Chiefs, Hill Tribes and Perspective Rights, see F. 216(II)-GG/331-4 and 260-9. Not printed.
[2]Her name was (Raj Kumari) Nanoomah.

197

Shah Syed Ausaf Ahmed and Others to Khwaja Nazimuddin

(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 216 (II)-GG/314-5

JESSORE,
25 March 1948

Sir,

We, the undersigned *Muhajireen*, constituting a deputation from Jessore, beg to enclose a statement showing date-wise incidents in Jessore, and have to submit as follows:

1. The District of Jessore is a vital part of Eastern Pakistan, although the ratio of Muslim and non-Muslim population does not differ considerably.

2. Non-Muslims in the District have cultural and economic supremacy over Muslims, and from the prevailing conditions it seems they are utilizing their resources and power in furthering the cause of "United Bengal' Muslims are being sedulously lured into forming a bloc of anti-Pakistan "Nationalists". Social relations for political reasons between Muslim stooges and the Hindus have increased to serious proportions, lately. There is too much of intercourse between Hindu and Muslim political workers of Calcutta and Jessore.

3. While it is generally suspected that considerable Hindu money is being used for creating large groups of Muslims to act as fifth-columnists in that district, the members of the Hindu community are getting arms from Calcutta, and are preparing themselves for an uprising. If searches are honestly made, it is believed, huge quantities of ammunition and arms can be unearthed. This matter is an open talk in the town.

4. There is no doubt that throughout the District a successful attempt

has been made to get round the largest number of Muslims for making a stand against Pakistan. And this has been done under the cover of language and other controversial questions. The attempt has been successful enough to enable the local Hindus to declare openly in public meetings that the present Govt. of Pakistan is doomed to go out soon, and the division of Bengal will be annulled.

5. Since the 11th of March 1948, the slogans at the meetings and the processions were of the Indian-Union type mostly, such as *Jai Hind* and *Azad Pakistan Zindabad*. At times, a section of the audience openly demanded to remove and tear off the Pakistan Flag.

6. The *Muhajireen* living in Jessore were also asked to participate in the meetings and demonstrations against the present Government of East Bengal. The *Muhajireen* shop-keepers, one and all, refused to have anything to do with such activities. As a natural consequence of this refusal, the saboteurs of Pakistan have added another item to their nefarious programme, "Oust the outsider Muslims". It is evident that the *Muhajireen* have already suffered very greatly for the establishment of Pakistan, and, as such, they are prepared to risk their lives again, if danger comes to their way of building up their national home. The saboteurs are alive to the fact that the *Muhajireen* will be a great stumbling block on the day of their positive action against Pakistan. Therefore, every effort is being made for uprooting the *Muhajireen* from the District. Harassment on an unprecedented scale has been launched against them, and their shops and dwellings have been burnt, not only in Jessore, but in the rural areas as well. At places, these innocent people were secretly set upon and belaboured. Feelings of provincialism are being fanned at great cost of money and labour.

7. It may be noted that the Bihar refugees live in a camp, about four miles from the city of Jessore. They have established a record of good and orderly behaviour. It is doubtful if a single act of indiscipline has been ever recorded against any of the refugees since their arrival in Jessore. Yet, on the pretext of complicity in stabbing cases on Jessore Railway Station, two of the shops belonging to *Muhajireen* were looted on the night of 17th March, along with the hotel of a Delhi *Muhajir*, as well as a Muslim meat shop. On the same night, an attack was made on the mosque of the Bihari camp. It was set on fire, and copies of the Holy *Qur'an* were burnt. On the 20th and 21st, the Bihari refugee camp was rigorously searched by the police, and barbarous treatment was shown to the womenfolk. Some of the high officials of the local police have exhibited open animosity against the present Ministry.

It is, therefore, prayed that the Govt. be pleased to take immediate steps to :

a. save Jessore from being lost to Pakistan

b. save the *Muhajireen* from further molestation, harassment and infliction of indignities. These unfortunate persons had already had enough of these at the hands of Hindus in India, and now, in Pakistan, at the hands of Muslim quislings.

8. Immediate change of the officials suffering from the malady of pro-India feeling should take place. Saboteurs and their Muslim stooges who have already given sufficient proof of their anti-Pakistan activities, should be rounded up and put on trial. Further, police and troop detachments are to be detailed to Jessore in order to curb the rising tide of revolt in that District.

Yours sincerely in Islam,
SHAH SYED AUSAF AHMED AND OTHERS

Enclosure to No. 197

F. 216 (II)-GG/316-8

STATEMENT SHOWING INCIDENTS IN THE CITY AND DIST. OF JESSORE

It is reported that on 28th February 1948, a meeting of some Jessore notables and others was held in Calcutta.

2. On return of the group from Calcutta, another meeting took place on 2nd March at the house of Dr. Dhar. It is said that discussions took place on formation of "Azad Pakistan" and regarding the Ministry and the adoption of ways to bring in Fazlul Huq to become the leader. There was some talk for collection of arms as well. Scheme for social and economic boycott of upcountry Muslims was also initiated.

[*Paras 3 to 5 omitted*]

6. On 10th March,a meeting was held at the residence of Mr. Lutfar Rahman MLA and the same evening public meetings were held in Jessore and some other district towns. The Ministry and the District Magistrate were the main target for denunciation.

7. On 11th, demonstrations were held on the language controversy. Dr. Dhar and proprietor of Kalyani Press were the foremost among the processionists who raised solgans like *Jai Hind, Hindustan Pakistan ek ho,* Bihari Muslim boycott,*Urdu nash ho.* Students of Communist tendencies took aggressive attitude. Some arrests were made.

8. On 13th, a big procession of about 5000 was taken out in spite of restrictions by the Govt. The procession abruptly broke up into two parts—one attacked the D.M.'s court and the other attacked the treasury.

[*Paras 9 to 12 omitted*]

13. On 21st, two shops of *Muhajireen* were looted in Jhenida. Four *Muhajireen* received injuries, one of them seriously.

On hearing the speech[1] of Quaid-i-Azam, the listeners on the radio went into further derision due to straight talk given by the Quaid-i-Azam. After listening the people were still found talking in their usual aggressive attitude. The leaders of Jessore are keeping the fire of hatred alive.

A *Maulana* serving in a *madrassa* at Magura was very badly treated by a mob for having lectured against the bad treatment to *Muhajirs*. The *Maulana* belongs to Noakhali District. He has now proceeded to Chittagong to inform the Jami'yyat 'Ulama-i-Islam about all the happenings in Jessore District.

[1]See No. 160.

198

Memorandum by Muslim Ladies Association, Chittagong to M. A. Jinnah

F. 216 (II)-GG/318

25 March 1948

Assalaamo 'Alaikum Quaid-i-Azam,

We feel so very grateful and honoured that you have given us the opportunity of waiting upon you on behalf of the Muslim Ladies Association of this town. This Association came into existence primarily to raise funds for the relief of those who have suffered in Eastern and Western Pakistan as the result of riots and floods. Since then, we have included other aims and objects for the uplift and social development of Muslim women in general. Like our beloved Pakistan, this Association is also in its infancy, but we have received sufficient encouragement from the officials and public to make us more hopeful and determined in making this Association a pillar of strength in the cause of women. Our ideal is to make Pakistani women really fit and capable to stand side by side with men in their struggle to maintain the hard-won freedom under your capable guidance and to leave a generation behind us that may rightly be called a democratic Muslim nation in the true sense of the term. The deplorable condition of the illiterate and down-trodden Muslim women of the present time is quite well-known to Your Excellency. No nation can be great whose womenfolk, who have to bring up future builders of the nation, are steeped in ignorance and illiteracy. The existing laws and customs and legacy from the days of slavery debar us from claiming our rightful share as dictated by Almighty and the Holy Prophet [peace be upon him] in the social structure of the age. Our demands are not in any

way against the religious and cultural set up of our nation but will rather strengthen the Islamic structure and bring us in line with the other civilised nations of the world. Some of these demands depend more on propaganda work with the moral help of society and government; while others cannot be achieved unless special legislative measures are introduced.

We know the tremendous problems Your Excellency has to face but we are also aware that you are the only personality whom we can confidently look upon to forward our cause.

We submit briefly :

i. Compulsory primary education to girls
ii. Necessary changes in the curriculum for girls' education to cover the inclusion of Theology, Domestic Science, Sewing and Cooking, etc
iii. The establishment of maternity and child welfare centres
iv. Inclusion of Urdu as a compulsory language in schools in eastern Pakistan to serve the needs of the people who have opted from outside.
v. Muslim women to get all their rights as per *shari'a*
vi. Arrangements to be made on wide scale for instructing women in nursing and first aid to the injured. This will facilitate formation of nursing units in the event of war.

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Message[1] by M. A. Jinnah to the Pakistan Medical Association

DACCA
26 March 1948

I have learnt with great interest that the Pakistan Medical Association has been formed and is going to be inaugurated on Saturday, March 27, 1948, in Dacca. This Association, I hope, will serve earnestly to organize the medical profession in Pakistan on a high level befitting our State. It can render many services if it is well-organized and efficient . For example, it can help to speed up medical relief of which we stand in very great need indeed at present; it will also keep medical and social contact with similar interests in other parts of the world for exchange of views and ideas from time to time, and thereby establish better understanding in solving medical problems peculiar to various countries and Pakistan.

I wish Pakistan Medical Association all success.[2]

[1]Yusufi, *Speeches of Quaid i-Azam*, IV, 2732.
[2]The message had been requested by Minister-in-charge of Medical and Public Health, Government of East Bengal See F. 65 (Part II) GG/325. Not printed.

200

M. A. Jinnah to George Cunningham

Telegram, F. 221 (II)-GG/17

CONFIDENTIAL/MOST IMMEDIATE

CHITTAGONG,
26 March 1948

Deeply concerned about your health extremely sorry. Will gladly see you at Karachi on your way. Please let me know definitely what date will suit you and Lady Cunningham to come and stay with us. Dundas is being asked to relieve you immediately and Savidge will take over from Dundas. My Frontier visit cannot be cancelled but I have postponed it to eleventh. One senior political officer will help Dundas to arrange my Frontier programme.

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Memorandum by Chittagong Bar Association

F. 216 (II)-GG/235-6

CHITTAGONG,
26 March 1948

May it please you, Quaid-i-Azam!

At the outset allow us to welcome you in our midst on the occasion of your visit to Islamabad, which is the ancient name of Chittagong. We hope and pray that *Allah* in His infinite mercy will give you health and strength to steer our fragile barque during these critical times in our history.

We reiterate that we fully agree with the policy adopted by the Govt. of Pakistan in the matter of State language and it is hoped there will be a happy solution of the Kashmir and Tippera questions in the immediate future to the satisfaction of all. While acknowledging, with gratitude, the solicitude shown by your Govt. for this tract, which lies

on the border-line of the Dominion, we beg to submit a few points for the special consideration of Govt. and if given effect to, will, it is hoped, make the constitution up-to-date and popular and shed lustre on the framers, who have toiled so much under your noble and selfless guidance:

1. That the question of the separation of the judiciary from the executive should be properly adjusted with a view to meeting with the present day requirements of the Govt.
2. That steps may be taken to establish the Supreme Court in eastern Pakistan.
3. That a military academy and a medical college be established at Chittagong.
4. A residential university on the type of Al-Azhar and Osmania Universities be established in Chittagong.
5. Friday should be a general holiday all over the Dominion.
6. That compensation for war damages be expeditiously paid up, as it has caused a great hardship to the people.
7. That the Imperial Library should be located at Chittagong.
8. That the Chittagong Hill Tracts be reserved for the rehabilitation of the *muhajireen* from all parts of the Dominion.
9. In future, recruitment in the judicial and executive services should be more liberally made from the qualified members of the Bar.
10. That writing and printing material should be plentiful in our Dominion.

People of this side look up to you for guidance, and their unalloyed support will be always at your disposal.*Aameen*

Pakistan Zindabad!

Your most loyal and devoted friends,
MEMBERS OF CHITTAGONG BAR ASSOCIATION

Report on the Speech by M.A. Jinnah at a Public Reception at Chittagong

F. 216 (II)-GG/73-7

26 March 1948

"To-day our State is hardly eight months old. But if we look back and review this short span of our national life, we can clearly see the steady evolution of great social ideologies and balanced relations between man and man", thus observed Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah

addressing a gathering of over 50 thousand people of Chittagong and neighbouring villages at the police grounds surrounded by thickly vegetated hillocks.

Speaking from a specially erected rostrum on a hill, the Quaid-i-Azam continued:

"Any impartial observer will admit that—in fact it has been already admitted—the minorities in Pakistan have had a better deal than elsewhere. Here in our midst they have lived not only peacefully but have enjoyed complete liberty of asserting themselves. Some have even given a lead in controversies which, but for the realization on the part of our people, might have struck at the very root of Pakistan in an hour of grave emergency.

This—our single biggest achievement—alone reflects the direction in which we are moving . There cannot be any better evidence to show that we are determined to evolve a State based on principles of equality and social Justice. If we can be fair and just to others there can be no doubt about being fair and just among ourselves".

The Quaid-i-Azam who was replying to an address of welcome read earlier by Mr. Abul Kasim Khan, Member, Pakistan Constituent Assembly, on behalf of the people of Chittagong, said:

"I am grateful to you all for the warm welcome which you have accorded me on this my first visit to a city destined to be one of the biggest in Pakistan as a whole . On my part I am glad to be in your midst and I need hardly assure you that not only are your problems being dealt with steadily and progressively but that unhindered by difficulties and obstacles we are determined to make good the neglect of centuries in course of the next few years when Chittagong will rank as one of the finest ports in the world.

You are only voicing my sentiments and the sentiments of millions of Musalmans when you say that Pakistan should be based on sure foundations of social justice and Islasmic socialism (not other isms) which emphasizes equality and brotherhood of man. Similarly you are voicing my thoughts in asking and aspiring for equal opportunities for all. These targets of progress are not controversial in Pakistan, for we demanded Pakistan, we struggled for it, we achieved it so that physically as well as spiritually we are free to conduct our affairs according to our traditions and genius. Brotherhood, equality and fraternity of man—these are all the basic points of our religion, culture and civilization. And we fought for Pakistan because there was danger of denial of these human rights in this sub-continent. We aspired for these great ideals because of centuries of dual domination by the foreign rulers and by a caste-ridden socials system. This domination continued for

over two hundred years until we realized that it would ultimately mean a complete extinction of Musalmans individually as human beings and collectively as a nation.

After all, the story of Pakistan and its struggle and its achievement is a great story of great human ideals struggling to survive in the face of odds and difficulties. This biggest Muslim State came into being on the 15th of August, 1947. It was a great day in our history. But on this great day , it was not merely a government which came into existence , it meant the birth of a great State and a great Nation—one supplementing the other and both existing for each other . I can understand and appreciate the limitations of those amongst us whose minds have not moved fast enough to realize that 15th of August ushered in such a State and such a nation. It is natural for some to think only in terms of Government but the sooner we realize and adjust ourselves to new forces the sooner our mind's eye is capable of piercing through the horizons to see the limitless possibilities of our State and our nation, the better for Pakistan. Then and then alone it would be possible for each one of us to realize the great ideals of human progress and social justice, of equality and of fraternity which , on the one hand, constitute the basic cause of the birth of Pakistan and also the limitless possibilities of evolving an ideal social structure of our State. I reiterate most emphatically that Pakistan was made possible because of the danger of complete annihilation of human soul in a society based on caste. Now that the soul is free to exist and to aspire it must assert itself galvanizing not only the State but also the Nation.

Such mental and spiritual changes cannot be brought about overnight. Nor can these be inflicted by anybody without dislocating the structure of human relationships.

The address of welcome which you have just presented refreshingly embodies your urge for progress and development. It is indeed a pleasure to see that the people of Pakistan are conscious of the great possibilities of their State—though I must warn you that impatience will be as dangerous as lack of enthusiasm.

Chittagong is destined to be great and you, as her citizens, are destined to share her greatness and prosperity. I can assure you that the Central and Provincial Govts. are endeavoring hard to catch up on years of indifference and neglect. Notwithstanding the inevitable preoccupation of your Central Govt. with grave and emergent problems which confronted them in Western Pakistan which was called upon to shelter, house and rehabilitate millions of our brethren uprooted from the Indian Union, blue prints for developing Chittagong have been got ready. This potentially great port has been neglected for centuries

along with other similar areas in Pakistan regions and you know that such neglect and indifference has constituted the biggest single justification for our demand for Pakistan. Accordingly now that we are free to shape our future, we are not going to be indifferent to it. We need not look back to the past neglect with pessimism. All that is required is courage and faith in our future and I am glad to say that such faith has not been found lacking during the last eight months.

I need hardly remind you that due to the determination of the people of Pakistan and the efforts made by your Government, Chittagong as a port is already coming into its own. During the last few months, ships of various nations and nationalities, whose ensigns fly colorfully along your roads to-day, have harboured in your port, some for the first time in history to take your raw products to their countries for manufacture into finished products. Chittagong is already handling a fair portion of your export and import trade. This has been possible mainly due to the efforts of us all to decrease our dependence on others.

This achievement in such a short time shows what human will can do. Funds are no doubt necessary for development but at the same time national growth and regeneration do not depend on funds alone. It is human toil that makes for the prosperity of people and I have no doubt that we have in Pakistan a nation of industrious and determined people whose past traditions have already distinguished them in the field of human achievement.

I have frankly and clearly associated myself with your aspirations for developing your city of which you are justly proud. Your urge for progress and your Govt's efforts to reach the goodwill soon get translated in the shape of large scale projects which I am satisfied are being actively pursued. The most important scheme which concerns you vitally and which is at present under active examination is the harnessing of your pretty Karnafulli river to control floods and silt, to irrigate fields and to develop cheap hydro-electric power. The necessary preliminary work is being expedited and the project is on our top priority list. I might tell you that one of the reasons which prompted me to visit East Pakistan at this juncture, when Western Pakistan particularly is passing through a period of grave emergency, was to see for myself the progress made in respect of developing your city which can now look forward to a future of great maritime importance.

While at Chittagong, I have spent the major portion of my time in studying the possibilities of port development and I am confident that in course of next few years, Chittagong will not only be a port of embarkation of Hajis from East Pakistan but also an export-import centre for what we can spare for the world and for what we need from other countries.

Chittagong is destined to be the eastern mighty queen and gateway of Pakistan. Your will to progress, labour and work, and your Govt.'s efforts to hit targets of progress aimed at, will , I am sure, do it.

Nature has endowed you bountifully. Yours is a beautiful garden land with sea, rivers and hills and magnificent scenery all round. It remains now for man in Chittagong to play his part fully and raise Chittagong to zenith for which it is destined. So I wish you Godspeed.

Earlier in his speech, the Quaid-i-Azam referring to the presentation of a sum of Rs. 2, 25,000 towards the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund said:

I am deeply grateful to the people of Chittagong who have made this magnificent contribution to the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund.

I really thank you from the bottom of my heart. I know Chittagong has suffered terrible floods and I think you will remember that in the midst of terrible tragedy with regard to millions of refugees who were uprooted we did not forget Chittagong and from the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund two lakhs were despatched to you for the relief of sufferers in the name of humanity. Of course problems of Western Pakistan are terrific. Millions of human beings have been uprooted.

They have to be cared for, they have to be fed, clothed and housed and not only that but they have got to be rehabilitated, so that they can play their part in the life and society of Western Pakistan. *Insha Allah* we shall manage it. It was not a part of address and therefor I have been taken by surprise, but it was a pleasant surprise. It has reassured me and encouraged me that the spirit of Islam has prevailed from one end of Pakistan to the other. I thank you for it.

Symbolizing the present and future Naval importance of Chittagong, the Reception Committee of the Town presented a silver replica of a sailing ship to the Quaid-i-Azam at today's public meeting where it lay throughout the function in the centre of the Rostrum.

This was in addition to a sum of Rs. 2,25,000 presented on the spot towards the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund.

203

Memorandum by Chittagong Muslim Chamber of Commerce

F. 216 (II)-GG/238

26 March 1948

We would respectfully draw your kind attention to the following points which our Chamber consider to be of importance for the economic development of Eastern Pakistan, in general, and of Chittagong, in

particular:

1. The early development of Chittagong Port is of vital importance to the economy of this Province. The jute export trade should be diverted to Chittagong Port as early as possible. For this, we need more jetties, warehouses and cargo handling gears. A Port Development Committee consisting of experts and a few non-officials should be set up for preparing a blueprint for the Port Development Scheme.

2. A number of jute presses and jute mills should be established in Chittagong as State enterprises, to give a lead to private enterprise which is shy in East Bengal. Government should also encourage manufacture of bags and hessian through cottage industries. We must establish ourselves fully in the jute export trade before West Bengal increases their raw jute production.

3. As we have no coal or oil in Eastern Pakistan, hydro-electric power should be developed to help rapid industrialization. The Barkal Hydro-Electric Scheme, when completed, will generate about 40,000 kilowatts of electricity. This project is essentially an irrigation project with a view to controlling recurrent floods in Chittagong District. The project must receive top priority as the industrial development of Chittagong is retarded for want of cheap power. We are not satisfied with the progress of the Scheme.

4. Geological survey of Chittagong, with a view to exploring the possibilities of obtaining coal and oil, should be undertaken as there are indications of the existence of these minerals in Chittagong area.

5. Development of shipping industry is of vital importance to our economy. As shipping industry involves a heavy capital outlay, it should be a State enterprise. A dry dock should be established by Government to build and repair ships at Chittagong.

6. A development trust should be set up as early as possible. Want of accommodation for residential and business premises has caused much inconvenience. Chittagong has not attracted as much capital as Karachi due to lack of amenities and poor transport facilities, though the potentialities of Chittagong are in no way inferior to those of Karachi. Want of building material like cement, iron and steel has made construction work extremely difficult.

7. Development of road and rail communication within this district and with other districts of the Province should be taken up by the Government immediately. Direct steamer services for carrying cargoes and passengers should be started at once between Chittagong and Karachi.

8. A naval school similar to the [P.N.S.] *Bahadur* should be set up at Chittagong as our boys have a natural aptitude for the sea. Training

centre of the Army and Air Force should also be set up at Chittagong.

9. A polytechnical institute and an industrial research institute should be set up at Chittagong at once. Want of technical personnel is a great handicap to our industrial development. An industrial bank should be set up by the State for financing industries.

10. Eastern Pakistan should have proper representation in foreign trade consulates and embassies. Pakistan's Trade Consul for the Republic of Burma may be a nominee of this Chamber. This is urgently necessary because Chittagong had trade relations with that country for several centuries and, as such, condition of Burma is best known to the people of this part of Pakistan.

11. This Chamber, being the oldest and the only Government-recognised Muslim Chamber of Commerce in eastern Pakistan, should have proper representation in all trade delegations, public bodies and legislative assemblies.

12. Manpower of Pakistan has immense potentiality provided we can raise manpower and harness it into fruitful and constructive service. Government should undertake a countrywide propaganda to achieve this object.

204

Address of Welcome by Jami'yyat 'Ulama-i-Islam, Chittagong

F. 216 (II)-GG/239-42
[*Extracts*]

26 March 1948

Founder of Pakistan!

We, the representatives of the Jami'yyat 'Ulama-i-Islam, Chittagong District, feel much pleasure and pride at being introduced to Your Excellency. The *millat* of the Musalmans, which was scattered like dust—no goal before it—which grew more scattered through the then British Government, which was in the clutches of Hinduism and the All India Congress and which was about to lose its individuality and distinctive character, was organised, led to its goal prepared for it, and achieved it in a very little period, i.e., only ten years. No doubt it was an organising achievement which has no parallel in history. Every baby and child of the Musalmans will be grateful for your noble guidance with great ability, wisdom, foresight, painstaking [*sic*] and devotion.

2. Beloved Quaid-i-Azam! It is a fact that some years ago we, the *'Ulama,* were also quite unorganised. A few of us, who were organised,

were deceived by false propaganda of Hindu Congress. May God bless Hazrat Allama Maulana Zafar Ahmad Usmani Thanvi, President, Jami'yyat 'Ulama-i-Islam, eastern Pakistan; Hazrat Maulana Shah Abdur Rouf Danapuri; Maulana Mohammad Quraish, Secretary, All India Jami 'yyat 'Ulama-i-Islam and Allama Syed Raghib Ahsan, Member, Pakistan Constituent Assembly, who organised all anti-Congress *'Ulama* at your call to the platform of Jami'yyat 'Ulama-i-Islam under the presidentship of Allama Shaikhul Islam Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani.

[*Paras 3 to 5 omitted*]

6. It is proposed to organise a Jam'iyyat Mujahideen as a part of Jami'yyat 'Ulama-i-Islam, in order to give military training to our students of Arabic *madrassa*s. But want of arms and weapons and trained men has been preventing us to start this organisation. We hope that your Government will assist us in this matter.

[*Para 7 omitted*]

8. Our beloved leader! We are much concerned at the Kashmir question. We have contributed handsome donations towards Azad Kashmir Relief Fund and have been donating. May *Allah* crown with success and victory our valiant *Mujahideen* at the front. We request you to make it clear to the United Nations, who are discussing the Kashmir problem, that if they take such a step as is detrimental to the interest of Azad Kashmir, it will be against our desire.

9. Leader of the nation! We highly appreciate your statements which you make now and then that Pakistan Government will be based on Qur'anic principles. It is a heart-felt desire that sooner the Government started on Qur'anic principles the better.

10. We strongly support your recent declaration of the State language of Pakistan which you made at Dacca. We appeal to you to take stringent measures against the foreign and internal enemies who are trying to weaken Pakistan by creating friction among the Muslims.

11. Our Hon'ble Quaid! While conscious that Pakistan is passing through a transitional period, it pains us to see want of adequate arrangement in the posts, telegraphs, railways [and] rationing departments. Black marketing, bribery, theft, robbery, scarcity of food and cloth are at present prevailing; the sooner they are stamped out the better.

12. Our Quaid-i-Azam! It pains us to note that after our bitter experience of the last year your Government is arranging for the sending up of pilgrims of Eastern Pakistan through Calcutta and Bombay. The Pakistan Government had to pay about one lakh of rupees to the

Indian Dominion in connection with the arrangements for five thousand pilgrims of Eastern Pakistan. And the Eastern Pakistan pilgrims had to pay about three lakhs of rupees to the Indian railways as travelling fare from Bombay to Eastern Pakistan in addition to other expenses. In spite of all these the lives and properties of the *Hajis* were unsafe. Some of them were killed while others died of starvation. So it is our proposal that a Haj Committee be formed at Chittagong this year as it was done at Karachi, and that Chittagong Port be made open to pilgrims.

13. Our high leader! Our Eastern Pakistan is far behind in point of civilisation, education, politics and experience. So we are in great need of your kind attention and guidance.

14. It is our earnest desire that you will grace us with your personal visit now and then, and favour us with your guidance and instruction. Moreover, as our Eastern Pakistan is far away from the Central Government and there is also no easy means of communication between the two parts of the State, it is our opinion that a very able representative of yours be appointed here to supervise the working of the Government.

15. A true copy of the resolutions passed on 25-3-48 by Jam'iyyat 'Ulamai Islam Conference held at New Muslim Institute, Chittagong, is herewith submitted for your kind consideration.

In conclusion we pray for your longevity and prosperity to Almighty *Allah*, the Exalted.

Enclosure to No. 204

F. 216 (II)-GG/269-71

RESOLUTION

The deputation, from the *'Ulama-i-Keram* of East Pakistan, has the honour to submit before Quaid-i-Azam the following resolutions for consideration and execution:

1. This special meeting of the Jami'yyat 'Ulama-i-Islam, East Pakistan, emphatically demands that in the constitution of Pakistan the *Shari'a* and Islami *Nizam* should be introduced and given effect without the least delay. But for it the Muslims cannot feel pacified and the difficulties of Pakistan will not come to an end. The majority opinion is in favour of it. In support of the above demand the Jami'yyat puts forward the reports of multitude of conferences and meetings. A copy of that is attached herewith.[1]

2. Jami'yyat 'Ulama-i-Islam East Pakistan heartily congratulates Quaid-i-Azam for the speech,[2] which he delivered on the 21st March, 1948 before lakhs at Dacca in which clear and definite declaration has been made to the effect that the State language of the Pakistan Dominion shall be Urdu and nothing else. The Jami'yyat considers it its duty to make this fact clear to Quaid-i-Azam that the overwhelming majority of East Pakistan is in favour of Urdu. In its support the Jami'yyat is in possession of proofs and testimonials produced by the conferences and the meetings held under it in which public opinion has been obtained supporting Urdu. A copy of that is enclosed herewith.[3] The agitation in favour of Bengali is confined to a few and irresponsible persons and some mis-guided students and has nothing to do with the public opinion.
3. The Jami'yyat demands that military training should be made compulsory for each and every Muslims capable of military training. The existing large number of makers of indigenous weapons should be encouraged. Native weapons should be produced in plenty and laxity should be adopted in the matter of licenses.
4. The Jami'yyat is of opinion that in order to remove poverty and illiteracy from Pakistan, education, industry, technical training and trade should be developed. For educational development rural *Maktabs* in large numbers should be established and attention of higher education should be turned from official service to the direction of industries, trades and humanity.
5. The Jami'yyat demands that all possible steps should be taken up for the full protection of life, property honour and religion of the Muslims in the Indian Dominion. Otherwise they will lose confidence in Pakistan.

[1]The list mentioned 281 meetings and conferences held between August 1947 and March 1948 all over East Bengal. See F 126 (II)-GG/272-80 Not printed.
[2]No. 160.
[3]See note 1 above.

205

M. A. Jinnah to Liaquat Ali Khan

Telegram, F. 221 (II)-GG/19

DACCA,
SECRET/MOST IMMEDIATE *27 March 1948*

Your telegram 1043 of 26th March.[1] Dundas must go to Frontier as already decided. If he does not (repeat does not) he should be relieved and Savidge should take his place immediately. The decision I have come to must be carried out and I do not wish any delay to be allowed in this matter. If Dundas finally refuses please wire and then I will consider who should go to Frontier to act for Cunningham.

F. 221(II)-GG/18. Not printed.

206

Shah Muhammad Azizur Rehman to M.A. Jinnah

F. 216 (II)-GG/176-9

DACCA,
27 March 1948

To our respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Most humbly we beg to state that according to your suggestion we, in co-operation with the other members of the Organisation that we represent, tried our utmost to arrive at a compromise with the two student leaders, Messrs Abdur Rahman Choudhury and Mohammad Toha, who claim to represent a section of the students. I regret to submit that due to the following reasons, we have failed to reach the desired settlement:

1. That in spite of your timely warning to us against the fifth column and Communist manoeuvers they have disobeyed your direction and have decided to carry on their movement for Bengali. A resolution to this accord [*sic*] has been published in the newspapers.[1]
2. They are still carrying on propaganda against the League, its leaders and Pakistan. In several meetings organised by them they have expressed directly and indirectly their destructive views of overthrowing our Quaid's leadership, of uniting the two parts

of Bengal and establishing the leadership of Mr. Fazlul Huq.

3. They have collaborated with the worst enemies of Pakistan in the heinous attempt of disrupting our State. On the 13th evening of the current month in a meeting of M.L.As., belonging to Mr. Fazlul Huq's group, held at the house of Mr. Tafazzal Ali, M.L.A., Mr. Qamruddin, the leader of the other students group, and a few other students addressed the M.L.As. and told them that in co-operation with the members of the Communist Party, Bolshevik Party, R.S.P., and other Hindus [they] have devised the plan of uprooting the train lines, blowing off the telegraph and other lines of communication, launching strikes of workers and thus paralysing the Government. They further said that they have a meeting with the aforesaid parties at 11 p.m. in the night. This fact has been revealed to us by Dr. A.M. Malik, M.L.A., and a prominent League leader who was accidentally present there.
4. All the office-bearers of their recently started mushroom organisation are either active Communists or agents of Indian Dominion. They have always opposed the Pakistan movement. At present, assisted by Mr. Fazlul Huq, they are openly pleading the cause of sovereign Bengal and preaching provincialism. We think the Govt. records will reveal the truth about them. Messrs Shamsul Huq, Shamsuddin, Naimuddin, Abdur Rahman Choudhury, Lilli Khan, Qamruddin, Mujibur Rehman, Mohammad Toha and others of the group, have started a new organisation, namely the Democratic Youth League on non-communal lines, and intended to extend the Stalinistic activities in Pakistan. Their organisation is affiliated with the Communist-run Youth Federation which held its last session in Calcutta in February last. They have been persistently trying to dissolve the Muslim League. The Provincial Muslim League and its President are in the know of their anti-League affiliation.
5. According to our joint discussion on the 24th, after we left you, it was agreed upon between us that they will cease to continue the campaign for the acceptance of Bengali as the State language. Accordingly, we convened a students' meeting on the 25th afternoon at the Fazlul Huq Hall, and following the meeting under our auspices a students demonstration paraded the city by shouting the slogans (a) Quaid's decision must be obeyed, (b) State language must be Urdu (c) Down with fifth-column[ist]s. We placed several resolutions in the meeting expressing our implicit confidence in Quaid's leadership, determination to execute Quaid's decision, etc., etc. Quite contrary to our agreed decision they strongly opposed the

resolution and violently attacked our speakers and tried to disrupt the meeting. In spite of all this, the resolutions were passed and later broadcast by the Pakistan Radio. While our workers were out in a procession, they gathered in small number and condemned our workers and the resolution. Later, in the hush of night, they attacked some of our workers in F.H.Hall. Almost every day they hold their coterie meetings and pass resolutions in favour of Bengali and similar other destructive resolutions. We hope if the Govt. have kept records that will suffice to reveal their true colours.

6. The All Bengal Muslim Students' League, as the only organisation of the Muslim students, has been functioning most actively for more than 20 years. In the struggle for independence, it has played the most prominent part. It has always paid ungrudging obedience to the call of the Quaid-i-Azam and it was through it that the Muslim League could triumphantly march on. During your last visit you very kindly addressed[2] a meeting held in Calcutta under its auspices and granted us a special amount of money for the last Assembly election campaign and later through Maulana Akram Khan; and Mr. Ispahani very kindly appreciated the services of its workers. At present, it has 50,000 active, primary members who have profound love with the organisation and who by their active service to the cause of Pakistan have always enjoyed the confidence of the Muslim League. The Muslim League leaders will bear testimony to that.
7. Understanding that some baseless allegations have been made against our organisation, we most humbly venture to submit the following:
   a. The current session of the organisation started from 1945 after the last elections. In 1946, you paid your august visit to Bengal and addressed our meeting. According to the call of the Muslim League, we jumped into the election campaign under your supervision, suspending our elections as [was] done by the Muslim League. We called our meeting in August 1946 with the purpose of holding elections but just then the Great Calcutta Killing started.[3] The Muslim League requisitioned our services for the riot victims and from then till the end of the riots the organisation remained busy and could not hold elections due to the most disturbed conditions. Soon after that, we called a meeting and reshuffled our branches. Some of our executives and members including the President who had completed their career and resigned making room for fresh ones, thus keeping the potent force of the organisation. In 1947 the Muslim League authorised our organisation to work for the Sylhet

Referendum and accordingly for two months we concentrated our energies in Sylhet. Soon after that, the partition took place and for some time we were disintegrated. It took some time for us to settle down our East Bengal office [*sic*]. We had to work very hard for getting accommodation for the influx of students in Dacca and the Govt. kindly conceded our demands.

b. The last Muslim League election was held in 1944. The reasons which did not permit the Muslim League to hold elections, for the same reasons, our responsibilities in a sense being greater, we could not hold elections. Every work of the Muslim League in the province has been done through us. The Muslim League President will testify to that.
c. No member of our organisation is a non-student. In every district and sub-division, it is the unchallenged and the only Muslim student organisation recognised and patronised by the League.
d. Only in a part of Dacca, a few Communist students who could not see eye to eye with us and the League have started the parallel students body to suit their sinister ends and have simultaneously, against the principles of the League, kept their membership in other fake political bodies like the Democratic Youth League, etc., etc. Violating the decision of our organisation they indulged in the whimsical language movement, united Bengal movement, etc., etc. in co-operation with the disgruntled political opportunists. They devised various manoeuvers to disrupt our unity. What is more painful is that even after your timely warning and our repeated appeals they are carrying on the same lines. A section of the students who for some times, of course, nowhere else excepting in Dacca, have realised their mistakes, and have left them. There are not more than 30 students in their fold. The main points of difference [are]:

i. ungrudging obedience to your directions and without reason and murmur to follow your leadership as long as *Allah* spares you in existence.
ii. not to join any other organisation other than the League;
iii. to have Urdu as the State language;
iv. to co-operate with the present Govt. and encourage honest criticism instead of anarchy and chaos; and

v. to oppose any move to unite the two parts of Bengal, etc., etc.

They shall never agree to the above points. Thrice after we met you last we requested them to sit with us and reach a happy compromise and thrice they refused.

According to your suggestion, we have called our Convention on the 8th of the next month and strengthen our organisation by changing the old constitution and framing a new one. This is all that we could submit in our defence hoping that you will not misunderstand us.

We remain, Quaid-i-Azam,

Yours most obediently,

SHAH M[UHAMMA]D AZIZUR REHMAN

General Secretary,

All Bengal Muslim Students League, East Pakistan Zone

MAZHARUL QUDDUS

See Annex.

[2]Address by Jinnah at the meeting held under the auspices of the All-Bengal Muslim Students League, 26 February 1946. See the *Dawn*, 27 February 1946.

[3]The event took place on the Direct Action Day, 6 August 1946.

Annex to No. 206

Resolution Passed by East Pakistan Muslim Students League

F. 216 (II)-GG/185

27 March 1948

On the 23rd last, under the auspices of the East Pakistan Muslim Students League, a students meeting was held. Mr. Naimuddin, the Convenor of the said organisation, said that the movement for the acceptance of Bengali as the State language of East Pakistan is a popularly backed movement of people and the students of East Pakistan. Some people who are determined to reduce East Pakistan to a colony will not be able to mislead the people. The following resolution was adopted:

> This meeting resolves to carry out campaign for the acceptance of Bengali as one of the State languages of Pakistan. This meeting further pledges to carry on the movement till the demand is conceded.

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Afaz-ud-Din to S. M. Yusuf

F. 120 (Vol.II)-GG/288

3 TOPE KHANA ROAD,
P.O. RAMNA,
DACCA,
27 March 1948

Dear Sir,

In enclosing herewith two copies of a souvenir composed by me, I beg most respectfully to solicit the favour of your kindly submitting the same to Quaid-i-Azam and Miss Fatima Jinnah, for which act of your kindness I shall remain ever grateful to you.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
AFAZ-UD-DIN

Enclosure to No. 207

F. 120 (Vol. II)-GG/289-94

I

Free and independent brothers and sisters of Eastern Pakistan
Open your eyes and look around why there is so much jubilation here.
Why large batches of men, young and old in new attire
Are moving about in an ecstasy of joy with no sign of fatigue.
Sounds of trumpets everywhere—the Pakistan flag fluttering high,
Well-dressed soldiers marching on with sign of life in their faces.
Numerous triumphal arches—rising high on the streets.
How many lights of hope are burning in every house!
He who is our diadem and beacon light of hope,
Our beloved Quaid-i-Azam has come here to-day.
At whose sacrifice we have got free Pakistan,
And for whom we have got a place of honour in the comity of nations.
With him has also come his sister, Miss Fatima Jinnah,
Which has enhanced our joy hundred-fold.
At what a sacrifice of personal comfort and happiness with her brother,

Has she rendered cheerful service to the community.
Her lifelong object has been the welfare of the Muslim women,
Be she an inhabitant of a town or a village.
They have both come at our cottage door,
Like the full-grown moon gracing the house of a poor man
To-day we sing their glory with a joyful heart.
Let their name and fame fill the length and breadth of the earth.
We pray to *Allah*—"O, merciful Lord!
Long live they both!— to do good to humanity".

II

Pak thou art, spotless and pure
Thou art our life and soul— an object of devotion.
Glory to thee Our dear land Pakistan!
Glory to thee! (Chorus)

Youths of Pakistan we are,
Christians, Hindus, Buddhists and Muslims,
We shall sing the glory of Pakistan—with one voice.
Pakistan is life and death to us;
We will cheerfully lay down our lives
For the sake of Pakistan. (Chorus)

Our land is not insignificant and not poor,
It is full of rivers, hills and dales,
Full of grains and natural wealth.
Where will you find such big Meghna and Padma,
The high waves of the Indus,
And the murmuring sounds of the Karnafuly ? (Chorus)

Within it lie Sindh , the Punjab,
The distant Chitral, and Baluchistan.
And here is Sylhet the land of Shah Jalal.
Jahangir Nagar, and Bayez Bastan (Chittagong),
Lahore, Attock, Karachi, Jhelum, Gujranwala and Multan,
All come within its boundaries.
So are Peshwar the land of the Pathan,
And Momenshahi, the land of *Momens*. (Chorus)

This is that famous land where once lived Shaesta Khan,
Brave Isa Khan, Bakhtiar Khilji,
And Nawab Abdul Ghani, the benevolent.

The glorious deeds of Ballal Sen were done in this land
And here Mohammad bin Qasim hoisted the banner of Islam.
(Chorus)

We are all descendants of heroic people,
Unparalleled in prowess and valour.
He who will ever try to hinder us from our devotion (to thee)
Will sure be effaced from the earth.
Here again we will build many a Taj and hundreds of *Kitabistan*,
And we will light up Pakistan with Knowledge, Art and Science.
March on, march on, the youth of Pakistan. (Chorus)

208

Broadcast by M. A. Jinnah[1]

DACCA,
28 March 1948

During the past nine days that I have spent in your Province, I have been studying your local conditions and some of the problems that confront East Bengal. Tonight, on the eve of my departure, I want to place before you some of my impressions. Before I do this, however, let me first cordially thank you for the great warmth and affection with which you have received me everywhere in your midst during my stay here.

From the administrative point of view, East Bengal, perhaps more than any other province of Pakistan, has had to face the most difficult problems as a result of Partition. Before August 15, it existed merely as a hinterland to Calcutta, to whose prosperity it greatly contributed but which it did not share. On August 15, Dacca was merely a mofussil town, having none of the complex facilities and amenities which are essential for the capital of a modern Government. Further, owing to Partition, the Province's transport system had been thrown completely out of gear and the administrative machinery seriously disorganized at a time when the country was threatened with a serious food shortage. The new Province of East Bengal thus came into being in the most unfavourable circumstances which might easily have proved fatal to a less determined and less tenacious people. That the administration not only survived, but even emerged stronger from, such setbacks as the Chittagong cyclone, is a striking tribute both to the sterling character

of the people as well as to the unremitting zeal of the Government of the Province. The position now is that the initial difficulties have to a great extent been overcome and, though there is no ground for complacency, there are at least reasons for quiet confidence in the future. Though now undeveloped, East Bengal possesses vast potentialities of raw materials and hydro-electric power. In Chittagong you have the making of a first-class port which in time should rank among the finest ports in the world. Given peaceful conditions and the fullest co-operation from all sections of the people, we shall make this Province the most prosperous in Pakistan. It is a matter for congratulation that despite the massacre and persecution of Muslims in the Indian Dominion in the months immediately following Partition, peaceful conditions have throughout prevailed in this Province, and I have seen the minority community going about its normal day-to-day avocation, in perfect security. Some migration of Hindus to the Indian Dominion there unfortunately has been, though the estimates mentioned in the Indian press are ridiculous: I am satisfied, at any rate, that whatever movement there has been, has not in any way been due to their treatment here, which under the circumstances has been exemplary, but rather to psychological reasons and external pressure. Indian leaders and a section of the Indian press have indulged freely in war-mongering talks against Pakistan. There has been persistently insidious propaganda by parties like the Hindu Mahasabha in favour of an exchange of population: and disturbances in the Indian Dominion, in which Muslims have been persecuted, have not unnaturally given rise to fears in the mind of the minority community lest unpleasant repercussions should occur in East Bengal, even though such apprehensions have no foundation for they have been belied by actual facts. Over and above all these factors, the recent declaration by the Indian Dominion on Pakistan as a foreign country for customs and other purposes has involved the Hindu business community in serious economic difficulties and brought pressure to bear on many Hindu businessmen to remove their business to the Indian Dominion. I find that the Provincial Government have repeatedly given assurances and have at all times taken whatever steps were possible for the protection and well-being of the minority community and have done their best to dissuade them from leaving their ancestral homes in East Bengal for an unknown fate in the Indian Union.

I would like now to offer a word of advice to the people of this Province. I notice a regrettable tendency on the part of a certain section of the people to regard their newly-won freedom not as liberty with the great opportunities it opens up and the heavy responsibilities it

imposes, but as licence. It is true that, with the removal of foreign domination, the people are now the final arbiters of their destiny. They have perfect liberty to have by constitutional means any Government that they may choose. This cannot, however, mean that any group may now attempt by any unlawful methods to impose its will on the popularly elected Government of the day. The Government and its policy may be changed by the votes of the elected representatives of the Provincial Legislative Assembly. Not only that, but no Government worthy of the name can for a moment tolerate such gangsterism and mob rule from reckless and irresponsible people, but must deal with it firmly by all the means at its disposal. I am thinking particularly of the language controversy which has caused quite unnecessary excitement and trouble in certain quarters in this Province and if not checked it might lead to serious consequences. What should be the official language of this Province is for your representatives to decide.

But this language controversy is really only one aspect of a bigger problem—that of provincialism. I am sure you must realize that in a newly formed State like Pakistan, consisting moreover as it does of two widely separated parts, cohesion and solidarity amongst all its citizens, from whatever part they may come, is essential for its progress, nay for its very survival. Pakistan is the embodiment of the unity of the Muslim nation and so it must remain. That unity we, as true Muslims, must jealously guard and preserve. If we begin to think of ourselves as Bengalis, Punjabis, Sindhis, etc., first and Muslims and Pakistanis only incidentally, then Pakistan is bound to disintegrate. Do not think that this is some abstruse proposition: our enemies are fully alive to its possibilities which I must warn you they are already busy exploiting. I would ask you plainly, when political agencies and organs of the Indian press, which fought tooth and nail to prevent the creation of Pakistan, are suddenly found with a tender conscience for what they call the "just claims" of the Muslims of East Bengal, do you not consider this a most sinister phenomenon? Is it not perfectly obvious that, having failed to prevent the Muslims from achieving Pakistan, these agencies are now trying to disrupt Pakistan from within by insidious propaganda aimed at setting brother Muslim against brother Muslim? That is why I want you to be on your guard against this poison of provincialism that our enemies wish to inject into our State. There are great tasks to be accomplished and great dangers to be overcome: overcome them we certainly shall, but we shall do so much quicker if our solidarity remains unimpaired and if our determination to march forward as a single united nation remains unshaken. This is the only way in which we can raise Pakistan rapidly and surely to its proper,

worthy place in the comity of nations.

Here I would like to address a word to the women of Eastern Pakistan. In the great task of building the nation and maintaining its solidarity, women have a most valuable part to play, as the prime architects of the character of the youth that constitutes its backone, not merely in their own homes but by helping their less fortunate sisters outside in that great task. I know that in the long struggle for the achievement of Pakistan, Muslim women have stood solidly behind their men. In the bigger struggle for the building up of Pakistan that now lies ahead, let it not be said that the women of Pakistan had lagged behind or failed in their duty.

Finally, I would address a special word to Government servants, both Central and Provincial—that great body of pioneers, many of whom have been working under very difficult conditions in this Province. Yours is a great responsibility. You must ensure that this Province is given, not merely the ordinary routine services that you are bound to perform, but rather the very last ounce of selfless endeavour that you are capable of producing for your State. In the great task of building up this State, you have a magnificent opportunity. You must continue to face the future, handle your jobs with the same courage, confidence and determination as you have so far displayed. Above all, do not allow yourselves to be made the pawns of mischievious propagandists and self-seeking agitators who are out to exploit both you and the difficulties with which a new State is inevitably faced. The Government of Pakistan and the Provincial Government have been anxiously devising ways and means whereby your housing and other difficulties, inescapable in a period of such rapid transition, may be relieved and I trust that these difficulties will soon disappear. You owe it to the great State to which you belong, to the people whom you serve and, indeed, to yourself not to be daunted by any difficulties, but to press on and go forward and maintain sustained efforts with single-minded devotion. Pakistan has a great future ahead of it. It is now for us to take the fullest advantage of what nature has so abundantly provided us with and build up a glorious and mighty State. *Pakistan Zindabad*.

[1]Yusufi, *Speeches of Quaid-i-Azam*, IV, 2737-41.

209

F. Amin to Mohammad Solaiman

F. 216 (II)-GG/102

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
DACCA,
28 March 1948

Dear Sir,

Thank you for your letter dated 22nd of March, 1948[1] together with its enclosures. I am desired by the Quaid-i-Azam to say that he regrets it is not possible for him during his short visit to East Bengal to lay the foundation stone of the Institute of Engineers but he has asked me to convey his permission to your laying the foundation stone in his name, as requested by you. I am further to say that he thanks the Council of the Institute of Engineers and wishes them all success in their mission.

Yours faithfully,
F. AMIN

Khan Bahadur Mohammad Solaiman,
C.I.E., M.I.E. (Ind.), M.I.E. (Pak.),
President, Institute of Engineers,
Pakistan, Dacca

No. 168.

210

Khwaja Nazimuddin to M. A. Jinnah

F. 216 (II)-GG/193

BURDWAN HOUSE,
DACCA,
28 March 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Mr. [I.A.] Mohajer, *Salar-i-Suba* of the Muslim National Guards, is going to have an interview with Your Excellency to-day. He is not only refusing to disband his Muslim National Guards,[1] but in certain districts, like Chittagong and Noakhali, his National Guards are not joining the *Ansars*, which is a Government-sponsored organisation to

replace the Muslim National Guards. He has formed a company with the object of giving technical training to his National Guards and, I am afraid, the National Guards will be asked to get the people to subscribe to the shares of the company. I have very grave doubts if it will be a voluntary sale of the shares. The common people will be forced to buy shares. Could you kindly explain to him that under the changed circumstances there can only be one voluntary organisation under the supervision of Government like the *Ansars*, and all others should be disbanded.

Yours sincerely,
K. NAZIMUDDIN

PS. Pakistan National Guards are under the Army. These persons are not joining that either. We want Muslim National Guards to join the Pakistan National Guards.

K. NAZIMUDDIN

[1]It was disbanded on 31 March 1948. See No. 221.

211

S. M. Nauman Zaidi & Others to M. A. Jinnah

F. 216 (II)-GG/351-8

DACCA,
28 March 1948

Our dearest Quaid-i-Azam,

On behalf of the Jami'yyat Ikhwanul Mohajireen wal Ansar, East Pakistan, Dacca, we accord you a hearty welcome in the capital of East Pakistan and wish you a grand success in your mission of the regeneration of the Muslim *millat*.

We take this opportunity of offering you our sincerest congratulations on the realization of your life-dream of Pakistan in your own life-time and pray that you may also be granted time, power and wisdom by the Almighty to see the consolidation of Pakistan as the world's biggest Islamic State, society and economy which may rightly be recognized as the leader of universal Islamic renaissance and the foundation-stone of the unification of the Muslim world in the form of universal Islamic democratic *khilafat*, which is undoubtedly the ideal for which every Muslim in his heart of hearts prays, every night and day.

Raisul Mohajireen! The Jami'yyat Ikhwanul Mohajireen wal Ansar, East Pakistan, Dacca, as its name signifies, is the joint organization of

the *Mohajirs* (Muslim refugees from Hindustan) and *Ansars* (the Muslims of East Pakistan), and its watchword is the ideal brotherhood of *Ansar wal Mohajireen* of Madina tun-Nabi. It aims, firstly, at the complete fraternization and merger of the *Mohajirs* and *Ansars* as members of the one solid Islamic *millat* and, secondly, at the complete dedication of the life and labour, genius and talents of all Muslims in the building, defence and development of Pakistan as the ideal Islamic democracy where there shall be full scope for freedom, security and development for every man and women, Muslim or non-Muslim, according to his or her natural capacity. It was the solemn and ceremonial fraternization of the Meccan *Mohajirs* with the Medinite *Ansars* which became the foundation-stone of the Islamic nation, State and civilization in the world. Our Jami'yyat aims at the Medinite ideal of Islamic nation and State. The Pakistan State is proud to have Your Excellency as its head, but we are equally proud to own you as one of the *Mohajirs*. It is a matter of gratification that both the Head of the Pakistan State and the Premier of the Pakistan Government are *Mohajirs* from India and they can well realize the circumstances in which the *Mohajirs* have been forced to sacrifice their near and dear (ones) and homes and properties and possessions and beloved associations in India for the ideal of Pakistan. Even a bird does not leave her temporary nest willingly. How, you may imagine, *Mohajirs* would have left their centuries-old homes in India unless they were forced to do so.

Our beloved leader! Two-way movement of population is taking place in Bengal; lakhs of Hindus have left East Bengal for West Bengal while about five lakh Muslim *Mohajirs* have come to East Bengal, of which about one lakh are in and about Dacca proper. They have largely come from Calcutta, West Bengal, Bihar and U.P. A part of this belongs to the class of Government employees and railwaymen, their families and dependents while another part consists of independent traders, businessmen and artisans, but the vast bulk of *Mohajir* population consists of Muslims who have been ousted by hostile forces and have lost their hearths and homes in Hindustan and for whom Hindustan has become a veritable hell. Calcutta being the city and port of jute, there is bound to be a large-scale movement of population from Calcutta to East Bengal with the diversion of the jute industry and commerce from the West to the East Bengal. Workers of jute mills, jute presses, and the port and dock workers and seamen are bound to come to East Bengal in increasing number in their own interest.

The *Mohajirs* have nothing to say against the Muslim masses of East Pakistan. The love and brotherhood shown to us by the deeply religious Muslim masses of East Pakistan, and specially by the Muslims of

Dacca, Khulna and Sylhet, headed by the *'Ulama*, is exemplary, but we regret that so far as the East Pakistan Govt. is concerned, it has so far practically taken no note of the existence of the refugee problem, and the East Bengal Provincial Muslim League, to speak the bitter truth, is as good as dead. Hundreds of Muslim businessmen and traders and scores of big capitalists came from India to East Bengal with high hope to invest their capital and skill in industrial plants and machineries and enrich East Pakistan with their enterprise but East Bengal was made too hot for them to stay and the Government Ministers, far from encouraging them, did everything to kill their enthusiasm with the result that vast capital, very valuable industrial plants, invaluable business acumen and skill have been irretrievably lost. Had the Government only given them a little encouragement and set up a machinary to help and guide the incoming capital and enterprise, East Bengal would have made some real progress in the industrialization of East Pakistan.

Nasrul Millat! We are extremely grieved to note that a class of disrupters, instigated by the communists and fifth-columnists, are busy preaching the gospel of hatred to *Mohajirs* and in the zeal of linguistic Bengali nationalism with the slogan of "Bengal for Bengalees", they are teaching Muslims to prefer Hindu Bengalees than [*sic*] the poor Muslim *Mohajirs*, who have sacrificed their own hearths and homes so that Pakistan may come into being and live as an Islamic State. The Pakistan State must crush this racial nationalism with an iron hand because it is the negation of the first principle of the Pakistan State, namely ideology of Islamic nationalism. Pakistan is either an ethnic State or an Islamic State. It cannot be both. It is a contradiction in terms. The entire future of the Pakistan State, its chances of success and glory, in fact its very viability, rest on the inner spiritual cohesion, cultural integration and social consolidation of the Muslims of all classes, provinces, races and sects of Pakistan as one single Islamic *millat* and one brotherhood. We solemnly dedicate ourselves to this ideal.

Amirul Millat! We beg your permission to draw your kind attention to the plight of Muslims in Calcutta, West Bengal, and East India in general. Muslim Calcutta, which was in the forefront of the fight for Pakistan, has been specially selected for repression. In Calcutta, where but yesterday Muslims were the co-rulers of the province, have lost all positions in the Government, the Administration, the Police, Executive and Forces. Joint electorate has been enforced in the Calcutta Corporation. Within a month, Muslims, including women and children, have been twice massacred and burnt alive in Narkaldanga and Champahati near Calcutta by mob attacks while individual acts of murder and

oppression are taking place daily in the city and all news is blacked out. All local Muslim League leaders have been arrested or hounded out of Calcutta including the Muslim League representative of Calcutta in the Constituent Assembly of India, who is now a political refugee in Pakistan. The wonderful Muslim League organization of Calcutta, the pride of Muslim Bengal and the spearhead of Pakistan movement in Bengal, is finished for all practical purposes. In short, there is no security, no liberty and nor equality for the Muslims in Calcutta, West Bengal, and India which has become *Darul Harb* for Islam.

SUGGESSIONS AND SUBMISSIONS

Under the circumstances, we submit the following suggessions to Your Excellency:

i. That India may be considered as *Darul Harb* for Islam and Muslims unless India is made to enter into a treaty with Pakistan for the effective protection of Muslim minority in India.
ii. That Pakistan should press the case of the genocide of Muslim minority in India at the Security Council and demand the appointment of a genocide commission of enquiry by the UNO.
iii. That Pakistan should press the demand for the redivision of India on population basis requiring the allotment of at least one-fourth of the area of India to accommodate one-fourth of her population (Muslims) in Pakistan because India has absolutely failed to protect the life, religion and honour of Muslims. The whole Muslim community in Alwar, Bharatpur, Patiala, Faridkot and Kapurthala in India have been wiped out or Hinduized while other Muslims are in danger of being denationalized or annihilated.
iv. That the Central Pakistan Ministry of Refugees and Relief should appoint a Central Commissioner of Refugees and Relief in East Pakistan to look after the welfare of the refugees, and to work in co-operation with the East Pakistan Government.
v. That a Refugees' Rehabilitation Officer should be appointed to settle the *Mohajirs* in productive vocations.
vi. That equal opportunity should be accorded to *Mohajirs* for the service of Pakistan and the *Mohajirs* be recognized as full-fledged citizens of the State without any discrimination.
vii. That arrangement for the education of the children be made through the medium of Urdu which is the language of the great majority of *Mohajirs*.
viii. That a Deputy High Commissioner for Pakistan should be appointed in Calcutta with a Refugee Welfare Officer attached to his office.
ix. That the Quaid-i-Azam Bihar Relief Fund be invested in some

industries in East Pakistan and the income thereof be earmarked for the economic and educational welfare of the Bihar Muslim refugees, and that you should kindly appoint trustees directly responsible to you for the administration of the Fund and its industries.

x. That the movement of Ikhwan ul Mohajireen wal Ansar should be recognized and encouraged by the Pakistan Government and that its branches should be started in all the provinces and states of Pakistan, to promote the spirit of Islamic brotherhood and spiritual integration and cohesion of all Muslim elements in Pakistan.

The Architect of Pakistan! We, the *Mohajirs* and *Ansars* of east Pakistan, beg to assure you that we shall stand by you and make our humble contribution to the building of Pakistan as the greatest Islamic commonwealth of the world, which shall be the refuge of not only the helpless Muslims of India but of all the high ideals for which Islam stands in the world. We pray to God that He may grant you long life, health, strength and vision to make Pakistan the opening of a new epoch, a new era and a new chapter in the history of the revival of Islam, Islamic polity and culture.

We are your humble supporters,
S. M. NAUMAN ZAIDI
Secretary,
and Members of Jami'yyat-i-Ikhwanul Muhajireen wal Ansar

212

Omar Hayat Malik to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 213-GG/1

28 March 1948

Punjab University wishes to confer on Your Excellency the degree of Doctor of Laws honoris causa as a humble token affection and esteem from the oldest University in Pakistan. Kindly wire consent. Suggested date Convocation on or about twenty-first April, namely Iqbal Day or any date after that convenient to Your Excellency.[1]

OMAR HAYAT MALIK
Vice-Chancellor, Punjab University

[1]F. Amin replied that Jinnah would discuss the matter with the Vice Chancellor before giving his consent. See F. 213-GG/2. Not printed.

213

Imam Husain to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. II)-GG/370-1

KATHIADI,
MYMENSINGH,
EASTERN PAKISTAN,
29 March 1948

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

In my opinion, the first and foremost long-term task before us for immediate handling is creation of abiding sense and feeling of sameness and oneness in selfless brotherhood and love among the people of the different provinces of Pakistan. To achieve this, we must make sustained all-out efforts. I shall be very grateful if you kindly consider the following plan of mine to attain this object.[1]

2. In order that the people of different provinces may know and develop affection for each other, the greatest possible number of them must be deliberately made to work and live together in one another's province. Lest provincialism or suspicion of it does not [*sic*] defeat the purpose, justice should be assured to the provinces by provision in the constitution in the following manner:

a. Fifty per cent of all vacancies under the provincial government shall be filled up by the inhabitants of the province, and fifty per cent, in proportion to population strength, by the inhabitants of other provinces and states of Pakistan.

b. The Constitution shall also provide for distribution of the Central Government jobs according to the proportion of population of the different provinces and states. a&b shall prevail in normal times, and shall be adjustable from time to time whenever any province loses under the arrangement.

c. High-class entertaining commercial talkie films may be got produced by professional firms on stories written by able writers commissioned to influence the people towards loyalty, patriotism, nationalism, sameness and oneness, affection and fraternity, high citizenship, high national character, individual fitness to serve the State, ever-readiness to sacrifice all for the security of the State, and above all, towards militarism, especially directed towards the people of eastern Pakistan.

d. The press should be subsidized to help this campaign to success.

e. Popular personalities may be financed to comb the countryside on

lecture tours for long periods.

f. No Minister, whether Central or Provincial, must lose contact with the people. Each of them shall address public meetings once a week at different points of the country devoted to non-governmental subjects such as forming of the national character.

g. I am a Bengali Musalman. I do not know Urdu. But yet I am an Urduite. From my talks with the language agitators, I gather that their real fear is that since the Bengalees do not know Urdu and will be backward students of it in comparison with *maghribi* Pakistan, they may not be able to capture the Government jobs in competition with the non-Bengalees who will thus preponderate in every Department. To allay this fear, I would suggest you kindly issue the following directives to all concerned:

i. The Central Government vacancies shall be filled up by inhabitants of the different provinces and States according to their population ratio.

ii. All candidates for Central Government jobs must pass examinations in Urdu within a period of two years from the date of their joining the post.

iii. Proper arrangement should be made to teach the persons good Urdu under able teachers. This instruction shall be free.

iv. Able teaching staff should be immediately provided free by Government to all schools, colleges, and universities.

v. Numerous arrangements should also be made for learning of Urdu by non-academic students.

vi. None shall be appointed to a provincial post unless he knows the language of the province in addition to knowing Urdu.

vii. If a person under (vi) does not know Urdu or the provincial language, he shall be taught that language in the same manner as laid down in (iii) above.

3. May I solicit you kindly to take me on your personal staff to help you on works in such matters.

Khuda Hafiz

Yours sincerely,
IMAM HUSAIN

The letter was acknowledged by F Amin. See F. 120 (Vol. II)-GG, 369 Not printed

214

A. Qasim to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. II)-GG/483

RAWALPINDI,
29 March 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

After the establishment of Pakistan, people abroad are watching very keenly the developments and affairs of our new State. In Pakistan, Musalmans are jubilant and they believe that it will be a true Islamic State where progress and advancement will be in tune with the times. It will, no doubt, be a modern State but of course will not be on the pattern of "West". We have to show to the world that Islam is the only religion which has a complete code of life and which embodies a comprehensive and well-balanced charter of an ideal Government fully adaptable for any time and place.

But, alas, the trend of affairs has marred all hopes of a true Islamic conception and a vision of kingdom of *Allah* on earth. It is true this is not the time for criticism and fault-finding but of constructive contributions. But when a layman sees that notwithstanding very high salaries of Ministers and Officers, corruption and black-marketing among them are at bewildering heights and all financial implications and moral injunctions are for poor and low-paid staff only, he is amazed and perplexed. The events are moving so rapidly that only a complete overhaul or revolution can set them aright. Your un-Islamic way of living, still relying on British, ignoring neighbours, not taking care of the poor and making the rich richer, have turned the flow of events towards disappointment and discontentment.

As long as the Prime Minister and his gang are your pets and sincere and honest men have no say in your government, cocktail parties, corruption and chaos will not stop. Most incapable and undesirable persons, like General [N.A.M.] Raza, will go on grinding their own axe, lowering the morale of military personnel and holding bachelor girls' dances in aid of Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund. I attach a specimen with monogram, which stands self-condemned.[1]

The Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund has now become fairly notorious. C.A.O., GHQ, is also holding shortly a show in which boys and girls are taking part. Do you think these enjoyments are worthy of the name of Pakistan, a Muslim State? For God's sake, don't copy the West or

the so-called Muslim States but please copy Islam in letter and spirit.

Will you kindly try to understand what Iqbal says:

I may tell you what is the fate of nations,
Sword and Arrow in the beginning,
Dance and Music in the end.

It is deplorable indeed that we are diverting towards dance and music in the beginning while war clouds are growing thicker. If we are to live as a strong and honourable nation we must be masters of "Sword and Arrow" and never turn to "Dance and Music".

Yours sincerenly,
A. QASIM

[1]F. 120 (Vol. II)-GG/485. Not printed.

215

Zia-ul-Islam to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. II)-GG/404-7

DARUL MUJAHIDEEN,
BRANDRETH ROAD,
LAHORE,
29 March 1948

Respected Quaid-i-Azam, *Salaams*

We are celebrating Iqbal Day on the 20th and 21st of April 1948. This is the first Iqbal Day which the *millat* is celebrating in a sovereign Pakistan.

We have contacted dignitaries and men of learning from far and wide to participate in the celebrations and series of lectures, talks, papers on Iqbal and a political symposium.

The Ambassadors of Egypt and Burmese Republic have very kindly agreed to come over to Lahore and preside over the various sessions of Iqbal Day proceedings. Ambassadors from Iran and Afghanistan have promised that they would do their best to find time for this occasion at Lahore. The political symposium shall be presided over by Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar.

Quaid-i-Azam, we had the honour to humbly request your honour's gracious company at the occasion, when we were granted an audience with Your Excellency on the 1st March 1948. Your grace very kindly promised to consider our request when the occasion comes. Further, your honour suggested to us to contact Your Excellency when we had

made our proper arrangements.

Quaid-i-Azam, we have made an elaborate programme for the occasion. We are making arrangements for an Iqbal Day procession to Iqbal's grave on the morning of 21st April. In exquisitely decorated cars we shall conduct the Ambassadors to the grave. Military and Police bands shall be the vanguard of the procession; just behind these shall be the finest available regiment of Pakistan Army; behind them shall be students, professors and men of learning, and at the end, the general public. At the grave, every section of the procession shall place wreaths at the poet-philosopher's grave—that shall be nation's homage to her thinker. The foreign dignitaries shall place wreaths on behalf of their countries and people.

If your honour can graciously agree to grace the occasion, it can be a grand occasion when Your Excellency takes the salute from Pakistan Army at the steps of Badshahi Mosque and places a wreath on behalf of the Pakistani nation, on Iqbal's grave.

On the evening of 20th, we would humbly request your honour to inaugurate the Iqbal Day sessions. On this occasion, we would have the honour to present to our beloved Quaid-i-Azam an address of welcome and gratitude to father of Pakistan nation, for leading the *millat* to the promised land of freedom—Pakistan.

We are in close touch with our Premier, University authorities and the Provincial Muslim League. All deeply appreciate the idea. Your honour can make your own enquiries.

Quaid-i-Azam, we quite realize that you are the busiest man in Pakistan and the affairs of State tax you most. But we feel encouraged by your honour's kindness and deep parental affection, which you have for the students. Further, as Your Excellency is going to N.W.F.P. on the 11th of April, it may be less difficult for your grace to find some time for this great occasion of academic and national importance. Further, we hear that the Punjab University is requesting Your Excellency's company on the convocation.

Father Jinnah! we solemnly believe that Quaid-i-Azam will very sympathetically consider our humble request and very graciously agree to grace the occasion and enrich the function with his presence.

We would deeply welcome any suggestion from Your Excellency as regards our programme. We can cut down any item and add any, if asked. We would request your honour's company[1] for the welcome address and inauguration on the 20th evening and for the procession,

taking of salute and placing wreath on the morning of 21st April.

With reverend regards and infinite devotion,

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

ZIA-UL-ISLAM

President, Punjab Muslim Students Federation

On 9 April, F. Amin replied that Jinnah was due to visit the Frontier Province and would not, therefore, be able to attend the Iqbal Day celebrations in Lahore. See F. 120 (Vol. II)-GG/409. Not printed.

216

A. B. Khan to F. Amin

F. 216 (II)-GG/362

DACCA,
30 March 1948

Sir,

I am desired to forward herewith two envelopes, one addressed to Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Governor-General of Pakistan, and the other to Miss Fatima Jinnah, containing a copy [each] of the Memorandum on behalf of the Dacca Muslim Chamber of Commerce, received from the Hony. Secretary of the Chamber.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

A.B. KHAN

Assistant Secretary, Government of East Bengal

Enclosure to No. 216
Memorandum by Dacca Muslim Chamber of Commerce

F. 216 (II)-GG/363-6

26 March 1948

Our beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

On the occasion of your first visit to this ancient and historic city of Dacca, famous all over the world for its textile industry, now the capital of East Bengal, the largest province in the Dominion of Pakistan,

we, the members of the Dacca Muslim Chamber of Commerce, beg to accord you and Miss Fatima Jinnah a hearty welcome and to place before you this memorandum of our respectful suggestions regarding the trade and commerce in particular and the general condition of the people of this part of the country in general.

Before going into the details of our submission, we beg to express our sense of deep appreciation of the very great and unique service that you have rendered in establishing an independent State of Pakistan which was only a dream a few months ago. The world history cannot show a parallel of the leadership that you have shown. By dint of your unique sacrifice, courage and statesmanship, you have achieved what was considered by others an impossibility. It is only you alone who can again guide this State to a success, which our enemies again think to be impossible. We, therefore, pray to the Almighty *Allah*, with all our heart, that He may spare you long enough to lead Pakistan to the front rank of the States of the world.

As we have already said, Dacca is an ancient city with its past glories. The world-famous muslin was a monopoly of Dacca. Even at the present moment, its textile industry, although mostly small and cottage and has not been able to pick up any of the modern scientific improvements, is considerably known in the country.

Dacca is also a commercial centre of importance in this province and it has grown all the more important, with the shifting of the Capital to this ancient city of glories. We are absolutely sure that with sufficient co-operation and encouragement from Government in the right direction, this City will occupy commercially the same proud and privileged position in the East, which the city of Calcutta hithertofore enjoyed.

Our Chamber, the Dacca Muslim Chamber of Commerce, is practically the only organisation of the Muslim merchants, traders and industrialists in this city. But unfortunately we have been rather neglected by the Government so far. All the same, we fervently hope that our Chamber will henceforth receive due recognition from the Government and will, in co-operation with them, be able to help greatly the healthy growth of trade, commerce and industry not only in this city, but in the whole of the Dominion of Pakistan. We feel that the absence of our representation both in the provincial and the central legislature is a great handicap, not only for us but also for the Government. We feel sure that the Government would never have taken certain measures which in our opinion were detrimental to the interest of the trade and industry as a whole, if we had even a single representative in the legislatures. It is unfortunate that commercial interests are not at all

represented in our legislatures, neither provincial nor central, and in these days no legislature in a civilised country can afford to be without traders' representatives. We, therefore, pray that you would be gracious enough to sanction for us with immediate effect one seat in the Constituent Assembly, which is also functioning as the Central Legislature, and four seats in the Provincial Legislative Assembly.

We may be permitted to point out that in the Bengal Legislative Assembly in a House of 250 members, the trade interest accounted for 19 seats—Bengal Chamber of Commerce 7, Bengal National Chamber 2, Calcutta Trades Association 2, India Jute Mills Association 2, Muslim Chamber of Commerce 1, Indian Tea Association 2, Indian Mining Association 1; India Chamber of Commerce 1; and Marwari Chamber of Commerce 1. The present strength of the East Bengal Legislative Assembly is 162, and on the same principle of representation the traders should be entitled to at least 10 seats. The Dacca Muslim Chamber of Commerce, being practically the only Muslim Traders Association in this part of the country, our claim for four seats is perhaps very modest considering the declared policy of the Pakistan Government to encourage trade and commerce. We hope these seats will be conceded to us and with immediate effect.

We cannot approve of the Government policy of controls. Whatever the official version may be, we are absolutely certain that, but for controls, the 1943 famine would never occur [*sic*]. The partial decontrol of foodstuffs in this province has shown good results, and this should end all controversy about any further retention of control over foodstuffs. In our considered opinion, trade should not be interfered with by the Government. In cases of short supplies in the country Government should arrange and encourage the trade itself to augment the supply. But Govt. should on no account handle the commodities. In times of scarcity, Govt. should also take all possible measures to stop hoarding. Barring these two functions, in our opinion, Govt. should not interfere with the normal trade activities.

We have noticed with very great dismay the imposition of a duty of Rs. 20 per cwt. on Cuban sugar. We admit there is a great need in the country for developing the sugar industry. But at the same time we are against high prices unless the per capita income of the people can be increased. Hence without taking adequate measures for the general economic uplift we cannot support any step which would lead to high prices. The solution therefore would not lie in the imposition of heavy duty on import alone but in encouraging the growth of indigenous industry with proper subsidy by the Government. This would also bring home to the industry its true state of affairs, in a much more

forcible and practical way, and help self-realisation quicker. East Pakistan enjoys the privilege of being one of the largest exporters of hides and skins in the world. The business has got a tremendous setback on account of the imposition of 10% of custom duty on the export and this has been without any consultation with the merchants concerned. The tariff rate has also been fixed and the tax practically comes up to an increase of 30% on the whole. This heavy imposition of duties on the export of this business will definitely have the effect of forcible closing down of the business. We therefore suggest that the tariff rate may be abolished and the minimum duty be imposed on the amount and rate as appears on the invoice or bill of lading.

While appreciating the necessity and desirability of industrialisation of the country, as quickly as possible, we beg to point out that our country is mainly an agricultural one, and will possibly remain so. So agriculture is one of our crying needs. The condition of the agriculturists is pitiable and their methods are primitive. An agricultural labourer has not got more than six months work in a year; and as such, he has to maintain a family, in most cases a large one, for twelve months, with six months' single-handed earnings. The result is that throughout the greater part of the year, he is only half-fed. If independence means anything, the condition of these dumb millions must be ameliorated. We know, Sir, it is a very great task, but then we are appealing to the greatest of the mankind of this age, and we are sure he can help us a great deal in this direction.

Another vital need of the country is education. Whichever way one may look, one cannot make any mistake about the necessity of education. We may tell you, Sir, that as early as in 1930, an Act was passed for the Free and Compulsory Primary Education, but the successive Governments of this province ever since have done nothing so far to give full effect to the provisions of the Act. Although the country is independent for more than 8 months and a popular Govt. is in office, they also have done nothing in this direction, nor do they propose to do anything in the near future inasmuch as the Provincial Budget shows that the Ministry has thought fit to abolish the scheme for training the teachers for Primary Schools. We fail to comprehend how the economic condition of the people can improve without Compulsory Primary Education. The entire Secondary Education also needs thorough overhauling. There is hardly any arrangement for vocational training. This should be introduced at once.

As we have already stated, this city has advanced commercially to a considerable extent after the Independence Day. Many of the firms who have hitherto been doing import and export business, either in Calcutta or elsewhere, have either shifted or have opened office here. Some small industries also appear to be growing round about the city. Dacca is commercially by far the most important city in the whole of Eastern Pakistan. The merchants here are very greatly handicapped as they have to go as far as Chittagong or Karachi for an export or import licence. In many cases they cannot afford to undertake the journey, and in our opinion the development of import and export trade is greatly hampered due to this. Hence we request you to see that the Pakistan Government makes immediate arrangement to issue import and export licences from Dacca.

We are fully aware that your time is very precious and we do not desire to prolong this on issues of lesser importance, but at the same time we cannot conclude without a reference to the administration of the Sales Tax in this Province. Though last, it is certainly not the least in importance. The recent increase of sales tax, from 9 *pies* to one anna in a rupee, has very adversely hit the trade and commerce in this province and has increased chances of evasion, as in the neighbouring province of West Bengal, the rate of tax is only 9 *pies* in the rupee. Even the reduction of taxable quantum will not be of much use, and we are sure that the taxable turnover for the whole province will fall to such an extent that the actual revenue realisations will be much less than what they were while the rate of tax was nine *pies*. This assertion of ours is borne out by the results actually achieved during the last two months that the increased rate of tax has been there.

Hence this is detrimental not only to the Govt. revenues but also to the trade and commerce. At this early state of our independence, we reasonably expect from the Govt. all facilities, help and co-operation in the development of trade and commerce and we hope the Govt. will not take any such step which will act as a great setback, instead.

We have therefore suggested to the Provincial Govt. that the tax be imposed at all points, and the total incidence be reduced to six *pies* in a rupee only, so that there may not be any room for evasion and the trade and commerce may actually have a fillip and the State revenues may also increase.

We know this is no longer a Provincial subject and we, therefore, request you to see that your Minister concerned may take due notice

of our representation, a copy of which has already been forwarded to him, and may not take any step which may mean utter ruination of the trade and commerce of this Province.

The last but not in the least less important is the question of paper. Paper is fast disappearing in east Pakistan. No body knows what is in store for us in the very near future. It is needless to emphasise the use of paper. Our earnest submission is this—the Pakistan Govt. and you, Sir, as the Head of the State, will be pleased to give immediate attention to the establishment of Paper Mills in East Pakistan where raw materials are available in abundance. The present and immediate need should attract your very kind attention and interim arrangement is earnestly solicited. Foreign paper though costly should be at once imported to bring down the price of India paper.

Wishing you once more a long life and sound health and thanking you once more for all you have done for us.

We remain,
Quaid-i-Azam,
Your fellow citizens,
Members, Dacca Muslim Chamber of Commerce

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Khan Abdul Rahman to S. M. Yusuf

F. 184-GG/11-2

LYALLPUR,
30 March 1948

My dear Mr. Yusuf,

Thanks for your d.o. letter No. D-588-GG/48, dated the 9th February 1948.[1]

In a meeting of the Syndicate of the University of the Punjab held on 23-3-48 , it was decided that the degree of L.L.D. be conferred on Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and that the date for holding the convocation for this purpose should be fixed in consultation with Quaid-i-Azam. It was the unanimous hope of the Syndicate that it will be convenient for Quaid-i-Azam to come to Lahore about the third week of April to receive the degree. The Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University was

kind enough to consult me also as to the procedure which is to be followed for sending a telegram to Quaid-i-Azam. You see, the ruling is that action on the decision of the Syndicate can only be taken after the matter has been duly approved by the Senate of the Punjab University. The meeting of the Senate is taking place on the 31st instant and in order to save time, I suggested to the Vice-Chancellor that two telegrams may be issued forthwith—one to you at Karachi and the other direct to Quaid-i-Azam at Dacca, requesting him to accord his approval for the conferment of the degree of L.L.D. of the Punjab University on him. The Vice-Chancellor approved my suggestion and the Registrar of the Punjab University told me yesterday that so far no reply has been received from the Quaid-i-Azam. We hope most earnestly that Quaid-i-Azam will find time to visit Lahore to receive the degree of L.L.D. In case Quaid-i-Azam decides to visit Lahore, I wish to repeat my request[2] regarding his paying a visit to Lyallpur also to preside over our College function, on or before his visit to Lahore. We only want about three hours for this purpose, unless of course, Quaid-i-Azam wishes to stay in Lyallpur for a longer period. He could fly from Lahore to Lyallpur and this will take him about half an hour and another twenty minutes for him to reach the College from the aerodrome, and this means for coming to the College from Lahore and back again to Lahore about one hour and forty minutes would be required—one hour for prize distribution and twenty minutes rest. With this point in view , I have sent you the following telegram:

> Reference Your No. D-588-GG/48 dated 9th February. Understand Quaid-i-Azam coming Lahore third week April for L.L.D. Degree. Most earnestly beg his sparing about three hours from Lahore for presiding College Prize Distribution before or after Degree as convenient.[3]

I do hope that it would be possible for Quaid-i-Azam to spare this time for our College.

Yours sincerely,
KHAN ABDUL RAHMAN
Fellow & Syndic, Punjab University
and
Principal, Punjab Agricultural College

[1]F. 184-GG/8. Not printed.
[2]No. 313, Vol. VI, 524-6.
[3]F 184-GG/9. F. Amin replied that as Jinnah had not finally decided about his visit to Lahore, it was not possible to fix any engagements at that stage. See F. 184-GG/10. Not printed.

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Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 221 (II)-GG/22

KARACHI,
31 March 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Dundas telephoned to me today from Quetta in connection with the telegram[1] I sent him yesterday, asking him to go to N.W.F.P. as acting Governor.[2] He said that he was ready to obey the order and go there as a temporary arrangement for a month or so. He impressed upon me again that it was not that he wanted to be unreasonable or obstinate in any way but that he felt that he would not be able to do justice to the post and would find it absolutely impossible to make a success of his appointment as Governor of N.W.F.P. as he is, in his own words, definitely not up to it either mentally or bodily.

If you approve of it, you may now issue formal orders to Dundas to proceed to Peshawar immediately as a temporary measure. My personal view is that it is no use forcing a man into an office like that of a Governor when he does not feel himself equal to the task. Apart from other considerations it would not be fair to the people of the province either. Since he will be going to Peshawar for the time being you will have time to think of some other suitable person for permanent appointment.

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

[1]Not traceable.
[2]See No. 205.

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Nizam of Hyderabad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 125 (18)-GG/1

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
31 March 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I write to inform Your Excellency that I have made choice of Mushtaq

Ahmed Khan, until lately Chief Commercial Manager of my State Railway and possessing my full confidence, to reside near the Government of Your Excellency in the quality [*sic*] of my Agent-General. He is well informed of the relative interests of our two countries and of the sincere desire of my Government to cultivate to the fullest extent the friendship between them. My knowledge of his high character and ability gives me entire confidence that he will constantly endeavour to advance the interests and prosperity of both Governments in matters relating to trade and commerce. I trust that his presence will strengthen the relations of friendship between my Government and the Dominion of Pakistan and that full faith and credence will be given to what he shall say on the part of my Government.

This friendly letter will be personally delivered by Mushtaq Ahmed Khan to Your Excellency.

I desire to express the high consideration which I entertain for Your Excellency as Head of the Government of the Dominion of Pakistan and I sign myself.

Your Excellency's sincere friend,
MIR OSMAN ALI KHAN

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A. D. F. Dundas to S. M. Yusuf

Telegram, F. 47 (2)-GG/7

PERSONAL

QUETTA,
BALUCHISTAN,
31 March 1948

After Quaid-i-Azam's intervention Baluchistan was promised further allotment [of] two thousand five hundred tons wheat but so far no supplies received against this. Wheat situation here and particularly in Quetta most serious. Grateful you move Minfah [Ministry of Food, Agriculture & Health] to despatch immediate supplies and inform Director, Food Supplies, Baluchistan.

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I. A. Mohajer to M. A. Jinnah

F. 65 (II)-GG/384

SADARGHAT ROAD,
CHITTAGONG,
31 March 1948

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

With reference to our conversation[1] at Dacca on 28-3-48, I beg most respectfully to inform you that as per your advice the Muslim National Guards Organization has been dissolved with effect from today. I am enclosing herewith a copy of the order which will speak for itself.

We respectfully expect a message and blessing from our beloved Quaid-i-Azam for the past services of the Muslim National Guards in the struggle for the achievement of Pakistan.

Yours faithfully,
I.A. MOHAJER
Salar-i-Suba, East Pakistan

[1]See No. 210.

Enclosure to No. 221

F. 65 (II)-GG/385

SADARGHAT ROAD,
CHITTAGONG,
31 March 1948

STATEMENT OF I A. MOHAJER, *SALAR I-SUBA*, EASTERN PAKISTAN

Whereas Pakistan has been achieved by grace of God, the necessity for keeping the Muslim National Guards of a semi-military character is over. The Muslim League National Guards, therefore, henceforward stand dissolved. Members who took part in the past in the struggle for freedom shall devote all their energy in building up the State, making it economically strong and prosperous so as to enable Pakistan to become one of the richest States of the world. The past sacrifices and devotion to duty of the Guards shall be known in the annals of our history. Now you should, as far as possible, absorb yourselves in the forces mobilised by our State.

I thank you very much from the bottom of my heart for your loyalty. My blessings are with you for ever.

Pakistan Zindabad!

I.A. MOHAJER

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Note by Anonym

F. 216 (II)-GG/194-8

Undated [*March 1948*]

The following short note prepared by a senior I.C.S. officer who has an intimate knowledge of the rural areas of East Bengal is submitted to the Quaid-i-Azam for favour of his consideration:

2. The Muslim masses here are second to none in their zeal for Islam and the Muslim cause. In fact, they are more religious-minded than Muslims in many other parts of this sub-continent. They regard themselves only as Muslims and not as Bengalis. One quite often comes across a Muslim villager talking of some Bengali who had been to his village previously. When he is questioned if he is not a Bengali himself he grows indignant and most emphatically replies, "No, I am a Muslim". This is still true of an overwhelming majority of unsophisticated Muslims of rural areas. But those of their children who go to Bengali schools, begin to learn the un-Islamic doctrine of provincialism. By the time a student graduates, he becomes more of a Bengali than a Muslim. The experience of most of the up-country Muslim officers serving in the districts has been very pleasant and they have generally been very popular. In fact, many of them have been looked upon by the Muslim public as their best friends and guides. Only after the partition, the poison of hatred against these officers is sought to be injected into the public mind by interested parties and saboteurs. But fortunately the trouble has not yet spread far. The agitation is still chiefly confined to the non-madrassa-going students, a section of Government servants and those politicians who want to exploit the situation for their personal ends. The Muslim masses in the countryside are still opposed to making any difference between a Muslim and a Muslim on account of his domicile.

3. They are equally opposed to the teaching of the present Hinduized Bengali to their children. If there is a referendum, the supporters of Bengali are not likely to get more than 20 per cent of the votes—opposed as they will be by the *Maulvis* and *Maulanas* and by the vast

number of *madrassa*-going students who still exercise very great influence on the people as a whole.

4. A very important part of the language problem, which is being lost sight of at present, is the fact that the language spoken by the Musalmans of East Bengal differs from that spoken by the Hindus at least as much, if not more, as Urdu differs from Hindi. The Muslim Bengali—which some have started calling Pak Bengali—has a very large percentage of Arabic and Persian words. This language of the Musalmans was being written in the Arabic script till the advent of the British when under the influence of the Hindus who joined hands with the latter, Sanskritized Bengali in its present script was foisted on the Muslims. Reverting to the Arabic script again will be one of the surest means of putting an end to the present supremacy of Hindu culture over the Muslim mind. What is necessary is that an influential committee should be set up without delay to standardize the Pak Bengali language according to which text books should be written, and also to report on the feasibility of introducing Arabic script for such language. This will divert public attention into constructive channels. The subject has been under discussion for sometime past and a hint or a gesture from the Quaid-i-Azam will work wonders in bringing about the desired change. The Pak Bengali in Arabic script will become rapidly Muslimized and the present gulf between Urdu and Bengali will be bridged to a large extent.

5. The language controversy and Bengali and non-Bengali questions are only symptoms of the disease which is eating into the vitals of East Bengal. The chief cause of trouble is that our body politic has been manifesting signs of inner weakness which is enabling all kinds of parasites and foreign bodies to thrive at its expense. Vacillation, indecision and procrastination have become characteristic features of Government. Even when at long last they come to a decision they show utter weakness in carrying it out. More often than not, they eat their words and go back on the decision previously announced. The general feeling is that one has only to demonstrate a bit vehemently and threaten violence in order to make Government come down to their knees. Respect for law and order is fast disappearing and mobocracy is taking the place of democracy. The first essential is that Government should become firm and strong and restore respect for their authority. A clear-cut policy should be laid down and followed with vigour.

6. The trouble, as mentioned before, is still happily confined to a section of students, politicians and Government servants. It can be nipped in the bud if action on the following lines is taken:

STUDENTS

i. Students are the most vociferous elements among the agitators. Among them are fifth-columnists as well as some genuinely misled youths. A large number, however, joins them under pressure more so because they have nothing to fear by such agitation. There is also the alluring prospect of getting cheap popularity and of becoming heroes. They are encouraged into this by the politicians including present or prospective M.L.As. and Ministers. It is becoming a regular feature for the students to approach the Ministers direct who at once intervene on their behalf—thereby undermining the authority of the Heads of the Institutions to which the students belong. An erroneous impression seems to be gaining ground that by allowing such direct access an Hon'ble Minister renders himself popular. The result is that the Vice-Chancellor, Principals of various colleges and Head Masters of schools who should have been the proper authorities to control and guide the students are becoming reduced to ciphers. Effective action against student agitators must therefore involve (a) removal of their present feeling that they can do anything with impunity, (b) the stopping of all encouragements to political agitation and (c) the re-establishment of the authority of the Heads of the Institutions.

ii. As regards (a), the line so effectively taken by the U.P. Government against the student agitators of Lucknow University should prove equally effective here. There, they rusticated the ring-leaders, closed the University for an indefinite period when the agitators grew truculent, clapped a few of them in prison, and declared that those students who would carry on agitation would be debarred from Government service. The result was that the students soon came back to their senses and offered unconditional apology. Since the trouble is still not far advanced, perhaps Government here may not have to resort to all the above measures. A mere declaration followed by some concrete action to show that they mean business is likely to do the trick.

iii. With regard to (b) and (c), students should not be allowed to approach Government direct nor should they be employed anywhere for political work.

POLITICIANS

Most of the politicians now belong to the Muslim League and dare not disobey its mandate. It is suggested that the League should make it absolutely clear that any person, whatever his

position, who takes part, direct or indirect, in any agitation seeking to divide Muslims on the basis of domicile or to realign East Bengal with the West Bengal on the so-called common culture front shall be expelled from the organisation.

GOVERNMENT SERVANTS

i. The general indiscipline has spread so far as to include a section of Government servants also. They take part in the agitation chiefly to secure their vested interests and personal advancement. It is suggested that a specific clause be inserted in the Government Servants Conduct Rules making it an offence punishable with dismissal to take part in any such agitation.
ii. Those of the Government servants who, but for the posting of non-Bengali Muslims, would have presumably got the superior posts are naturally the most active in carrying on agitation and spreading disaffection against them. Most of them belong to the central services such as the Railways, the Posts and Telegraphs and Income Tax, etc. A transfer of such officers to Western Pakistan is likely to prove very beneficial. It may widen their outlook as also remove an immediate source of trouble.
iii. Another cause of indiscipline among Government servants which later emoldens them to take active part in agitation is that, like students, subordinate officers also are allowed direct approach to the Hon'ble Ministers over the head of their superiors. Proper channel of approach has been reduced to a farce. The authority of superior officers has been undermined. The obvious result of it is slackness and inefficiency all round. This source of indiscipline has got to be stopped.

7. Great damage has been done to the morale of the officers by humiliating and transferring them at the behest of influential politicians whom they could not oblige consistent[ly] with the conscientious discharge of their duties. The administration in the districts is fast passing into the hands of a few busybodies who happen to have a pull with the Ministry. The officers feel bewildered and it is becoming almost impossible for them to discharge their duties without fear or favour. The state of things may be put right if the Quaid-i-Azam is pleased to order that the postings, promotions and transfers of the members of the former I.C.S., who now come under the Pakistan Centre, should be the personal responsibility of the Governor acting on behalf of the Governor-General and the officers, whenever they feel

aggrieved, should have the right of approach to the Governor and through him to the Governor-General.

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A. M. Ziaoshshams & Ghyasuddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 216 (II)-GG/308

3/I F PURANA PALTAN,
RAMNA, DACCA,
[*Undated*] *March 1948*

May it please Your Excellency!

On behalf of Muslims of Goalpara of Assam and other Muslims of Assam, we crave your indulgence for time to place some facts as stated in the accompanying paper and also other facts for which we want to lead a deputation which may be kindly granted.

Yours obediently,
A. M. ZIAOSHSHAMS
B.L., *MLA*
Deputy Opposition Leader, Assam Assembly
GHYASUDDIN AHMAD
B.L., *ex-MLA*

Enclosure to No. 223

F. 216 (II)-GG/309

DHUBRI, ASSAM,
24 March 1948

May it please Your Excellency!

During the last 3 or 4 months or so, there has been a large influx of non-Muslims from Eastern Pakistan into Assam and especially in the Districts of Goalpara and Cachar. The number as appeared in the *Ananda Bazar* [*Patrika*] on the 21st March, 1948 is estimated at 2 lakh and almost daily non-Muslims are entering into Assam.

2. After the creation of the two Dominions in India, there has been practically no migration of Muslims from Assam to Pakistan. But now seeing that the non-Muslims have been coming to Assam, some Muslims

of Goalpara feel inclined that as non-Muslims are coming into our district we should likewise migrate from Goalpara into Pakistan and this desire may increase by and by and may spread to other parts of Assam.

3. As a result of these people coming into Goalpara and Assam, there is some possibility that communal bitterness may be stirred up which is very undesirable.

4. Our desire is that as far as humanly practicable, by placing attractions before the non-Muslims which they legitimately deserve, and by a more extensive and active propaganda among the non-Muslims which may not only create in their minds a great sense of security which is of course being done—but also create in them a sense that they have nothing to lose, but on the other hand, they will have opportunity of material advantages, security of culture and religion, which they enjoyed before.

5. This may, we think, stop the flow of migration of non-Muslims out of Eastern Pakistan into Assam.

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Mrs. Saiyid Ahmed to M. A. Jinnah

F. 216 (II)-GG/338-9

[*Undated*] *March 1948*

Quaid-i-Azam!

Most respectfully, I beg to inform you that Muslim women of Eastern Pakistan are getting little or no opportunity for their emancipation. We look upon our newly achieved State of Pakistan for the very incentive and guidance, and so the entire responsibility lies with the Government. I would request you to see that the present educational institutions are quickly reformed and recast, and an atmosphere created where Islamic principles and culture become the dominant feature. The institutions should be free from foreign and Hindu influence which is prevalent almost everywhere at present. The controversy over language and provincialism in Bengal is due to the long-standing environmental influence of the Hindu teaching staff which has deeply and unknowingly penetrated among the Muslims and uprooted their culture.

2. Because of the negligible number of seats in the Legislature and in Local Bodies, we are unable to play any role in politics. Mrs. Vijay Lakhshmi Pandit played a great role in propagating the cause of India to the U.S.A. Her presence as an Ambassador in the U.S.S.R. is equally advancing the cause of India to the great Soviet Republic. We feel, if opportunity is given and the required training is available, we shall also

be able to advance the cause of our Pakistan to other great nations. I would, therefore, suggest that the present number of seats in all the Legislatures and Local Bodies be kindly increased to [*sic*] minimum of ten per cent, and in the method of election, adult women suffrage be granted.

MRS. SAIYID AHMED

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Notes by M. A. Jinnah

F. 216 (II)-GG/58-9

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
DACCA,
[*Undated*] *March 1948*

1. Beware of fifth-columnists amongst us.
2. Guard against and weed out selfish people who only wish to exploit you so that they may swim.
3. Learn to judge who is really true and really unselfish servant of the State, who wishes to serve the people with his heart and soul.
4. Consolidate the Muslim League Party which will serve and build up a really and truly great and glorious Pakistan.
5. Muslim League has won and established Pakistan and it is the Muslim League whose duty it is now as custodian of sacred trust to construct Pakistan.
6. There may be many who did not lift their small finger to help us, nay opposed us and put every obstacle in our great struggle openly and not a few worked in our enemy's camp against us who may now come forward and put their own ideals and programme before you. But they have yet to prove their bonafides of really honest change on their part by supporting and joining the League and working and ventilating or pressing their views within the League Party Organization, and not by starting mushroom parties at this juncture of very great and grave emergency when you know we are yet facing external dangers and are called upon to deal with internal complex problems of far-reaching character affecting the future of seventy millions of people.
7. So many new avenues and fields are now open to you in Pakistan and rapidly growing round you.

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M. Ikramullah to Aziz Ahmed

Telegram, F. 125-GG/21

KARACHI,
1 April 1948

Following for Mohammed Ali[1] ex-Minister. *Begins*: Quaid-i-Azam has selected you for appointment as Pakistan's Ambassador to the Union of Burma at Rangoon. Please wire acceptance[2] so that approval of His Majesty the King and Government of Burma may be obtained. Till then please do not give this out as diplomatic etiquette requires secrecy. Please also wire when you can leave for Rangoon.[3] *Ends*.

[1]Member, Pakistan Constituent Assembly.
[2&3]Mohammed Ali accepted the offer saying he could leave for Rangoon by 15 April. See F. 125-GG/26. Not printed.

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Francis Mudie to Liaquat Ali Khan
(Copy to PS to M. A. Jinnah)

Telegram, F. 46 (II)-GG/1

CONFIDENTIAL

LAHORE,
1 April 1948

Just seen Shaukat[1] [Hyat] who tells me that Mumtaz[2] [Daultana] is to hand over Premier[3] his resignation[4] this afternoon. In the circumstances Shaukat is nervous about his own future. He feels instead that it would be useless his staying on. For information only.

[1&2]Revenue and Finance Ministers in the Punjab Government, respectively
[3]Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot.
[4]The Punjab Cabinet was plagued by infighting and intrigue. Mumtaz Daultana was continually at odds with Mamdot. The Muslim League Party in the Punjab Assembly had split into factions. Not even Jinnah, who summoned Mamdot, Daultana, and Shaukat Hyat to Karachi later to sort out the Ministerial imbroglio, could succeed . The resignations of Daultana and Shaukat Hyat followed soon afterwards and Mamdot formed a new Ministry.

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H. M. Aslam Chishty to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. II)-GG/391-3

34 NABHA ROAD,
LAHORE,
1 April 1948

Your Excellency,

I have the honour to draw Your Excellency's attention to the following:

Taking into consideration innumerable messages and demands put forward by Muslims of Pakistan, I am obliged to move Your Excellency. As soon as Pakistan came into existence and Your Excellency took up the office of the Governor-General, Pakistan, naturally you went high and dry [*sic*], above all sorts of party feelings. All the citizens of Pakistan became one and equal for Your Excellency. And I offer Your Excellency my heart-felt greetings for proving your goodself as such in all spheres of life.

On the contrary, after the official announcement of the partition of India into two dominions, only in a month, the founder and the leader of the Khaksar Movement—Allama Mashriqi—disbanded his only and beloved movement just for Pakistan's sake, and thus, he too declared himself to remain impartial but a loyal citizen of Pakistan. In my opinion, the Allama's said gesture was absolutely in time, righteous, sincerest and most constructive one. Also I believe that the Allama took that decision only to serve Pakistan as one of its loyal and most humblest [*sic*] servants.

Your Excellency's most generous, rather patronising behaviour towards the Allama in particular, and towards the Khaksars as a whole, is a vital example that Your Excellency loves the Pakistanis justly and equally.

Your Excellency's same courteous attitude has encouraged us to submit that if it is true that the Governor of NWFP is going to retire, the Allama may kindly be appointed to replace him.

Undoubtedly Your Excellency is not unaware of the facts that:

a. the Allama is the only outstanding scholar of the day throughout the country.
b. the Allama is an old and experienced I.E.S. [Indian Education Service] officer.
c. the Allama served the British Govt. of India successfully as its Under-Secretary for a long period.

d. the Allama possesses an uncompeting [*sic*] experience of NWFP as he spent more than 18 years in the Province as an educationist.
e. the Allama enjoys an unshakable influence among the Frontier people as a whole even today, as about 75% leading Frontier people are Allama's pupils.
f. the Allama's martial and organising capabilities are not obscure and as the Frontier Province itself is a martial Province, it is Allama who can set all the things right.
g. as Pakistan is an Islamic and Muslim free State, I believe Your Excellency will Muslimize it practically by giving all the key posts to Muslims only.

Under the circumstances, I believe that the Allama's appointment as Governor of the NWFP will be one of the highly appreciated decisions of Your Excellency. Also I believe that as Your Excellency has already set an unprecedented record by achieving Pakistan, Your Excellency will crown Allama—one of your worst possible opponents throughout the country—and thus Your Excellency will break all world's record once more.

May God the Almighty bless Your Excellency with long life to lead all Pakistanis to make our future happier and prosperous. *Aameen*!

H. M. ASLAM CHISHTY
President, All Pakistan Khaksar League
and Chief Editor, Daily Sadiq

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F. Amin to Director of Telephones, New Delhi

F. 85/60

1 April 1948

Dear Sir,

Will you please refer to my letter No. 4118-GG/48, dated the 1st January 1948.[1]

I am returning herewith another trunk calls bill No. ND8832 A & B, dated the 20th March 1948, for Rs. 102-3-0 in duplicate, for the period [words missing] 1948, received from the Administrative Officer, Telephone Revenue, Delhi Telephone District, New Delhi. I shall be grateful if you will issue necessary instructions to the Administrative Officer to send all bills for the period beginning with the 1st September 1947, in respect of the telephone at No. 10 Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi, to the present owner.

I am further to invite your attention to the concluding portion of para 1 of my letter referred to above, and to request that arrangements may kindly be made to adjust the advance paid by Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah up to the end of August in connection with the telephone, and remit the balance to him at an early date.

Yours,

F. AMIN

Director of Telephones,
Delhi Telephone District,
New Delhi

No. 5.

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Statement by M. A. Jinnah on being Presented with New Coins and Notes of Pakistan[1]

KARACHI,
1 April 1948

I thank you, Mr. Finance Minister,[2] for the honour you have done me by presenting the first Pakistan coins and notes to me today. I take this opportunity of publicly expressing the appreciation of the Government and people of Pakistan of the way in which you and your Ministry have handled the finances of our young State and your untiring zeal to put them on a sound footing. When we first raised our demand for a sovereign and independent State of Pakistan there were not a few false prophets who tried to deflect us from our set purpose by saying that Pakistan was not economically feasible. They painted extremely dark pictures of the future of our State and its financial and economic soundness. The very first budget presented by you must have caused a shock to those false prophets. It has already demonstrated the soundness of Pakistan's finances and the determination of its Government to make them more and more sound and strong. Although it has meant the tightening of our belts, to a certain extent, but I am sure that the people of Pakistan will not mind making sacrifices in order to make our State in the near future really a strong and stable State so that we can handle more effectively and with ease our programme, specially for the uplift of the masses. I have no doubt in my mind about the bright future that awaits Pakistan when its vast resources of men and material are fully mobilized. The road that we may have to

travel may be somewhat uphill at present but with courage and determination we mean to achieve our objective, which is to build up and construct a strong and prosperous Pakistan.

[1]Yusufi, *Speeches of Quiad-i-Azam,* IV, 2741-2.
[2]Ghulam Mohammed.

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Mohamed Amin Chaudhari to M. A. Jinnah

F. 214-GG/11[1]

2-COURT CHAMBERS,
KARACHI,
1 April 1948

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Most respectfully, I beg to submit the following for your kind consideration:

It has been decided by you to constitute an Advisory Council for Baluchistan. The three main towns of this small Province—Quetta, Sibi and Chaman—have got over 50 per cent population of such people who have migrated there from Punjab, U.P., Delhi and other provinces of India and are there for the past over five decades. They are all Muslims but unfortunately they are termed non-*mulkies* by the original inhabitants of that Province. A part of this non-*mulkie* element is also in business in other places of Baluchistan such as Gulistan, Killa Abdullah, Mach and similar other places. Apart from this the personnel in various services in Baluchistan comprise mostly of non-*mulkies*. The very low percentage of local *mulkies* in services is due to the fact that Baluchistan is still very backward in education and the number of literate persons among them could be counted on fingers even today.

The spirit of provincialism or more commonly the hatred of *mulkies* against non-*mulkies* has gone so deep into the minds of *mulkie* element that only a few weeks after the last disturbances in Quetta in August last year, the *mulkie* element wanted to fall upon the non-*mulkie* Muslims also, and the situation became so worse in Quetta that for days together the military and police had to be on patrol in the town for all 24 hours for days. This happened during the time of Sir Geoffrey Prior[2] and I am sure a complete report on the subject must have been submitted to Your Excellency.

Though Baluchistan is apparently quiet now, the *mulkie* element's hatred against non-*mulkie* Muslims is still there who wish to get hold of the

entire trade of Baluchistan, by driving out the poor non-*mulkie* population. I do not feel any pleasure in stating all this but the facts cannot be concealed. A person after embracing Islam becomes a Muslim only and nothing else. The spirit of provincialism which is now rampant everywhere will do more harm to the stability of our newly born State than anything else. It is very unfortunate that in spite of your best counsel on the subject the disease is on the increase. However, it is to safeguard the rights of over a lakh and half of the non-*mulkie* Muslims of Baluchistan that I wish to intercede before [*sic*] Your Excellency here and I earnestly hope that their case will not be overlooked while selection of Advisory Council's personnel is being made. I am afraid it may be a problem for you to make selection of honest and conscientious workers as the Advisory Council, if it works on the right lines, can serve the masses in so many ways. In the case of non-*mulkie* population of Baluchistan and under the present circumstances, none but one from among them could serve their cause on the Council.

I beg to apologise for the encroachment made on Your Excellency's valuable time but in the interest of my brethren it was necessary.

I beg to remain,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,
MOHAMED AMIN CHAUDHARI
Govt. Contractor,
ex-Member, Pakistan Muslim League Council,
Baluchistan

F. Amin acknowledged the letter. See F. 214-GG/17. Not printed.

[2]Agent to the Governor-General in Baluchistan, 1946-47.

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Jalaluddin Khilji to S. M. Yusuf

F. 86-GG/66

ISLAMIA COLLEGE,
PESHAWAR,
3 April 1948

Sir,

We have immense pride in claiming, among the galaxy of our honorary life-members, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. The membership was conferred on Quaid-i-Azam in 1936. The Khyber Union has decided to make a portrait gallery of all its honorary life-members.

I, therefore, ask the indulgence of your kindly requesting H. E. Quaid-i-Azam for the favour of a fine autographed portrait. I further request that we shall be profoundly grateful if the portrait is made available to us before Quaid-i-Azam's visit to this College by the 12th of this month. The portrait may be of any size. We can further enlarge it to the required size.

Thanking you in anticipation, Sir,

Yours sincerely,
JALALUDDIN KHILJI
Treasurer, Khyber Union

233

A. Hilaly to S. M. Yusuf

F. 125 (8)-GG/9

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
AND COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS,
KARACHI,
3 April 1948

My dear Yusuf,

Please refer to my d.o.[1] in which I informed you about the arrival of His Excellency Monsieur Leon Marchal, the Ambassador of France. His Excellency has since called on the Foreign Office and requested that a date and time may be fixed to enable him to present his credentials to the Quaid-i-Azam. As His Excellency has been here for about ten days, we will be grateful if you could kindly take the Quaid-i-Azam's orders and fix a date before he leaves on tour for the Frontier.

I enclose a copy of a translation of the remarks[2] that the French Ambassador proposes to make at the time of his presentation. I also enclose a draft reply[3] for the Quaid-i-Azam's consideration.

Yours sincerely,
A. HILALY

[1]See F. 125 (8)-GG/8. Not printed.
[2&3]Not traceable. However, see Annexes I & II

Annex I to No. 233

Speech by M. Leon Marchal on Presentation of Credentials[1]

[*9 April 1948*]

Your Excellency,

It is a great honour and inestimable privilege for me to be called upon today to deliver into your hands letters accrediting me to the Government of Pakistan in the capacity of the first Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the French Republic.

The relations which our two countries have decided to establish with each other, shortly after the formation of your young State, enter thereby a new phase, which presages their harmonious development in all spheres.

France, always firmly attached to the principles of liberty, justice and social progress, for the defence of which she has made, twice in a quarter of a century, the heaviest sacrifices, has been happy to hail these several months the entry of Pakistan into the comity of democratic and peace-loving nations. My compatriots have long watched with attention and sympathy the efforts made and the progress realised by Pakistan, which fully justifies the persevering and continued faith of Your Excellency in the noble destinies of your country. They most sincerely wish that the difficulties which may still beset your path will be overcome with the help of the patriotic ardour which inspires your citizens and the resources of your vast territory.

The identity of their aspirations, their common desire for order and peace, their equal wish to contribute to the uplift, to the security and to the prosperity of a world still so greatly suffering from the moral, demographic and economic effects of the last war, are the best proof of the intimate and confident collaboration of our two countries in international organisations.

COMMON HERITAGE

Despite the youth of her political institutions, the traditions of Pakistan are the inheritance of a long and glorious past and guarantee her brilliant future. For a long time I have had the privilege of living in close contact and friendship with populations which have drawn their ideals from the same sources as yours. In learning to know them, respect them and to love them, I have understood the high intellectual and moral courage which indeed constitutes an indispensable element for the safeguard of the common heritage of mankind.

It is in this spirit that I shall endeavour to discharge the high and important mission with which I have been entrusted, being assured that the friendly and powerful support of Your Excellency will not fail

to assist me in maintaining and strengthening the most intimate relations of understanding, esteem and friendship between our two countries.

[1]The *Daily Gazette*, Karachi, 10 April 1948.

Annex II to No. 233

Reply by M. A. Jinnah to M. Leon Marchal's Speech[1]

[*9 April 1948*]

Your Excellency,

It has given me great pleasure to welcome you today in your capacity as the first Ambassador of the Republic of France to Pakistan. With your appointment the relationship between our two countries assumes a closer and more intimate form, and I hope and trust that this will presage the most cordial and friendly co-operation between our two countries.

The magnificent history of your great country and its achievements are well-known to the world. In common with other nations, we in Pakistan have admired the high principles of democracy that form the basis of your great State.

The cry of Liberty, Fraternity and Equality, which was raised during your Great Revolution and officially adopted by your great Republic, had its repercussion throughout the world, as is known to every student of history. These ideals and these principles are still buoying up the hopes of many downtrodden nations.

As Your Excellency has yourself observed, the traditions (and may I add the culture) of Pakistan, as the youngest of free Muslim countries of the world, has [*sic*] been inherited from a long past—a past which, in view of the manifold contacts of France with the Muslim World over several centuries, is well-known and familiar to the Government and people of France.

Indeed, in view of this long contact of France with the Muslim World, the people of France and Pakistan are not strangers to one another. I hope and trust that with this background of intimate contact between our two peoples, and in particular with Your Excellency's knowledge of our brother Muslim countries, your appointment will inaugurate a new era which, I hope, will lead to closer friendship between France and Pakistan.

I assure Your Excellency that we in Pakistan will give you our support and co-operation which you may require in promoting relationship of goodwill and friendship between our two countries and I trust that in the result Pakistan and France will unitedly play their part

in re-establishing peace and prosperity in the present distracted world.

Once again, Your Excellency, I assure you of a warm and friendly welcome to Pakistan.

[1]The *Daily Gazette,* Karachi, 10 April 1948.

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P. S. Patke to S. M. Yusuf

F. 85/61

DALMIA JAIN NIWAS,
NEW DELHI,
3 April 1948

Dear Sir,

RE: 10 AURANGZEB ROAD HOUSE, NEW DELHI[1]

For registering the sale deed of the above house in favour of Shriman Sethji, the clearance certificate about income tax of Quaid-i-Azam is necessary. The income tax authorities have now instituted an enquiry to find out from which income this house was originally purchased by Quaid-i-Azam. Probably you must have already received a letter from the income tax authorities in Bombay to this effect. I would appreciate if you could please expedite its reply so that the registration will be done at an early date. Please let me know what you are doing in the matter.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
P. S. PATKE
Personal Secretary to Seth R. Dalmia

[1]See No. 240.

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S. M. Yusuf to Ghulam Mohammed & Others

F. 790/1

3 April 1948

Dear Mr. Ghulam Mohammed / Mr. Chundrigar / Mr. Nishtar,

I am desired by the Quaid-i-Azam to enclose herewith a copy of the minutes of a conference held at Chittagong under the chairmanship of

the Quaid-i-Azam, regarding movement of jute and protective arrangements to guard against risks of fire at the jetties at Chittagong Port, and to say that he would like to discuss this matter further with you and Messrs Chundrigar and Nishtar on Wednesday, the 7th April at 11 a.m. at Governor-General's House.

Yours sincerely,
S. M. YUSUF

Enclosure to No. 235
Minutes of a Conference Held at Chittagong

F. 790/2-7

26 March 1948

The following were present:
Quaid-i-Azam
Prime Minister, East Bengal
Suhrawardy, General Manager, E. B. Railway
Abbasi, E. B. Railway
Salahuddin, E. B. Railway
J. A. Oliver of Messrs James Finlay & Co. Ltd.
W. A. Kidd of Messrs James Finlay & Co. Ltd.
M. I. Shafi of Messrs Mackinnon Mackenzie & Co. Ltd.
M. A. Ispahani
Allen, President, Narayanganj Chamber of Commerce
Fafalios of Ralli Brothers Ltd.
Jamieson, Joint Agent, Steamer Companies
Wright, Collector of Central Excise
Mohsin, Collector of Customs
A. M. Khan, Deputy Chief, Import & Export and Trade Controller
S. N. Baker, Secretary to the Premier, East Bengal
Farrukh Amin, Assistant Private Secretary to Quaid-i-Azam

The Quaid-i-Azam presided.

The Quaid-i-Azam initiated the proceedings of the conference by stating that the reasons why this conference was being held were that he had been told by business interests in Dacca that for some reason or the other, jute was not moving out of the country the way it should be. He was told that there was plenty of jute but the facilities for getting it on to the ships for export were not sufficient. He considered it a good opportunity to have representatives of all the interests concerned in the baling, movement and export of jute together so as to devise ways and means of overcoming the difficulties standing in the way of speedy movement and

export of jute. He made it clear that it was most essential from the point of view of all those concerned in the trade that jute should move out quickly. It was also in the interest of the State that this should be so.

The second matter which the Quaid-i-Azam wanted to discuss was concerning protective arrangements to guard against risks of fire and possibly sabotage at the jetties. The recent fire that had taken place made it necessary that adequate protective arrangements be introduced immediately. Enquiry was pending in the matter and though the fire may have been accidental, the possibility of sabotage cannot be altogether ruled out. To be forewarned is to be forearmed. He wanted, however, to hear views of those assembled on the question of protective arrangements.

The Quaid-i-Azam desired that all the allied questions may be discussed and reduced to writing. He assured the conference that all the proposals which this conference may make will receive his best attention. He also assured the conference that both Pakistan and East Bengal Governments were very vitally interested in these matters and would do their best to help. He emphasized to the conference that the building up of Chittagong Port was now in their hands and he had no doubt that they will all work as Pakistanis and do their best to help.

At Quaid-i-Azam's suggestion the protective measures were taken up for discussion first. The Quaid-i-Azam invited those present to place their views before the conference.

Mr. Oliver stated that since the last fire, more protective measures had become very essential. He revealed that the conditions in the sheds were such that smoking could go on unchecked. There were not sufficient number of fire-watchers. He suggested that the Port area may be made statutorily protected area under an ordinance. He asserted that these precautions were of vital importance both to the revenues of Pakistan as well as the trading interests. He expressed his fears that on account of the fact that Chittagong had limited berthing accommodation, anything that would immobilise the port would please Calcutta. He emphasized the necessity for taking every possible precaution.

Mr. Ispahani endorsed the views of Mr. Oliver and said that though Chittagong has got sprinklers which Calcutta lacks, their efficacy is reduced because of the fact that there are not sufficient number of watchers. He informed the conference that even without smoking, a fire can take place in a jute godown. During the last fire the sprinklers helped but if there had been a larger number of fire-watchers the damage could have been further minimised. He complained that there was no system of "tallying" and therefore it was not possible to find out the exact contents of a shed. It was also difficult to identify as to

whose jute was lying in the godown and in the case of a fire how much of it was burnt. The administration of the Port should be improved and for this purpose he would propose that a Sub-Committee be appointed. He further suggested that a larger number of fire extinguishers should be put on the walls and pumping stations installed.

Quaid-i-Azam reminded the conference that the proposition before them was a different one. The implements for dealing with fire could be improved upon but the proposition with which the conference was concerned was whether an ordinance should be brought in and the Port declared a Protected Area. That was the real issue and he wanted the views of those present on this proposition.

Mr. Oliver stated that it would be necessary to have an ordinance.

Mr. Shafi stated by way of an explanation that the arguments of those who may not want an ordinance were that the restrictions imposed by the ordinance would slow down the process of clearing; but he agreed that the Port should be declared a Protected Area under an ordinance. He suspected sabotage to explain the last fire and reiterated the desirability of appointment of a committee to go into the details of the question.

Mr. Kidd endorsed this view and stated that the present powers which the Railway officials had were inadequate to control the labour. He suggested that the ordinance should provide for further control of the labour to expedite the clearing. His view was that steamers were obliged to remain at the jetties longer than was necessary. The work of the Port was vital and should be dealt with under Emergency Powers.

Mr. Fafalios contradicted the statement of Mr. Shafi that restrictions would slow down the process of clearing. It was explained that this was merely the argument of those who may not want the restrictions to be imposed. He was, however, surprised to find that smoking was permitted in the docks whereas in the jute baling factories smoking was strictly prohibited.

Mr. Suhrawardy expressed doubts about any material achievement on the promulgation of an ordinance. He stated that they have policemen to guard the place.

The Quaid-i-Azam pointed out that though there are policemen they have no extraordinary powers to deal with the situation. The promulgation of the ordinance would invest them with the necessary powers. It was a very well-known thing as to what a Protected Area meant. The question was whether we should promulgate an ordinance or not.

Mr. Oliver queried whether they could do anything better to prevent fire.

The Quaid-i-Azam remarked that jute was a very valuable product and was to-day coming in large quantities into the Port. The Port authorities are unable to clear it quickly with the result that large quantities remain on the jetties. It was a valuable cargo and the ordinary common-sense view was that if they had valuables they should not leave them lying about. In such circumstances special cargo requires special protection and it should be done by an ordinance. Special laws could only be enforced by an ordinance to be promulgated by the Governor-General. He advised that the special powers which were enforced during the war be examined to see whether it was necessary to amend, delete or modify the same in the changed circumstances. If they all recommend such a step the Quaid-i-Azam would take up the matter with his Cabinet and if they all thought that it should be done, it will be done. The Quaid-i-Azam suggested that the Hon'ble the Prime Minister, East Bengal, and a few of those present should form a Sub-Committee and make concrete recommendations to the Central Government. The Quaid-i-Azam suggested that the following should form the Sub-Committee:

1. Prime Minister, East Bengal (Chairman)
2. Suhrawardy
3. Abbassi — Representing the E. B. Railway
4. J. Harris
5. Wright
6. M. A. Ispahani
7. Oliver
8. Kidd
9. Shafi

Accordingly, the above Sub-Committee was formed.

The consensus of opinion was that the Port should be declared a Protected Area.

The Sub-Committee was further required to examine the previous ordinance and to say what was now required.

The Hon'ble the Prime Minister, East Bengal, observed that the restrictions proposed should be such that they did not impede the facilities of loading and unloading.

The next question to be discussed was the movement of jute and the method of expediting such movement. The Quaid-i-Azam wanted the views of those present on the subject.

Mr. Allen complained that the movement from Narayanganj was slow, sufficient number of wagons was not available, and thousands of bales were lying ready to be transported. He further said that after a conference with the Railway authorities some improvement had taken place.

On a query from the Quaid-i-Azam, Mr. Suhrawardy said that the main difficulty was that storage accommodation at the jetty was limited. He complained that wagons were supplied but the cargo was loaded indiscriminately. He emphasized that the traffic which is important should have priority. He revealed that the storage accommodation available was not sufficient to store jute for two or three ships, and though arrangements had been made for loading some of the jute directly from the wagons, the position was still far from satisfactory. Therefore they had appointed Berthing Committee to regulate the flow of wagons and to co-ordinate the same with the arrival of ships.

Mr. Fafalios cited an instance when twenty-four wagons were held up for a period of fifty-four hours at their siding for lack of a pilot engine.

The Quaid-i-Azam wanted to know if Mr. Suhrawardy's attention had been drawn to it. Mr. Fafalios explained that this was a recent occurrence and he had not had the opportunity of drawing Mr. Suhrawardy's attention to it so far. Mr. Suhrawardy explained that Mr. Salahuddin is constantly out on tour and in touch with the shippers and if such things are brought to his notice he would certainly look into them.

The Quaid-i-Azam remarked that these officers were available to them and they should bring all such matters to their notice. He emphasised that there were no two opinions about the matter. All concerned were interested in clearing the jute quickly. He emphasized the need for greater co-ordination between the trade and the administration and advised them to get in closer touch with each other.

Mr. Ispahani observed that between Chandpur and Chittagong there was a single track of railway line. The wagons on this line were small and could take only fifty bales each. This traffic, he pointed out, was inadequate for the supplies available and the traffic that they wanted Chittagong to handle. This he pointed out was one big bottleneck. The second bottleneck was storage. He remarked that they could again have put up extra sheds on the sites where they existed during the war. Eight months had elapsed and Government had not done it. He thought that private individuals could do it much quickly. The Quaid-i-Azam remarked that they should hurry up and put up such sheds. Mr. Ispahani went on to say that another solution to the problem would be to bring in barges. He pointed out that it was not possible to get them from India but they were available from Japan and he had referred the matter to the Ministry of Communications as well as the Commerce Ministry. Mr. Ispahani further stated that the ferry service between Chandpur and Chittagong could supplement the Railways. He was afraid that most of the steamer companies were either not

prepared or perhaps not able to do it. He asked whether the Railway would be prepared to buy three or four ships and run such a service until they are able to lay further tracks.

The Hon'ble the Prime Minister, East Bengal, stated that there were three L.C.Ts. at Karachi and if Govt. could take over those and run them it could help. Mr. Ispahani said that a service was necessary between Chandpur and Chittagong to find out what drought vessels the river could take. H.P.M. East Bengal pointed out that such data were already available with the steamer companies.

The Quaid-i-Azam intervened and said that he would not for the present think of what could be done later but what he was more concerned with at the present was whether, with the existing facilities, good, bad or indifferent, can they, by utilising them fully, improve upon the position. If they can do it, he asserted, they should do it. He reiterated that co-ordination was most essential and that they should make the best use of the existing facilities until such time as other long and short-term plans can be examined and put through. The Quaid-i-Azam wanted that they should all get in touch with Mr. Suhrawardy who is leaving for Karachi and give him all the materials for the purpose. Mr. Suhrawardy would get in touch with the Pakistan Government and if it was considered necessary these matters would be discussed at an emergency Cabinet meeting in Karachi. Mr. Kidd pointed out that another stumbling block in the way of quick clearance was concerning Exchange Control forms. G.R.P. forms were not available quickly and very often there was delay on this account when part shipment had to be made on account of inadequacy of wagons. When the balance of a shipment, entered on a G.R.P. form, came in for shipment, a further Exchange Control form was demanded before shipment could take place. This resulted in a fairly big carry-over which was held up unnecessarily.

Mr. Ispahani explained that this was a matter which rested entirely with the Reserve Bank. The Chief Exchange Controller was still located in Bombay and he urged that Govt. should get in touch with the Reserve Bank to get a Deputy Exchange Controller appointed for the Port so that this difficulty may be met.

The Quaid-i-Azam remarked that these difficulties would be there till such time as the existing agreement between the two Dominions lasts. He, however, asked Mr. Suhrawardy to take this matter up with the Ministry of Finance when he goes to Karachi. Mr. Fafalios pointed out the difficulties regarding export to various hard and soft currency areas. The Quaid-i-Azam remarked that this was a matter which he could not discuss in the conference.

The Quaid-i-Azam thanked all present for taking the trouble of coming

to the conference and giving him the opportunity of hearing their views. He told them that if they liked they could continue this conference later on and put forward concrete proposal which could be considered.

The conference terminated at 1:15 p.m. and it was agreed that those present (except the Quaid-i-Azam) would meet again at Mr. Suhrawardy's office at 3 p.m. to continue the consideration of the points raised.

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Mumtaz Hasan Kizilbash[1] *to A. S. B. Shah*
(Copy to PS to Governor-General)

Telegram, FOA, P. 8/3/54

No. 50-PC KABUL,
CONFIDENTIAL *4 April 1948*

No reply yet received to my telegram No. 43-P.C. March 30th.[2]

On assumption that Quaid-i-Azam will be in Karachi, His Royal Highness Shah Wali Khan with entourage comprising seven members of staff and six private servants leaving Kandahar April 14th reaching Quetta same day. They propose proceeding Karachi by train. Grateful for necessary arrangements including reception at Chaman, courtesies under paragraph III (a) of old Government of India instructions and special bogie for him. His Royal Highness requests transport of his two cars by same train in two wagons.

3. In case Quaid-i-Azam expected to be on tour grateful for immediate information and details of programme.

[1]Pakistan's Representative in Afghanistan.
[2]Not traceable.

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Khan Bahadur to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. V)-GG/1

GARHI HABIBULLAH,
HAZARA DISTRICT,
4 April 1948

Sir,

At the very inception I deem it necessary to introduce myself to Your

Excellency. I am the President of the Northern Halqa Muslim League, Mansehra. As a matter of fact I can claim to lay the foundation stone of the Muslim League in the Kunhar Valley. During the League movement, I was sent to prison too; and I have never hesitated to make any sacrifice in the cause of Muslim League. I was *Salar* of the Tehsil National Guard, [and] recruited about 2000 National Guards in the District. I can confidently say that I have served Islam and Muslim League selflessly and not in the hope of getting any reward. But at the same time I never expected that after the achievement of our so much cherished goal, Pakistan, I will be so much disappointed and oppressed.

I have always placed service of Islam before anything else, and I have never spared anybody, high or humble, who has ever tried to obstruct my way. Your Excellency, this is my only fault for which I am being made to suffer so much under the Islamic regime. Your Excellency is perhaps not altogether unaware of the misdeeds of Mohammad Aslam Khan, *Jagirdar* of Garhi Habibullah. The tales of horror and terror which he created in the minds of Kashmiri Muslims are on the tip of every tongue. During the attack of Azad Kashmir Forces on the Dogra Army, instead of helping the poor Musalmans he began to loot their property and rape their women. His acts of high-handedness and his depraved character much disappointed the Kashmiri Muslims, and they began to abhor even their own flesh and blood as he was looting them in the name of Islam and Muslim League. This was simply intolerable and I have to expose his low and unchaste deeds. Unfortunately for me, he is brother-in-law of Mohammad Abbas Khan, the Hon'ble Minister, NWFP. The result is I am being hunted by the Police and Administration. They have not hesitated to call me even fifth-columnist simply to give the dog a bad name and hang him. The police has made life miserable for me. While after so much toil and struggle I hope to lead a peaceful life in independent Pakistan, I [am] not given a moment's rest simply because I brought to limelight the misdeeds of a tyrant.

Your Excellency, in the end, I am constrained to say that my living in my own home has become impossible. May I implore you for guidance to show me where to migrate. May God give you long lease of life to guide us to the right path.

KHAN BAHADUR
President,
Northern Halqa Muslim League

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M. A. Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 216 (Vol. II)-GG/367

51 EZRA STREET,
CALCUTTA,
5 April 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

When I returned from Chittagong, Mr. Rafi was away in Burma. On his return I approached him with regard to his going as an Ambassador to Egypt. Unfortunately, he is adamant and I could not possibly reason with him the importance of the service that was expected from him by Pakistan.

In view of his decision it will be very difficult for me to maintain his services in a Pakistani Company like the Orient Airways. I am now officially dealing with him in this matter.

Trusting you are well, and with kind regards to Miss Jinnah and self,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. ISPAHANI

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President, Students Federation, to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 120 (Vol. II)-GG/487

[D. I. KHAN,]
5 April 1948

Hazrat Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Karachi

General feeling strongly against present administration. Pray visit D.I. Khan. Afford opportunity to place real and true facts. Genuine fears/facts being misrepresented.

PRESIDENT, STUDENTS FEDERATION

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M. A. Jinnah to P. L. Machave

F. 94/5-6

6 April 1948

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter No. D-1/6151 dated the 1st April,[1] and thank you for it.

With regard to the 10 Aurangzeb Road property, it was purchased by me from the funds that became available to me by selling my securities. The property was purchased, as far as I remember, in 1938 from Mr. Bisakha Singh of New Delhi, and as to further particulars that you require, all the Title Deeds are now handed over to Seth Jaidayal Dalmia (Dalmia Jain Niwas, New Delhi) and you can inspect them all.

The income from the property was nil as it was never let, hence I have not been able to include this in my return for the year 1947-48. The position was the same in 1946-47.

I am glad to note that you will now complete the assessment at your earliest convenience.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

P. L. Machave, Esq.,
Third Income-Tax Officer,
D Ward, Section 1,
New Delhi

Copy forwarded to Mr. P. S. Patke, Personal Secretary to Seth R. Dalmia, Dalmia Jain Niwas, New Delhi, for information, with reference to his letter[2] dated the 3rd of April 1948.

F. AMIN

[1]Not traceable.
[2]No. 234.

241

M. A. Jinnah to Alan Lascelles

Telegram, F. 125-GG/27

No. 1216 *6 April 1948*

IMMEDIATE

The Government of Pakistan propose to appoint Mr. Mohammed Ali

as His Majesty's Ambassador for Pakistan to the Union of Burma. May I request you obtain His Majesty's informal approval.[1]

2. Mr. Mohammed Ali was Finance Minister in Bengal just before partition. He is a member of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly and the East Bengal Legislative Assembly.

GOVERNOR-GENERAL

Alan Lascelles conveyed approval of the King on 7 April 1948. See F. 125-GG/29. Not printed.

242

A. S. B. Shah to Mumtaz Hasan Kizilbash

Telegram, FOA, P.8/3

CONFIDENTIAL/IMPORTANT

KARACHI,
6 April 1948

Kizilbash from Shah. Your telegram 50-PC April 4th.[1]

2. It is now definite that Quaid-i-Azam will leave Karachi for Peshawar on Sunday 11th and return to Karachi on Wednesday 21st. He will remain in Karachi 22nd to 27th, both dates inclusive, and will leave for Abbottabad on Wednesday 28th.

3. It will, therefore, be suitable if H.R.H. the Afghan Ambassador designate times his arrival in Karachi either between 22nd to 28th or in first week of May.

No. 236.

243

M. N. Kotwal to M. A. Jinnah

F. 212-GG/4

MINISTRY OF LAW AND LABOUR,
LABOUR DIVISION,
KARACHI,
6 April 1948

When the Sind Muslim Law College was opened at Karachi in June last, I was invited to join the College staff as a Professor and I was taking the 2nd LL.B. class every day for one period, as a labour of love, the

remuneration being only Rs. 150 per month. I am urged to continue as a Professor and the Principal is prepared to accommodate me by allotting to me only one lecture per week and I am inclined to accept this proposal subject to your previous consent thereto. I shall thank you, therefore, to let me know in the matter at your early convenience as my reply should reach the Principal during the course of this month.

With respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. N. KOTWAL

244

F. Amin to M. N. Kotwal

F. 212-GG/5

7 April 1948

Dear Mr. Kotwal,

I am desired by the Quaid-i-Azam to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 6th of April[1] and to say that he regrets very much indeed that he cannot agree to your continuing as a Professor of Sind Muslim Law College on an honorarium of Rs. 150 p.m. I am further to add that the question is not that the Principal is prepared to accommodate you by allotting you only one lecture per week, but that the terms[2] on which you were appointed were on the basis that you would be full-time Legal Adviser to the Governor-General. He cannot, therefore, see his way to giving his assent to your proposal.

Yours sincerely,
F. AMIN

M. N. Kotwal, Esq.,
Legal Adviser to the
Governor-General

[1]No. 243.
[2]See F. 212-GG/11. Not printed.

245

B. N. Soparivalla to S. M. Yusuf

F. 120 (Vol. I)-GG/138-9

KARACHI,
7 April 1948

Respected Sir,

It is with great rejoicing that I read the speeches of the Ministers and the sharp and right reply given by His Excellency at the impressive ceremony of presenting the coins. At my daily prayers at Fire Temple in the morning, I pray to Almighty God to protect and bestow His blessings on Pakistan and a day will be dawned [*sic*] when the excellent achievement of Pakistan will stand foremost in the eyes and ears of the world.

I beg to remain,
Ever your well-wisher,
B. N. SOPARIVALLA

246

M. Ikramullah to H. I. Rahimtoola

Telegram, F. 125 (19)-GG/1

SECRET *7 April 1948*

My telegram 1071, March 27th.[1] Exchange of diplomatic representatives with Italy.

2. Propose to issue following press note on 15.4.48. *Begins*: Being desirous of maintaining and further strengthening the friendly relations existing between Pakistan and Italy, the Government of Pakistan and the Government of Italy have agreed to exchange diplomatic missions at Legation level. *Ends*.

3. Please telegraph whether Italian Government agree to simultaneous publication in Rome.[2]

[1]Not traceable

[2]Rahimtoola replied that the Italian Government proposed to notify the Minister's appointment in the press on 26 April. See F. 125 (19)-GG/6. Not printed.

247

Inhabitants of Nadia, Murshidabad and Malda to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. I)-GG/174-6

KRISHNAGAR,WEST BENGAL,
8 April 1948

Sir,

The announcement of the division of Bengal came to the Muslims like a bombshell. However, the Mountbatten Plan[1] gave us hope. So, with due eclat we celebrated the Independence Day. But the Radcliffe Award[2] came like a bolt from the blue. The Pakistan Flag was trampled under foot [*sic*] in Nadia, Murshidabad and Malda and the Congress Flag was flown. Our *'Id* day was turned into a day of mourning. The Hindus rent the skies with their cries of *Bandemataram* and *Gandhiji ki Jai*—and we, the Musalmans, altogether bewildered, looked at each other with gloomy faces.

Since then, our days of suffering began. The reality is gradually dawning on us with the passing of days. We now realised that we have been most cruelly deprived of our birthright of freedom; that we have been put in the grip of a people who have nothing but hatred and insult in store for us.

It passes our comprehension how we, Musalmans, though in overwhelming majority in these parts, could be relegated to the position of serfs by a mere stroke of the pen of a foreigner, in direct violation of the Mountbatten Plan.

We strongly suspect that the tragic drama of 1757[3] has been successfully re-enacted in our case. The present Mir Jafar, the Nawab of Murshidabad, the present descendent of the then traitor Raja Krishna Chandra Rai of Nadia, Mr. Radcliffe and in some way, the Reverend L.W.R. Morrow, the Roman Catholic Bishop and his Protestant prototype, the modern Clives, Justices C.C. Biswas and B.K. Mukherjee of Krishnaganj and Nawadwip, Members of the Partition Commission, Mr. Haripada Chatterjee, an M.L.A. of Tehatta and the notorious Pandit Lakshikanta Maitra, M.L.C. of Santipur, must have conspired and succeeded together to get an award like this. A study of the boundary line on the map will lead one to the conclusion that more prominence has been given to the interests of the above-mentioned gentlemen and their class than to those of the Musalmans, who ought to have been considered as the deciding factor [*sic*], by the Award of the Boundary Commission according to the Mountbatten Plan. The Nawab of

Murshidabad and the numerous Rajas and Maharajas, who are the descendants of Jagat Seth and Umichand[1] and fellow-traitors in the conspiracy, looked bigger than the Muslim people themselves and Murshidabad was given away to the Hindus. Similarly, the office building of the Midnapore Zamindari Company (European) at Shikarpur must be acquired; Tehatta, the native place of Mr. Haripada Chatterji, M.L.A., Krishnaganj, the birthplace of Justice Biswas, Santipur of Pandit Maitra, Nawadwip of Justice Mukherjee and Krishnagar, the native city of the Maharaja of Nadia and the headquarters and permanent residence of the two Christian Bishops and their places inhabited by the largest number of Christian people must be taken in the Indian Dominion. These Christian Bishops must have feared that their flocks might be reconverted to Islam, their former religion. The Muslims being the poorest and most backward people were converted to Christianity by thousands, tempted by various offers. So the boundary line has been made to pass by and through places in such a way as to excite the laughter of any sensible man. At one place the line passes between a man's house and his farm-yard or grazing ground; at another between a man's house and his temple.

So, 21 lakhs of Muslims have been unjustly thrust into West Bengal to satisfy the interest and please the whims of some influential and interested gentlemen. They have been placed on the borderland of Pakistan. They are Muslims and have a natural affinity to Pakistan. To govern these people requires an iron hand and constant vigilance on the part of the rulers. It is needless to explain to you, a Muslim, their state of mind. The Hindu-Muslim problems that racked the brains of administrators remain as they were. The division of Bengal has not solved them. The new rulers must have to strike terror into the hearts of the ruled who still command the majority. So, Hindus from East Bengal will have to be settled in these parts to turn the rulers into a majority people. So, stories of oppression, false and true, in Pakistan are to be published daily by the Hindu papers. On the other hand, a veritable reign of terror has been instituted; the forces of hell have been let loose on us, innocent people. Our only sin is that we wanted Pakistan, are on the borderland, and are Muslims by faith. Leaderless, helpless and hopeless, like dumb-driven cattle, we are dying inch by inch, morally and physically.

Santipur, a small town near Ranaghat, the birthplace of the late lamented Sir Azizul Haque and the said notorious Pandit Maitra, had the hardest lot. A gang of young men consisting of cut-throats, robbers and debauches, and calling themselves the Bombarding Military encouraged by the said Pandit, created a veritable reign of terror men [*sic*] before the

partition and was responsible for the brutal murder of several innocent Muslims. After the partition, they were let off unpunished, and so they carried on their work of oppression with redoubled zeal. The Congressites and the Police joined hands with them. So, many people had to leave their hearths and homes unable to bear the oppression any longer. Even very recently two young Muslims were cut to pieces in broad daylight but no notice seems to have been taken of the matter by the Police.

Encouraged by the declaration of the former Chief Minister, Dr. P.C. Ghosh, the Muslims of Petuabhanga, a village in Kaliganj thana, sacrificed a cow. This angered the Hindus. On the second day the *goalas* (Hindu milkmen), incited by the *Zamindars* and other Hindus, surrounded the said village. The Musalmans also in self-defence mustered strong. Though not a single *goala* received even a pinprick, six innocent and unarmed Muslim leading gentlemen, including one veteran Congressite, while in the act of appealing for peace, were brutally shot dead by the military police—one had his skull blown off and the rest were shot in the upper part of their bodies. The bodies were then mangled and disfigured by the *goalas* in the very presence of the Police. These policemen shot without any orders from the officer-in-charge. An enquiry was promised by the Ghosh Ministry but no enquiry was held.

In these parts, many mosques have been burnt or desecrated. Guns, about 250, of Muslims only have been seized without any distinction of rank or position whereas many new licences have been granted to the Hindus. Lots of families have been either ruined or harassed by the institution of false and fabricated cases against them. Standing crops have been either looted or damaged by the said *goalas* instigated by the *Zamindars* and at [*sic*] the connivance of the Police. No action has been taken against the culprits. The damaged crops may be worth a lakh of rupees. Paddy is being seized by the Government and purchased at a rate very much below the cost of production. The paddy that is being left behind in the granary is, in most cases, not sufficient to maintain the families thus robbed. Muslim traders and merchants are being systematically driven off from all fields of business. The Muslims, thanks to the British Government, are generally the poorest and the most backward people. They are either landless peasants, masons, carpenters, carters or hackney-carriage drivers. They have no press or platform to ventilate their grievances. The so-called League leaders who looked to their own selves only have left them in the lurch. The few who are [*sic*] have not the grit to stand up for the oppressed Muslims. Moreover, where the law of the jungle prevails, to stand up for justice will be nothing but courting insult, arrest, imprisonment or even death.

So, the Muslims of these parts have been literally cast away to the wolves. They have none to look up to for the redress of their grievances.

So, these unfortunate Muslims most fervently appeal to you in the name of *Allah,* Islam and humanity to come to their rescue. Their agonised soul cries to you for help, for deliverance from the bondage of slavery. Otherwise they, in [the] near future, will be reduced to mere hewers of wood and drawers of water, mere helots in their own lands. Cannot this iniquitous Award be changed and these places be included in Pakistan? We know, you know, no defeat in a righteous cause. Surely you cannot be looking on indifferently when millions of *Allah's* creatures are suffering day in, day out, at the hands of an alien people who have not a single good word to spare for them.

May the Almighty *Allah* grant you long life, peace of mind, and strength enough to do good to the Muslims.

Nothing short of Pakistan can give us peace of mind.

So, with high hopes and relying on your love and affection for us,

We remain,

Sir,

Yours most obediently,

INHABITANTS OF NADIA, MURSHIDABAD AND MALDA

[1]Refers to 3 June Plan. See No. 1, Vol. II, 1-6.
[2]See No. 30, Vol. V, 37-50.
[3]In 1757, a battle was fought at Plassey, a village north of Calcutta, which ended in a decisive victory for Robert Clive, British soldier and colonial administrator in India, over Nawab Sirajuddaula of Bengal, leading to the founding of the Empire of British India.
[4]Hindu moneylenders who conspired with Robert Clive against Sirajuddaula.

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Mohammad Azam to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. II)-GG/474-9

QUETTA,
9 April 1948

First of all, I say [*sic*] my homage and gratitude to Almighty who blessed us with such a leader whose foresight and statesmanship won us Pakistan. Quaid-i-Azam is the only leader for whom every Musalman in Pakistan is prepared to sacrifice his life, wealth and all. He fought for the rights of a backward Province, Baluchistan, even during the British reign. This poor province could achieve nothing till the Sibi

Darbar of February 1948,[1] when our beloved Quaid-i-Azam declared reforms for it and ordered the formation of an Advisory Council.

His Sibi Darbar Declaration is the most suitable form of administration for Baluchistan in the present circumstances. We welcome it with open heart. Our brethren in Baluchistan have also received it happily and hope for further reforms in the very near future. We feel indebted for your good wishes and personal interest in our province. We pray for your long life.

Long Live Quaid-i-Azam and *Pakistan Zindabad*!

I hereunder state a brief history of the activities of the City Muslim League, Quetta:

This League was formed in February 1942. Its first annual session was held when Quaid-i-Azam visited Quetta for the first time.[2] He was given a grand public reception. All the expenses incurred in this connection were borne by this body. Fourteen gates were constructed and various utterances of Quaid-i-Azam regarding minorities, i.e. Scheduled Castes, Sikhs, Parsis, etc., were written on red cloth in golden and silvery letters and displayed on thoroughfares. A *pindal* (arena) was constructed, so capacious as to contain thirty to forty thousand persons. Its cost was very high and was spent [*sic*] from the pockets of the members of the City Muslim League, Quetta. This session was the first biggest political gathering in the history of Baluchistan. All City and District Leagues of the Province and the National Guards were invited to Quetta. Their travelling, boarding [*sic*] and lodging expenses were met by the City Muslim League, Quetta. There were of course a few poor people who contributed a small sum but none of the *Sardars* and the rich gave a penny for the purpose.

The Second Annual Session of the City Muslim League, Quetta, was held when the members of the Defence Council paid a visit to this city. On this occasion, we again made elaborate arrangements for their public reception. At their instance, the City Muslim League, Quetta, formed a Defence Committee under the chairmanship of Seth Moh[amma]d Azam. Mr. Abdul Ghafoor Khan Durrani was elected its Secretary and members were Messrs (1) Sh. Karim-ud-Din Ahmad (2) Munshi Abdul Aziz (3) Subedar Haji Nasir Ali Khan and (4) Haji Ali Bahadur. They worked enthusiastically and trained the citizens in the defence measures and propagated among them how to help each other. Besides, they assisted the authorities concerned in A.R.P. [Air Raid Precautions] and Ration Distributing Schemes. It will [not] be out of way [*sic*] if it is mentioned here that the City Muslim League, Quetta, worked hard for the census according to the instructions of the Provincial Muslim League, Baluchistan. The persons who especially took great pains in the census work were

Messrs Abdul Ghafoor Durrani, Taj Moh[amma]d, Karim-ud-Din Ahmad, Sher Bahadur, Haji Abdul Karim, Said Moh[amma]d Sethi, Mian Qudratullah, Dr. Ghulam Nabi and Malik Abdul Aziz.

As regards the Third Annual Session, lot of correspondence was carried out in inviting our national leaders, but owing to emergency and election there [*sic*], none of them accepted it. It was therefore convened and made a success by the local members only. Office bearers were elected and a campaign of League propaganda was started. The 23rd March was celebrated as Pakistan Day with preparation and enthusiasm. Pakistan Flag was freely distributed in the city. Big processions and meetings were held and resolutions passed for the formation [*sic*] of Pakistan. We spent money unsparingly on this occasion.

Ever since the party had been formed in Quetta, the birthday of Quaid-i-Azam had been performed [*sic*] with great pomp and show. Illuminations in the whole of the city were arranged. Mosques were floodlit and prayers were held for the long life of Quaid-i-Azam. This was done at a time when the then Government was against us. It was the time when all Leaguers were treated by the British Government indifferently and were threatened with imprisonment. But we all remained undaunted. Fortunately, Quaid-i-Azam again came to Quetta[3] and other leaders, i.e. Malik Firoz Khan Noon, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Sardar Aurangzeb, followed him. They were accorded great reception by the Quetta City Muslim League. Three thousand rupees were spent for this purpose. After a few days, riots took place in Quetta. The City Muslim League and the National Guards were successful in controlling the riots at great risks. Their services were acknowledged by the official authorities.

The Fourth Annual Session was held in April 1947, after the general elections, under the chairmanship of Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman. He was brought in a procession, miles long, from the aerodrome to the *pindal* in the heart of the city. The preparations excelled in grandeur and show. Outsiders, representatives of the City Muslim League and National Guards were invited to Quetta; their number exceeded four thousand. They were fed and accommodated during the session by the City Muslim League, Quetta. A National Guards rally was held and nearly 125 cups were distributed amongst Guards to encourage them. All these arrangements were made at the cost of thousands of rupees which were contributed by the members of the Quetta City Muslim League. Below-named persons—all members of the Quetta City Muslim League—had renounced their honours awarded to them by the British Government in obedience to the "Direct Action" resolution[4] of the All India Muslim League passed in Bombay in 1946:

(1) Arbab Karam Khan Sahib Kansi (2) Malik Shah Jahan Khan

(3) Haji Malik Moh[amma]d Azam Khan Kansi (4) Malik Faqir Moh[amma]d Khan Kansi and (5) Seth Fida Ali Sahib.

All instructions received from the Central Muslim League from time to time were complied with by the Quetta City Muslim League. All meetings, processions, strikes and illuminations which were ordered by the Central Muslim League were respected and carried out by us. In the Bengal famine, seven wagons of rice were despatched by Quetta. The earthquake-stricken in Pasni were helped with Rs. 1,700 which were collected and given to the Prime Minister of Kalat. Rupees ten thousand and fifteen bales of clothes were sent to Bihar for the relief of Muslims. A deputation consisting of Council members and National Guards was also sent to Bihar. They worked there excellently and obtained certificates to that effect.

After the advent of Pakistan, the Muslim refugees of East Punjab reached Quetta as destitutes. The City League took the management of accommodation and feeding into its own hands but unfortunately due to heightened and provoked passions and the nefarious activities of the fifth-columnists, communal riots broke out in Quetta. The members of the City Muslim League and the National Guards did their best to control the riots even at the risk of their lives. Our offices remained continuously open for three months. We helped the authorities to maintain law and order. All the dead bodies were either buried or burnt under the arrangements worked out by the National Guards, regardless of caste and creed. At the same time, the refugees who arrived in Quetta during the riots were provided with transport, food and accommodation. A refugee camp was opened and was run for two months under the Quetta City Muslim League. The Government was supplying *atta* only, whereas the vegetables, meat, clothes, quilts, blankets and jersies were provided by the City Muslim League, Quetta. The number of refugees in the camp was 200 when it was run by us, but now it has come down to 30. Besides, the City League has been successful in rehabilitating nearly about fifteen thousand. Nearly 3,000 have been found work, e.g. clerks, carpenters, blacksmiths, fitters and tailors, etc. An estimated 8,000 clothes consisting of blankets, quilts and warm clothes, etc., were distributed amongst the refugees. The refugees who came here but could not contact their relatives and wanted to go back to Karachi, etc., were given railway fare by the City Muslim League, Quetta. A sum of thousands of rupees was spent for this purpose. In short, the City Muslim League, Quetta, has spent about Rs. 16,000 on refugees. The data regarding the losses of refugees has also been collected by the City League and near about four thousand applications were despatched to the Rehabilitation Commissioner, Lahore. We have also helped the refugees in finding out houses and their lost relatives.

I feel proud in saying that all the members of the City Muslim League Council (as per list attached)[5] have been working selflessly and honestly for the cause of the nation. Mr. Karimuddin Ahmad, the Joint Secretary of the City Muslim League, Quetta, has put in the best efforts in performing his duties for the national cause. The Council Members have spoiled their business, sacrificed their time and labour. Even recently at the time of Sibi Darbar, the City Muslim League, Quetta, spent 9,000 (nine thousand) rupees to receive and meet the Quaid-i-Azam. They have not yet given up their efforts at making the newly-born Pakistan strong and will ever be ready to make any sacrifice for the greatness of Pakistan.

In the end, I shall mention that the above statement has been submitted with a view to intimating you the brief history of the Quetta City Muslim League, which has not so far been able to find an opportunity to acquaint you with its humble but sincere activities. We shall be ever grateful if you would kindly devote a few minutes of your precious time to this letter.[6]

Before I close, I pray again to God for the long life of our beloved Quaid-i-Azam and the greatness of Pakistan.

Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad! Pakistan Paindabad!

MOHAMMAD AZAM
President,
City Muslim League

[1]No. 79.
[2]June-July 1943.
[3]September 1945.
[4]See Annex III to No. 386, Vol. I, Part I, 692-3.
[5]See F. 120 (Vol. II)-GG/480. Not printed.
[6]Acknowledged by F. Amin. See F. 120(Vol.II)-GG/472. Not printed

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Ata Ullah Khan Niazi to Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan

F. 120 (Vol. I)-GG/61

RAWALPINDI,
9 April 1948

Dear Raja Sahib,

It is after a long silence that I address you again. I hope you would not mind giving me a few minutes. I draw your attention to the refugee problem which seems to be taking an ugly turn. For you, as the Minister immediately concerned, there is enough of food for thought

in the incessant ever-swelling stream of the disappointed and disgruntled Muslim refugees returning to Hindustan, the land of Tara Singhs and Patels, who have sworn themselves into eternal inveterate enemies of Islam. Our *Muhajir* brethren had come to us after passing through an ordeal of the sword, the fire and the worst type of bestiality the world has ever witnessed. They had left that land littered with the corpses of their kith and kin, butchered by the infidel hordes in cold blood for the only fault of their being Muslims and for having helped us carve out a separate homeland for ourselves in Pakistan. The demon of destruction, which was let loose upon them and which found no check whatsoever for months on end because of the shameful and cowardly weakness shown by the Muslims on this side of the border, left no traces of their hearths and homes. Their houses were pillaged and laid in ashes. They were shorn of all their belongings and even their women-folk were forcibly carried away and put to shame and to the sword. Certainly, after having come to us treated so inhumanly and reduced to such straits, they should not have thought of going back to the places of their ruin and disaster and of bitter memories in the manner they have been obliged to do. They cannot be blind to the fact that the Hindus and the Sikhs still continue their campaign of proselytising and exterminating the Muslims with the same old vigour and determination. They know that be it Godhra, Panon Mahal, Sahera, Chanchla, Jal Behra, or any other area, each and every one of these has its place in the fiendish schemes of our enemies. But, in spite of this frightening outlook and the terrible fate that awaits them and their co-religionists in Hindustan, they have decided to return there. This is a convincing proof of there being something seriously wrong with us and the treatment we have meted out to our brethren who had come to us with hopes and expectations. It should be your duty, as the Rehabilitation Minister, to prevent this turn of the tide. In case you find yourself helpless, you must request and persuade others to lend you a helping hand or, if need be, to vacate your place for someone else. Obviously, if this state of affairs is allowed to continue, the Shudhi Movement in Hindustan will gain further momentum and the hands of the enemy will be strengthened in Kashmir as well. And for all this you will be answerable not only to the nation here but to God as well [in the] hereafter. I would advise you never to forget this aspect of the problem.

Brotherly yours,
ATA ULLAH KHAN NIAZI
Mujahid,
Muslim [League] National Guards

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Z. A. Suleri to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. I)-GG/210

43 TEMPLARS AVENUE,
LONDON, N. W. 11,
9 April 1948

Beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

Perhaps you will be interested to read the enclosed letter which appeared in the current issue of the *New Statesman & Nation.*[1] The letter is a reply to Mr. Kingsley Martin's article on the relations between Muslims and Christians and bore particular reference to Pakistanis.

Not much news of Pakistan reaches this country and Muslims here are so anxious to know of all developments in our beloved country and especially about your health, for which they constantly pray.

With deepest feelings,

Your obedient servant,
Z. A. SULERI

[1]A London magazine.

Enclosure to No. 250

F. 120 (Vol.I)-GG/211

MUSLIMS AND CHRISTIANS

Mr. Kingsley Martin has, in his article on "Muslims and Christians," told why Englishmen like Muslims. May I here point out the reason for the affectionate feelings which a Muslim similarly bears for Englishmen? It is largely because of a precept in the Holy *Qur'an* which enjoins Muslims to regard Christians as brothers, for they also are "Men of the Book." However much, in Mr. Martin's opinion, the West may have failed to conform to Christian ideals, its civilisation has imbibed the Christian spirit in so far as it has retained its belief in the value of human personality, an ethical principle which Muslims believe to be the essence of their religion.

Another point which I should like to make is about the growth of "Left" tendencies in Pakistan. Although it is in the fitness of things that those who have fought for a homeland for the preservation of their religious values should reject the godless philosophy of Communism, there

is no doubt that Muslims in Pakistan, as elsewhere, were attracted by its economic aspect, in that it seemed to offer a solution for their poverty. Fuller development of Communism in Russia has, however, disillusioned them. To-day, the Russian regime appears to them an unmitigated form of dictatorship allowing no room for freedom of belief and expression. Muslims, therefore, look towards Britain, where Socialism has sought to better the conditions of the people by means of free institutions. The Communists in Pakistan, even those who until recently avowed their beliefs with great fervour, are now compelled by public opinion to adopt other party shibboleths. Mr. Iftikhar Uddin, the owner of *Pakistan Times* (not *Times of Pakistan*), when accused of being a Communist in the West Punjab Assembly recently, said that he stood for "Islamic Socialism." No other "ism" can work in Pakistan.

Thus it appears that the bond between Muslims and Christians is neither so superficial nor so opportunist[ic] as Mr. Martin would have us believe.

Z. A. SULERI

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M. Siddiq Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. I)-GG/214-5

P.O. BOX NO. 58,
KARACHI,
9 April 1948

His Excellency the Governor-General, Pakistan,

I take this opportunity to write the following for Your Excellency's consideration and high thinking [*sic*]:

Being head of the State, Your Excellency must be aware of the general discontent prevailing among Your Excellency's people caused by the high-handedness and unchanged bureaucratic and unsympathetic attitude of Your Excellency's state officials towards the people they have been employed to serve. Your Excellency is also not unaware of the fact that even some high-placed personalities (specially among Provincial Governments) are no more enjoying confidence of the people due to misuse of the authority and disservice to the State and the people.

Your Excellency is aware of the intensive propaganda that the enemies are carrying on against this dearly-won and newly-born State. Your Excellency is aware that if now one searches the hearts and reads the minds of

the Indian Muslims one would not find that sympathy and regard that not very long ago they entertained for Pakistan.

Your Excellency must also be aware of the untold sorrows and sufferings of what are known to be refugees and also the behavemant [*sic*] meted out to them and the mishandling and humiliation they have been subjected to at the hands of sons and daughters of this soil and the Government and officialdom of the State. Your Excellency is also aware of the speed and momentum of the return of this wretched and unfortunate humanity to their forsaken hearths and homes and should also try to know the tales that they are carrying with them to tell.

Your Excellency will agree, I believe, that these are the people, refugees as they are called, who have built this State with their blood, tears, sweat and what not (unprecedented sacrifices indeed). Cannot these be the people, wretched and infernal as they have become, who may, God forbid, undo this paradise?

Your Excellency is aware of the venom of provincialism and sectionalism that is being injected in the body of the State and that venom has already started its action. Your Excellency has read in yesterday's *Dawn* of C.R[ajagopalachari]'s 'Re-union of Bengal Campaign' and in fact of many peoples' many campaigns within and without this State.

I have not the sight and the imagination to weigh and view the consequences of all I hear, see, read and experience; but what I conclude in spite of trying to be optimistic is consequentially pessi [*sic*].

One should not lose faith in God, the Almighty; I have faith in Him and have faith in you. God has gifted Your Excellency with superb qualities and virtues and all. Now I humbly and sincerely pray to God to gift Your Excellency with one thing more, it is iron hand—iron hand, I repeat, because it is most urgently needed at the moment.

Faithfully yours,
MOH[AMMA]D SIDDIQ KHAN

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Secretary, Muhajir Association to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 120 (Vol. II)-GG/481-2

KHULNA,
9 April 1948

Oppression, assaults on Muslims at Jungipur, Berhampur in Murshidabad by Hindu students and public cooperation with police

going on since *Doljatra*.[1] Muslim houses burnt, shops looted in broad daylight. Lawlessness prevails, heavy exodus every day. Immediate intervention solicited.

SECRETARY, MUHAJIR ASSOCIATION

[1]A Hindu festival.

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S. M. Yusuf to Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah

F. 187 (4)-GG/128

D.O. No. D. 974 *10 April 1948*

Your Excellency,

Kindly refer to your D.O. letter No. 8/48, dated the 3rd March, 1948,[1] forwarding six Bills passed by the Sind Legislative Assembly and reserved by you for the Governor-General's consideration. Bill No. IV[2]—a Bill to provide for economic rehabilitation in Sind—was kept back pending further consideration by the Quaid-i-Azam. The Quaid-i-Azam has given his best consideration to it and finds that he is unable to give his assent to it as the basic principle underlying clause 7 of the Bill strikes at the root of the sanctity of contracts under the existing laws and is, therefore, constitutionally and legally unsound. He also feels that on practical grounds such a legislation is undesirable.

2. The authenticated copy of the Bill is returned herewith with the Governor-General's endorsement.

Yours sincerely,
S. M. YUSUF

[1]See F. 187 (4)-GG/42. Not printed.
[2]See F. 187 (4)-GG/113-9. Not printed.

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Mumtaz Hasan Kizilbash to M. Ikramullah

Telegram, FOA, P.8/3

CONFIDENTIAL KABUL,
10 April 1948

Foreign telegram No. 1221 April 7th [6th][1] and Baluchistan telegram No. 82/S April 6th.[2]

2. His Royal Highness[3] will leave Kandahar April 21st reach Quetta same day and leave for Karachi by train 22nd. He will be accompanied by Counsellor, First Secretary, Secretary, Comptroller of Household, two servants, two drivers and one cook. In addition His Royal Highness's son Sardar Abdul Wali Khan who is proceeding to Europe will also accompany him.

3. Please confirm arrangements including transport of two cars which will go by the train His Royal Highness will travel.

4. Addressed Foreign, Karachi, repeated Baluchistan, Quetta.

[1]See FOA, P.8/3. Not printed.
[2]Not traceable.
[3]Refers to Shah Wali Khan, Ambassador of Afghanistan to Pakistan.

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Report of M. A. Jinnah's Interview with Members of Iranian Goodwill Mission[1]

KARACHI,
10 April 1948

In an interview with Messrs Masoodi, Faramarzi and Malaki of Iranian Goodwill Mission, the Quaid-i-Azam ascribed the visit of this mission as a third gesture by Iran to establish cordial and friendly relations between the two neighbouring countries; the first two being, generous contributions by the Iranis to the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund and exchange of diplomatic representatives. The Quaid-i-Azam also emphasized the need for harmony, unity of purpose and complete understanding among all the peoples of Asia, particularly of the Muslims, as that would be a great contribution to the peace and prosperity of the world.

[1]K A. K. Yusufi, ed., *Speeches, Statements & Messages of the Quaid-i-Azam*, Vol. IV, 2742-3.

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Programme of M. A. Jinnah's Visit to NWFP
11 April to 21 April 1948

F. 216 III-GG/40-7

PRIVATE

Sunday, 11 April 1948

4.00 p.m.	Arrives Peshawar Aerodrome
4.30 p.m.	Tea at Government House
8.30 p.m.	Quiet dinner at Government House

Monday, 12 April

10.00 a.m.	Quaid-i-Azam receives Hon'ble Chief Minister
11.00 a.m.	Quaid-i-Azam receives Hon'ble Revenue Minister
12. 10 p.m.	Meets members of Provincial Muslim League
1.30 p.m.	Quiet lunch at Government House
4.00 p.m.	Leaves for Islamia College
4.30 p.m.	Addresses students
5.20 p.m.	Tea at Islamia College
6.30 p.m.	Arrives Government House
8.30 p.m.	Quiet dinner at Government House

Tuesday, 13 April

7.45 a.m.	Leaves Government House for visit to Risalpur
8.30 a.m.	Lands Risalpur
8.40 a.m.	Short address to officers and men of the R.P.A.F.
9.10 a.m.	Visits R.P.A.F. Officers' Mess
9. 40 a.m.	Inspects Armoured Brigade
10.30 a.m.	Leaves for Nowshera
11.00 a.m.	Arrives Nowshera
11.10 a.m.	Addresses officers and men of P.A.C.C[entre]
11.30 a.m.	Visits Pakistan Artillery School
12.00 noon	Visits 13 Survey Battery and 9 Field Training Battery
12.20 p.m.	Leaves for Risalpur
1.20 p.m,	Arrives Peshawar
1.30 p.m.	Quiet lunch at Government House
5.00 p.m.	Garden party at Government House
8.30 p.m.	Dinner with Hon'ble Chief Minister

Wednesday, 14 April

11.30 a.m.	Receives H. H. the Mehtar of Chitral
12.15 p.m.	Gives an informal talk to civil officers at Government House
1.15 p.m.	Quiet lunch at Government House
3.30 p.m.	With Miss Jinnah leaves by car for Khyber (29 miles)
3.50 p.m.	Arrives Jamrud. Takes the salute of the Khassadar Guard
4.00 p.m.	Leaves for Landi Kotal
5.00	Arrives Landi Kotal Fort
5. 05 p.m.	Inspects the Guard of Honour provided by the Khyber Rifles Other officers of the Khyber Rifles will be introduced to Quaid-i-Azam
5.10 p.m.	Tea at the Khyber Rifles Mess given by the *Maliks* of the Agency
5.30 p.m.	Visits Torkham and returns to Peshawar
7.15 p.m.	Arrives Government House, Peshawar
8.30 p.m.	Dinner at the Royal Pakistan Air Force Mess

Thursday, 15 April

10.00 a.m.	With Miss Jinnah leaves for presentation of Colours to 2/15th Punjab Regiment
12.00 noon	Returns to Government House
12.15 p.m.	Receives Wali of Swat and his son
1.30 p.m.	Lunch at Government House
4.30 p.m.	Receives Abdul Ghaffar Khan
5. 30 p.m.	Tea at Government House
6.00 p.m.	Meets Muslim League Assembly Party at Government House (about 25)
8.30 p.m.	Dinner at Flagstaff House

Friday, 16 April

8.00 a.m:	With Miss Jinnah leaves for aerodrome for visit to D.I. Khan and Bannu
9.25 a.m.	Arrives D. I. Khan
9. 35 a.m.	Breakfast in Circuit House, D. I. Khan
10.00 a.m. to 12.15 p.m.	Interviews
12. 20 p.m.	Leaves for the aerodrome

12. 25 p.m.	Takes off for Bannu
1.10 p.m.	Lands at Bannu Aerodrome
1.25 p.m.	Leaves for the Fort, Bannu
1.30 p.m.	Lunch at the Fort, Bannu
4.00 p.m.	Tea
4.20 p.m.	Appears on the bastion of the Edwardes Fort to address the public
4.45 p.m.	Leaves for the Circuit House
4.50. p.m. to 5. 40 p.m.	Interviews
5. 45 p.m.	Leaves for the aerodrome, for Peshawar
6. 40 p.m.	Arrives Peshawar and returns to Government House
8. 30 p.m.	Quiet dinner at Government House

Saturday, 17 April

10.30 a.m.	Receives Nawab of Amb
11.15 a.m.	*Jirga* of all the tribes at Government House
1.30 p.m.	Lunch at Government House
4.55 p.m.	Leaves for 9th Frontier Division Garden Party
6.00 p.m.	Leaves the Garden Party
8.30 p.m.	Quiet dinner at Government House

Sunday, 18 April

10.30 a.m.	Leaves for the lines of the 6th Royal Battalion (Scinde), the F. F. Rifles
10.35 a.m.	Arrives at the lines. The party will be conducted round the lines visiting the Regimental Mess and Institute
10.50 a.m.	Meets officers and J.C.Os of the Bn. in Officers Mess
11.15 a.m.	Sees Pakistan National Guards
11.25 a.m.	Leaves for Government House
11.30 a.m.	Arrives Government House
11.45 a.m.	With Miss Jinnah visits Edwardes College. An address will be presented and Quaid-i-Azam will reply
12.30 p.m.	Returns to Government House
12.45 p.m.	Receives Samin Jan Khan
1.30 p.m.	Quiet lunch at Government House
5.30 p.m.	Quiet tea at Government House
8.30 p.m.	Quiet dinner at Government House

Monday, 19 April

10.30 a.m.	Receives Major P.C. Hailey the Chief Secretary
11.00 a.m.	Receives Lt. Col. S. M. Khurshid the Political Resident
11.30 a.m.	Receives the Hon'ble K. B. Moh[amma]d Ibrahim Khan, the Judicial Commissioner
12.00 noon	Receives Lt. Col. A. J. Dring, C.I.E., the Revenue and Development Commissioner
12.30 p.m.	Receives Lt. Col. J. R. Hainsworth, C.B.E., the Chief Engineer
1.30 p.m.	Quiet lunch at Government House
5.30 p.m.	With Miss Jinnah leaves for the Reception at the Assembly Hall Gardens given by the citizens of Peshawar
6.30 p.m.	Returns to Government House
8.30 p.m.	Quiet dinner at Government House

Tuesday, 20 April

12.00 noon	Receives representatives of the Women Muslim League in the the Ball Room (about 30)
12.45 p.m.	Receives a deputation of the Christian community (about 5)
12.55 p.m.	Receives a deputation of the Scheduled Castes
1.30 p.m.	Quiet lunch at Government House
4.55 p.m.	Quiet tea at Government House
5.20 p.m.	Leaves for the Cunningham Park
5.30 p.m.	Arrives at the Cunningham Park. A short address will be presented to which Quaid-i-Azam will reply
8.30 p.m.	Quiet dinner at Government House

Wednesday, 21 April

10.30 a.m.	Representatives of the City Muslim League present a cheque to the Quaid-i-Azam in the *Shamiana* at Government House
10.45 a.m.	Representatives of the Frontier Co-operative Bank present a cheque for the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund in the *Shamiana* at Government House
11.00 a.m.	Quaid-i-Azam receives representatives of the Bar Association (about 5)
1.00 p.m.	Lunch at Government House
2.00 p.m.	Leaves Governemnt House for the aerodrome
2.30 p.m.	Plane takes off
7.00 p.m.	Arrives at Mauripur Aerodrome

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Address of Welcome by Islamia College to M. A. Jinnah[1]

F. 216 (III)-GG/158-9

PESHAWAR,
12 April 1948

Quaid-i-Azam!

On behalf of all connected with the Dar-ul-Uloom-i-Islamia-i-Sarhad it gives me the greatest pleasure to welcome you and Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah here today. We are fully aware of your interest in all educational matters, and greatly appreciate that you have found time among your many engagements to visit this Institution.

Since this College was founded in 1912 by those two great men, the late Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum[2] and the late Sir George Roos Keppel,[3] it has gone far and it has always been our ideal to produce, not a narrow academic type, but real men, capable of becoming the leaders of their country. How far we have succeeded is to some extent answered if you look around you, when you will see a very large proportion of our old students amongst officers of the Government and the leaders of the Province.

Under your leadership, Quaid-i-Azam, we have seen the establishment of Pakistan as a free and independent country and in that struggle our alumni have played, we hope, no unworthy part. But we are fully aware that now that our country has achieved its freedom somewhat different qualities are needed from its educated men, and that you look to the student body for hard work and discipline rather than for demonstration and political activity. With God's help, Quaid-i-Azam, we will supply the new type as in the past we supplied the old.

We have hopes, and know that they are shared by our Provincial Government, that some day this College may become the nucleus of a Khyber University, and an even greater centre of Muslim culture and learning, and we trust, that as today we welcome you as Patron and Founder of a new country, so on some future date we may greet you as the Founder of a new University, based upon Islamic ideals and able to produce men capable of building up the Pakistan that we all love.

In the end we assure you, Quaid-i-Azam that we do not believe in provincialism and that we will do our best in making Pakistan one

strong, solid and united Islamic State.

[1]Presented by Col. A. K. Sahibzada, Chairman of the Council of Management.
[2]Ex-Premier, NWFP.
[3]Ex-Governor, NWFP.

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Reply of M. A. Jinnah to the Address of Welcome Presented by Islamia College

F. 216 (III)-GG/159-60

PESHAWAR,
12 April 1948

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am indeed very happy to be present here today and to have the privilege of meeting and addressing the students of this great Dar-ul-Uloom, who are the future builders of Pakistan.

On this occasion the thought that is naturally uppermost in my mind is the support and help that the movement for the achievement of Pakistan received from the student community, particularly of this Province. I cannot help feeling that the unequivocal and unmistakable decision of the people of this Province to join Pakistan, which was given through the Referendum held last year, was helped considerably by the contribution made by the students. I take particular pride in the fact that the people of this Province have never and in no way lagged behind in the struggle for freedom and achievement of Pakistan.

Now that we have achieved our national goal, you will expect me to give you a bit of advice regarding the manner in which we can put our shoulders behind the most difficult and important task of building up our new State into what we all wish it to be, namely one of the greatest States in the world. The first thing you should do is to learn to appreciate the difference in the approach to the problems with which we are faced now, in contrast with those which were facing us when we were struggling for our independence. During our struggle for the achievement of Pakistan we were critical of the Government which was a foreign Government and which we wanted to replace by a Government of our own. In doing so we had to sacrifice many things including the academic careers of our younger generation. May I say that you played your part magnificently. Now that you have achieved your goal, that is a Government of your own, and a country which

belongs to you and in which you can live as free men, your responsibilities and your approach to the political, social and economic problems must also change. The duties required of you now are: develop a sound sense of discipline, character, initiative and a solid academic background. You must devote yourself whole-heartedly to your studies, for that is your first obligation to yourselves, your parents and to the State. You must learn to obey for only then you can learn to command. In your criticism of the Government you must learn to be constructive. Government welcomes constructive criticism. You can make a big contribution towards bringing about harmony and unity where for personal and other selfish considerations some people may adopt courses which are likely to lead to disruption and disunity. Remember that your Government is like your garden. Your garden flourishes by the way you look after it and the efforts that you put towards its improvement. Similarly, your Government can flourish by your patriotic, honest and constructive efforts to improve it.

I am not making any particular reference to you but now that I have had the opportunity of talking to you, I must warn you not to allow your actions to be guided by ill-digested information or slogans and catch-words. Do not take them to heart or repeat them parrot-like. Take advantage of your period of training that this institution offers you, by equipping yourself to become leaders of the future generation. There is a common fault with the students against which I must warn you. The students believe that no one can tell them anything which they do not already know. That mentality is harmful and often leads to quite a lot of mischief. But if you want to learn by your own experience, and not by the experience of your elders, let me tell you that as you become older, you will be more ready to learn from your costly experience and the knocks that you shall have received during your lifetime, which will harm you more than anybody else.

I naturally welcome your statement that you do not believe in provincialism. You must learn to distinguish between your love for your province and your love and duty to the State as a whole. Our duty to the State takes us a stage beyond as a whole. Our duty to the State takes us a stage beyond provincialism. It demands a broader sense of vision, and greater sense of patriotism. Our duty to the State often demands that we must be ready to submerge our individual or provincial interests into the common cause for common good. Our duty to the State comes first; our duty to our province, to our district, to our town and to our village and ourselves comes next. Remember we are building up a State which is going to play its full part in the destinies of the whole Islamic World. We, therefore, need a wider outlook, an

outlook which transcends the boundaries of provinces, limited nationalism, and racialism. We must develop a sense of patriotism which should galvanise and weld us all into one united and strong nation. That is the only way in which we can achieve our goal, the goal of our struggle, the goal for which millions of Musalmans have lost their all and laid down their lives.

You have referred to the question of a Khyber University. Let me tell you that nothing is nearer to my heart than to have a great centre of culture and learning in a place like Peshawar, a place from where the rays of knowledge and culture can spread throughout the Middle East and Central Asia. I, therefore, fully sympathize with your aspirations in this behalf and, provided you go the right way about it, perhaps you will get your university sooner than you can imagine.

Finally, I would earnestly advise you to think and act with sobriety and in all humility as selfless and true soldiers of the people, and with absolute loyalty to Pakistan.

Remember, you must have patience. Rome was not built in a day. Time factor, therefore, is essential. You must trust in your Government and I assure you that they are fully alive to the needs of the people, and particularly the masses who require special attention. Give your Government full chance and opportunity. The success of our achievements will depend upon our unity, discipline and faith not only in ourselves but in God Who determines the destinies of peoples and nations.

I thank you once more for the honour that you have done me today. I wish you every happiness and success.

There is one thing which I am sorry to say I missed to refer in my written speech. My young friends, you must now fully realize the vital change, the fundamental change that has taken place. You are not now merely to confine yourselves to becoming Government servants which was the avenue to which most of you aspired. You must now realize that fresh fields, new channels and avenues are now being thrown open to you where you have unlimited opportunities, namely you must now direct your attention to science, commercial banking, insurance industry and technical education.

You must be reading newspapers and knowing how Pakistan is moving fast in creating various institutions of the kind I have mentioned. Many of you do not know how fast it is going, but it is going very fast and as we go on, these institutions will multiply. Those are the avenues, those are the channels where you can do well to yourselves and also serve the nation better than as clerks. I want to impress upon those who are responsible for the education of our young boys that they must concentrate and direct all energies in this direction.

You do not know what is waiting for you. I give one instance to illustrate. I know one young man who took a Government job as usual after he had completed his university career. He was a B. Com. and had some training in the commercial system. He was very happy to get a job in a Government department on Rs. 150 p.m. He was quite happy because an average B.A. does not get more than a *tongawala* or a *taxiwala*. He was very happy. He would not have received more than few hundreds even after 25 years service. But suddenly somebody picked him up and got him in his bank and straightaway he was given Rs. 500 p.m. Now today, that is four years after, let me tell you that he is drawing Rs. 1,500 p.m.—Rs. 1,500 he would have never received till the time he died. Now, therefore, I once more impress upon you to direct your minds to these channels.

One thing more I would like to say that there is some impression that the public is kept away from me. This you may call the Government's management or the State visit of mine. I want this impression to be removed. I want to make it clear that the public is absolutely free to do what they like, provided they maintain discipline, whereas the public gets so excited that they break every rule and every arrangement in their enthusiasm and regard for me. But that does no good to anybody and it is dangerous. Therefore, I wish that everyone will impress upon the people, especially my young friends, to line up if they want to see me. You can by all means come and see me with full freedom, but line up properly, keep order and maintain discipline so that I can comfortably pass as the object is that I should see you and you should see me.

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I thank you again for the honour you have done me today.

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Message from M. A. Jinnah to the First Pakistan Olympic Games

F. 2-GG/13

12 April 1948

For sound minds, we should have sound bodies and that is why nations the world over attach so much importance to body building and physical culture. The first Pakistan Olympic Games should act as an incentive to all Pakistan nationals to emulate the Olympic Motto "Citius, Altius, Fortius" i.e. "Faster, Higher and Stronger". I wish the

organizers of the Games and all competitors the best of luck. Build up Pakistan higher, firmer and stronger.

M. A. JINNAH

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George Cunningham to M. A. Jinnah

F. 221 (II)-GG/40-1

SOMERSET HOUSE,
KARACHI,
12 April 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

When one feels as deeply as I did yesterday when we said good-bye, it is impossible to say all that one would like to. Your understanding and constant support ever since I took over as Governor last August, have made things wonderfully easy and pleasant for me, and I would have liked to express my gratitude for all that. As you know, the welfare of the N.W.F.P. and its people is the chief desire of my life, and it is a grief to me to be leaving them before I had carried out all that I hoped to do. But I am thankful that I have had even these last eight months in Pakistan, and I will never regret having come out again. The sympathy you have shown since the doctors said I must go home has made all the difference to me and I am very truly grateful. I will try to write a fairly full appreciation of N.W.F.P. affairs, as you have desired me to do as soon as I can, and will send it to you.

I wish also to thank you and your sister very much indeed for your great kindness and hospitality to my wife and myself these last few days. Even these last two days and their restfulness have made me feel much more like myself, and Colonel M. H. Shah[1] who had a look at me this morning was most re-assuring. Knowles[2] has been extremely kind and attentive and has arranged everything for us most admirably.

I hope your visit to Peshawar and the rest of the N.W.F.P. will be a tremendous success. I will watch the news with the greatest interest.

Good-bye and thank you a thousand times,

Yours sincerely,
GEORGE CUNNINGHAM

[1]Civil Surgeon, Karachi
[2]Military Secretary to the Governor-General.

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S. G. Hasnain to S. M. Yusuf

F. 187 (7)-GG/1

ASSEMBLY BUILDING,
KARACHI,
12 April 1948

Dear Mr. Yusuf,

Under paragraph 3 of the Procedural Orders (copy enclosed for ready reference) the Secretary of the Law Division has to report to the Governor-General the Bills passed by the Federal Legislature for obtaining his assent in pursuance of Section 32 of the Government of India Act, 1935, as adapted by the Pakistan (Provisional Constitution) Order, 1947, and the orders of the Governor-General are to be communicated by the Private Secretary to this Secretariat. So far no such orders in respect of the official Bills passed by the Legislature during its last session have been received by us. I shall be obliged if you will kindly send us the requisite orders as they will have to be communicated to the House when the Legislature meets in May.

If you have not kept a list of the Acts so far assented to, you can obtain the information from the Law Division.

Yours sincerely,
S. G. HASNAIN
Deputy Secretary

Enclosure to No. 261

F. 187 (7)-GG/3
[Extract]

PROCEDURE FOR TAKING GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S ORDERS UNDER THE PAKISTAN LEGISLATIVE RULES AND STANDING ORDERS

3. It is for the Secretary of the Ministry of Law and Labour (Law Division) to report to the Governor-General, the Bills passed by the Federal Legislature and to take his orders for assent. The orders of the Governor-General are to be communicated by the Private Secretary to the Governor-General to the Secretary of the Constituent Assembly (Legislature).

The orders of the Governor-General should be taken under Proviso to

Section 32, by the Secretary, Ministry of Law and Labour (Law Division), and should be communicated to the Secretary of the Constituent Assembly (Legislature), by the Private Secretary to the Governor-General.

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Francis Mudie to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 46(II)-GG/2

IMMEDIATE/CONFIDENTIAL
No. 98-G

LAHORE,
13 April 1948

Care Governor of the NWFP

Shaukat [Hyat] has just informed me that [Mumtaz] Daultana placed his written resignation in Mamdot's hands yesterday at a meeting of Ministers, in spite of Prime Minister Pakistan's expressed wish that no such action should be taken by him or Shaukat till you had had an opportunity of discussing matters with West Punjab Ministers at Rawalpindi. Mamdot has not so far approached me. Shaukat came because he had intended to resign along with Daultana's resignation, before you had discussed matters with them, putting him in difficulties.

In these circumstances it is difficult to leave decision until your arrival in Rawalpindi on April 30th. Would it be possible for you to see the Ministers in Peshawar before you leave NWFP?

Shaukat is only Minister who has discussed the question of his and Daultana's resignations with me. Would you like me to discuss it with Mamdot and/or Daultana?

I am repeating this telegram to Prime Minister, Pakistan.

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Address by M. A. Jinnah to the Royal Pakistan Air Force Officers and Airmen

F. 216 (III)-GG/161

RISALPUR
13 April 1948

It gives me great pleasure to pay my first visit to a unit of the Royal Pakistan Air Force. There is no doubt that any country without a

strong Air Force is at the mercy of any aggressor. Pakistan must build up her Air Force as quickly as possible. It must be an efficient Air Force second to none and must take its right place with the Army and the Navy in securing Pakistan's defence.

I am well aware of air developments in other countries and my Government is determined that the Royal Pakistan Air Force will not lag behind.

The Royal Pakistan Air Force has started with very few assets except loyalty and determination to succeed. But the Royal Pakistan Air Force is already taking shape; this school formed only 7 months ago is a worthy example of this.

I know you are short of personnel but I understand recruitment is brisk and good material is coming forward. To fill up the gaps in the meantime the Royal Air Force volunteers are coming forward and are welcome.

I know also that you are short of aircraft and equipment but efforts are being made to procure the necessary equipment and orders for modern aircraft have also been placed.

But aircraft and personnel in any numbers are of little use, unless there is a team spirit within the Air Force and a strict sense of discipline prevails. I charge you to remember that only with discipline and self-reliance can the Royal Pakistan Air Force be worthy of Pakistan.

I am pleased to learn of the progress which this School has made and as desired by the Air Commander and yourselves I name it from today "The Pakistan Air Force College." I thank you all and I wish your School and yourselves all success.

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Address by M. A. Jinnah to Officers and Men of 3rd Armoured Brigade

F. 216 (III/C)-GG/161

RISALPUR,
13 April 1948

I am pleased to have visited you today at your Headquarters. "Risalpur", as the name indicates, has been the home of Cavalry for a long time. For centuries Cavalry has been regarded as the "*Corps d'elite*" of every nation. Although you have now changed your mounts or these

awe-inspiring machines—the tanks, your perseverance, patience, coolness and dash that had to be displayed by a cavalier, must still remain your guiding light.

Your Brigade is the only one of its kind in the Pakistan Army, in fact in the whole of Muslim World. This unique distinction that you enjoy is a befitting compliment to the biggest Muslim State.

Your victories and achievements in World War II are too well-known for me to recount. Your Brigade invariably formed the spear-head of the Fourteenth Army's advance from Manipur Road to Rangoon, and the privilege of continuing to wear the famous Fourteenth Army badge by your Brigade is befitting of your deeds.

Since the establishment of Pakistan almost every unit of this Brigade has been reformed, and within this short period of 8 months you have knit yourself into a formidable team. All this happened while you were continuously being called upon to perform multifarious duties, such as evacuating millions of stranded Muslims from the eastern Punjab and States, and maintaining law and order within your own borders. This is a great achievement in itself and can only be attributed to the high morale, integrity, selfless devotion to duty and loyalty. I have no doubt that you will always be prepared to take on any hazardous duty which you may be called upon to perform.

Lastly, I would like to mention how pleased I am to see this formation which is fully equipped and trained to fight with up-to-date and modern instruments. This is indicative of a nation's fitness to take an equal place with other big nations of the world.

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Address by M. A. Jinnah to Officers and Men of Pakistan Armoured Corps Centre

F. 216 (III/C)-GG/162

NOWSHERA,
13 April 1948

Officers and men,

As you know, on Partition all Armoured Corps training establishments were in India. We were left with absolutely no training establishment for Armoured Corps. Literally, we in Pakistan had to start from scratch in this particular field. And it was very essential to take steps to open a Pakistan training establishment as soon as possible so that (a) the intake of recruits

should not be held up; (b) their training should continue with as little break as possible; and (c) courses could be run for regiments. But, unfortunately, considerable delay was caused owing to the impossibility of moving the Pakistan element from India until October, and I am glad to say it is due to the untiring efforts of all of you that, in such a short span of time, the centre is now functioning fully in all departments.

Cavalry has always been the spearhead of the Army. This is no less true in these days of mechanization than it was in the days of horses. To carry out their role, Cavalry must have the very best in officers and men. Whether they do in fact attain this level depends very largely on you. You produce the recruit and turn him out as a trained soldier. You train officers and men in all the latest developments of your arm of the service. Upon this training and teaching depends the efficiency of the Armoured Corps as a whole.

Those of you who are on the staff of the Centre, make up your minds that there is always room for improvement; and much depends upon your efforts.

Those of you who are under training, determine always to do your best to take the fullest advantage of your opportunities here.

There are many of you on parade today who have come here before going on pension or release. Your Army service is completed and you have given the best years of your life to the service of your country. Your country is grateful. Many of you may not wish to go but it is unavoidable. After all great wars it is necessary to reduce the Army to its peace-time strength and all cannot remain.

Remember that you have learned much of the world and of the duties of a good citizenship in the Army. You can continue to serve your country in your homes by spreading this knowledge and by the examples of your way of living.

There are many among you who are refugees from India. You are uncertain of the future for yourself and for your families. I can assure you that this problem is receiving the most earnest attention of the Government and that no efforts are being spared in endeavouring to arrange for your resettlement. I am glad to know that this Centre contributed the sum of Rs. 4,516 to the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund which is giving much aid in the refugees' work.

Do not forget *esprit de corps*—pride in your Regiment, pride in the Corps as a whole, and pride in and devotion to your country—Pakistan. Pakistan depends on you and puts her faith in you as defenders of your country. Be worthy of her. This Army was built up and made its reputation due to the devotion and bravery of your fathers and grand-fathers.

Make up your minds to be worthy sons.

You have started well and have accomplished much. Continue as you have started and all will be well with the Pakistan Armoured Corps.

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M. A. Jinnah to George Cunningham

Telegram, F. 221 (II)-GG/39

MOST IMMEDIATE *14 April 1948*

Wish you and Lady Cunningham safe return to your home. Sudden breakdown of your health has compelled you to leave us but let me convey to you my deep appreciation of the services that you rendered during last eight months of your governorship of Frontier Province. You performed your duties and discharged your great responsibility at a very critical period through which Pakistan is passing with true spirit of Pakistani and helped us to lay down the foundations for future progress, welfare and prosperity of Frontier which you know has been nearest to my heart all along. It was with deep regret that I had to part with you but unfortunately it was unavoidable and I therefore now sincerely hope that you will be fully recovered very soon. I send Lady Cunningham and you my very best wishes.

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M. A. Jinnah to Francis Mudie

Telegram, F. 46 (II)-GG/3

CONFIDENTIAL/IMMEDIATE PESHAWAR,
14 April 1948

My advice is that the Punjab Premier and Ministers should adhere to the arrangement agreed upon with the Prime Minister. Regret my programme already too full of commitments. Will not have sufficient time discuss matter with them here. If they wish I can see them at Karachi between 22nd and 27th April.

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Francis Mudie to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 46 (II)-GG/4-5

CONFIDENTIAL/MOST IMMEDIATE LAHORE,
14 April 1948

Care Governor of the NWFP, repeated Prime Minister Karachi

Reference my telegram of yesterday's date[1] regarding the Ministers. After a Cabinet meeting this morning, which was attended by Daultana, I said I thought I was entitled to be informed what the position was. Daultana agreed, and his position was as he had explained it before to Prime Minister. The root of the matter seems to be that he is afraid that if he were to succeed (Mamdot), he would be accused by public opinion of having resigned with this object in view. I pointed out that as a difficult situation had arisen owing to his resignation, public opinion would not take this line, if question of what should be done in that situation were left to you. Daultana is concerned that he had handed his resignation to Mamdot on April 12th, and said that he was prepared for it to be kept pending till a suitable occasion might be afforded if he were to visit Karachi shortly after you returned there from Peshawar. Owing to fact that important decisions on policy had to be taken in his Department within next week or so, he was of opinion that delay in accepting his resignation would seriously impair the administration, which is true. Mamdot said nothing except that he was prepared to resign, but that he did not think that "in normal circumstances" Daultana's resignation would call for his resignation too.

I am still of the opinion that Mamdot must go and support the Prime Minister's plan, but I am afraid that it will not be accepted unless you enforce it. I hope that you will be able to see Mamdot and Daultana in Karachi shortly after your [arrival] there.

[1] No. 262.

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A.B. Yusufi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. I)-GG/84

KARIMPURA,
PESHAWAR,
14 April 1948

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Kindly accept my humble respects on your arrival in this part of Pakistan—NWF Province.

Being in the political field since 1919 and working for the Muslim League since the day you so kindly wrote to me in 1936 and after having served as Secretary, Muslim League conference, in which you had so kindly participated at Peshawar, I had a heart-felt desire to get an opportunity to see you and pay my respects but the policy of our Ministry and split in the ranks of Muslim League have erected walls in the way and I see no other way except to venture to write to you these few lines.

Dear Quaid-i-Azam, the Province is shifting from bad to worse. And one feels pain to see the clouds of nepotism, jobbery, corruption and favourtism shading the Ministry while on the other hand the Muslim League organization is in the clutches of party bickering. Opponents of Pakistan are, under the circumstances, gaining strength and unless your goodself pays special attention, the result, God forbid, would be injurious and harmful to our nation and the State.

My humble services are always at your disposal if they be of any use in the interest of Islam and Pakistan.

Yours sincerely,
A. B. YUSUFI
Editor, The Frontier Traders

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Abdur Rahim to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. V)-GG/4-8

PERSONAL/PRIVATE

EMINABADI GATE,
GUJRANWALA,
14 April 1948

Our beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

For some time in the past, I have been studying the situation in the country and my observations are as follows, and I consider it my sacred duty to tell you all about this [and] at the same time offer some suggestions:

In the beginning, after 15th August 1947, the leaders of the Indian Union were under the impression that dislocation of business and banking and large influx of *muhajireen* from East Punjab will destroy the Govt. machinery and the people will force the authorities to rejoin the Indian Union, but their this scheme failed.

2. Now I understand that the Indian Union is working secretly to overthrow [Govt. of] Pakistan by adopting the means and ways which were followed by the British in Afghanistan to overthrow King Amanullah Khan, and agencies such as Ahrars, Jami'yyat Ulama, Communists and Red Shirts are being employed to achieve this object.

3. These agencies are actually doing propaganda amongst the masses and the authorities appear to be deaf and blind [not] to nip in the bud such harmful activities of these societies, as later on Your Excellency will find it difficult, if not impossible, to deal with these agencies. In my opinion, Your Excellency should act like the late Ataturk as we consider you, Quaid-i-Azam, as 'Ata' of Pakistan.

4. Communists and Ahraris have managed to join the services both in Civil and Military and it is essential that all such persons be removed at once.

5. Iran and Afghanistan are far behind as regards corruption as compared with Pakistan. Ordinances, speeches and circulars are having no effect on all officers and their subordinates, with a few exceptions, as the officials in Pakistan consider it their duty to make as much money as they can. Although there is a provision of whipping in the ordinance for those persons who are found guilty of corruption, but up to this time no such punishment has been inflicted on anyone; although many were found guilty of such crimes. What is the use of such an ordinance, which is not to be acted upon. Your Excellency should act like the late Hazrat Omar, the

second *Khalifa*.

6. In the West Punjab, all officials, high or low, with few exceptions, are like a kind of *Alibaba* & *Chalis Chaur*[1] and the administration is going to dogs. Same applies to Muslim League organization in every district. Wholesale removal of such bad officers in services and office bearers in the League is essential.

7. *T*here is a certain number of mil[itar]y officers in the civil employ and one is working as Rationing Controller in Gujranwala who, it is said, has made a fortune. His case needs enquiry secretly, and if the allegations are found to be true, he should be given proper punishment and his post be filled by a suitable unemployed *muhajir*.

8. Sanitary conditions in all the cities, towns and villages are far from satisfactory, and it is time to take necessary steps in this direction; otherwise during the hot weather, epidemic of every kind is sure to find its way, the sanitary staff is adequate everywhere, but the official machinery is slack.

9. In the Army, Navy and Air Force, the turn-out of officers and other ranks is beginning to deteriorate, otherwise their morale is still high.

10. The concession of Army, Navy and Air Force services for travelling on the Railways at concession rates might be re-introduced as the withdrawal of this concession, besides reduction in pay of officers, is [among] the things which the Communists are taking advantage of for their propaganda; being a money matter, it is very appealing to poison the minds. Only kind words and phrases cannot win over the hearts of these men, and there should not be any discontent amongst these services, being the backbone of the country.

11. There are about one dozen officers of the Kashmir State Army who joined hands with the Azad Kashmir *Fauj* who wished to be absorbed in the Pakistan Army. In my opinion, these men might be taken on in the same rank they are holding now; most of these men are fighting on the front.

12. In the Navy, there are officers who joined the Navy during the war and they have not been made permanent in their posts as they have no one to support them, I mean to say no god-father to back them. In my opinion all such men should be made permanent.

13. The rationing of food-grains might be discontinued soon, as the Ahrars are doing propaganda successfully amongst the masses saying that the Indian Union, which is a deficit area as regards food-grains, have decontrolled these commodities; besides this there are plentiful of cloth and other necessities of life there, Pakistan would not decontrol as it is against the interests of Ministers and high officials etc., who are making

huge profits at the expense of public. They are playing with the lives of poor people; flour and rice are adulterated with such stuff which is unfit for human consumption, besides quantity of ration which is quite insufficient. If this state of affairs continues for a longer period, there is possibility of food riots amongst the masses.

14. The health of the people is being affected very badly on account of very bad foodstuff and insufficient quantity. Therefore, decontrol is essential at an early date.

15. Regarding rehabilitation of *muhajireen*: About eight lakh can easily be accommodated in Baluchistan and Kalat State where large tracts of land are lying waste.

16. Kashmir State property in Lahore and Sheikhupura Districts is being managed by Sheikh Abdullah's agent in Lahore who recently turned out Azad Kashmir Government's representative. This agent of Sheikh Abdullah is corresponding with the Sheikh thro[ugh] the Indian Deputy High Commissioner in Lahore and also uses funds for collecting important and useful information thro[ugh] his own spies and some West Punjab officials are said to be helping him in this respect for financial reasons.

17. In western Pakistan, only in the NWFP administration is being run efficiently, where the Chief Minister is a very able person and possess[es] good administrative qualities.

18. Regrading Afghanistan: In my opinion it will be advisable to consult Mr. M.A. Hakim, a big merchant in Lahore (he is well-known to the Defence Secretary, Colonel Iskander Mirza). He is a personal friend of the members of present ruling family and is a very loyal subject of Pakistan.

19. I would like to see Your Excellency when I come to Karachi and will then lay some more matters before Your Excellency and I trust Your Excellency will be kind enough to grant me an interview.

20. In conclusion, I must say that I may not be taken as interfering in the affairs of the State but as a faithful and loyal Pakistani I cannot remain quiet too.

21. I enclose a cutting from daily *Zamindar* of Lahore dated 16-2-48, regarding a Muslim girl who recently came from East Punjab. It is not understood why the girl was taken to the Police Station. Her statement ought to have been recorded in the camp. This needs immediate and searching enquiry and if it is proved to be true, severe punishment including whipping in the City's square, also confiscation of property of the guilty person [who] be stoned to death according to *Shari'at* for which Your Excellency can easily pass an ordinance for punishment of such offences as rape, etc.

In the end, I apologise for the liberty taken by me in addressing this letter to Your Excellency.

With respects and best wishes,

I am, Sir,
Your Excellency's most humble and loyal servant,
ABDUR RAHIM

[1]The oriental legend of 'Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves' in the *Arabian Nights*.

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F. Amin to Amir Mohammad Khan Bangash

F. 120 (Vol. V)-GG/223

14 April 1948

Dear Sir,

I am desired by the Quaid-i-Azam to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of a copy of resolution passed by the District Muslim League, Kohat, on the 9th April 1948.

Yours faithfully,
F. AMIN

Amir Mohammad Khan, Esq.,
General Secretary,
District Muslim League,
Kohat

Enclosure to No. 271

F. 120 (Vol. V)-GG/224

A special meeting of the District Muslim League Committee was held on the 9th April 1948. Haji Peer Said Shah, President, District Muslim League, was in the chair.

It was unanimously adopted that our beloved Quaid-i-Azam be requested to direct the Ministry on the following points:

1. Our district is almost all a barren tract of land. Water is very scarce. Therefore, arrangements for irrigation as well as for drinking purposes may kindly be made.

2. We are very backward educationally and our financial position is so weak that we cannot afford to send our sons to colleges at Peshawar. It is, therefore, requested that an Intermediate College may very kindly be opened here this year.

3. All the three southern districts, [namely] Dera Ismail Khan, Bannu

and Kohat, have always been set at naught while forming the Provincial Government since the very beginning. It would be but meet and proper if one minister from the southern districts be included in the Cabinet.

4. In the provincial services our district has received a great setback. Our candidates are generally neglected. It is solicited that proper regard be paid to this district also.

5. Ours is a martial district and if properly armed, it will not lag behind when the opportunity arises to serve our benign Government of Pakistan. We, therefore, earnestly crave that we may liberally be granted licences to purchase arms.

6. It is our heartfelt desire that *Shari'at* law be initiated in this Province as early as possible.

It was unanimously resolved that copies of the above resolutions be submitted to:

i. Quaid-i-Azam, Governor-General, Pakistan, at Peshawar
ii. President, Provincial Muslim League, Peshawar
iii. The Governor, North-West Frontier Province, Peshawar
iv. The Prime Minister, North-West Frontier, Peshawar
v. Newspapers

AMIR MOHAMMAD KHAN BANGASH
General Secretary,
District Muslim League, Kohat

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Address by M. A. Jinnah to Civil Officers at Government House

F. 216 (III)-GG/162-3

PESHAWAR,
14 April 1948

The reason why I wanted to meet you is that I wanted to say a few words to you, who are occupying very important positions in the administration of Pakistan in this Province.

The first thing that I want to tell you is this, that you should not be influenced by any political pressure, by any political party or individual politician. If you want to raise the prestige and greatness of Pakistan, you must not fall a victim to any pressure, but do your duty as servants to the people and the State, fearlessly and honestly. Service is the backbone of the State. Governments are formed, Governments

are defeated, Prime Ministers come and go, Ministers come and go, but you stay on, and, therefore, there is a very great responsibility placed on your shoulders. You should have no hand in supporting this political party or that political party, this political leader or that political leader—this is not your business. Whichever Government is formed according to the constitution, and whoever happens to be the Prime Minister or Minister coming into power in the ordinary constitutional course, your duty is not only to serve that Government loyally and faithfully, but, at the same time, fearlessly, maintaining your high reputation, your prestige, your honour and the integrity of your service. If you will start with that determination, you will make a great contribution to the building up of Pakistan of our conception and our dream—a glorious State and one of the greatest nations in the world.

While impressing this upon you on your side, I wish also to take the opportunity of impressing upon our leaders and politicians in the same way that if they ever try to interfere with you and bring political pressure to bear upon you, which leads to nothing but corruption, bribery and nepotism—which is a horrible disease and from which not only your Province but others too are suffering—if they try and interfere with you in this way, I say, they are doing nothing but disservice to Pakistan.

I hope that each one of you will understand his own sphere of duty and responsibility and act with others harmoniously and in complete co-operation, keeping in mind that each has to do his duty within the sphere to which he belongs. If you on your side start with that determination and enthusiasm—and I hope the other side will also realize what a terrible evil they are raising up and how it demoralises the services to try and influence this department or that department, this officer or that officer—and if you will stick to your determination you will have done a great service to your nation. Putting pressure and influence on service people, I know, is a very common fault of politicians and those with influence in political parties, but I hope that you will now, from today, resolve and determine to act according to my humble advice that I am giving you.

Maybe some of you may fall victim for not satisfying the whims of Ministers. I hope it does not happen, but you may even be put to trouble, not because you are doing anything wrong but because you are doing right. Sacrifices have to be made and I appeal to you, if need be, to come forward and make the sacrifice and face the position of being put on the black list or being otherwise worried or troubled. If you will give me the instances of your sacrifices, some of you at least, believe me, we will find a remedy for that very soon. I tell you that

you will not remain on the black list if you discharge your duties and responsibilities honestly, sincerely and loyally to the State. It is you who can give us the opportunity to create a powerful machinery which will give you a complete sense of security.

Everybody should realize that there is a fundamental and vital change of the entire Government and the Constitution under which we are working. You should try to create an atmosphere and work in such a spirit that everybody gets a fair deal, and justice is done to everybody. And not merely should justice be done but people should feel that justice has been done to them. There may be some selfish people—and I know your class is no exception—who think of immediate advantages, and work or act for better prospects and promotions and so on for themselves, and therefore, for the time being, they create difficulties and sometimes they describe themselves lovers of their province and sometimes they start slogans about outsiders such as Punjabis, Sindhis or Pathans. All such things are a hindrance and an obstruction in the way of galvanizing the people and welding them together as one great nation. It is not that we want to put any difficulty in the way of the sons of the province. No doubt, it is your province. If you have men who are fit for high jobs, I assure you, they will not escape our notice. You should draw our attention and tell us that there is a man; and not only shall we be very glad that he should flourish, prosper and progress in this province, but we shall see to it that he is given his proper place in Pakistan. We want men who are fit for high jobs and sometimes it is really difficult to find the right type of men. There are so many things that are going on and I sometimes find great difficulty in getting the right man for the right post. It is very difficult, I am trying my very best to get the right men. If you will give me time and your support and co-operation, believe me that the field for service is not going to be confined, so far as you are concerned, to your province but will be extended to the whole of Pakistan. Of course, it must take time; it cannot be done at once. I hope that with assistance, co-operation and support from you and from the people, we shall be able to make very rapid progress.

Finally, I congratulate you for having done well so far. The dangerous position in which we were placed when we took over power from the British Government, has passed. It was a big task and things were made difficult for us. I need not go into details, but you know we were constantly faced with an organized plan to crush Pakistan and to break us. In other provinces as well as in your province, the services have done well in spite of all that. We have warded off and withstood all machinations, and your province has not lagged behind in this

respect. And, therefore, I sincerely congratulate you for the way in which you have managed things here, and I hope that you will continue in the same spirit. There is plenty of room for improvement. We have to learn a lot and we have to adjust ourselves to new developments, new issues which are facing us. But I am sure you will play your part well.

I thank you for giving me this opportunity of saying these few words. I wish you all success in your efforts.

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Abdul Qaiyum Khan to F. Amin

F. 46-GG/35

[PESHAWAR,]
15 April 1948

RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE NWFP MUSLIM LEAGUE ASSEMBLY PARTY

No one from the present opposition should be taken as a Minister unless the opposition join the Muslim League party openly and without any reservation.

2. Q[uaid-i-] A[zam] is vested with full powers to nominate anyone as Governor as he likes.

3. Q[uaid-i-] A[zam] is hereby authorized to expand the present Ministry and to select anyone he likes as a Minister or Ministers. The party will cheerfully accept the Quaid-i-Azam's nomination.

4. In view of the fact that there is no elected Provincial Muslim League in NWFP and we have a nominated ad hoc organizing body, the task of reorganizing the Pakistan Muslim League in NWFP should be solely entrusted to the Assembly Muslim League Party consisting of 25 out of 37 elected Muslim M.L.As.— as it is the only body enjoying a representative character.

A. QAIYUM
Premier, NWFP

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Secretary, Jami'yyat Ulama-i-Islam to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 46-GG/33

PESHAWAR,
15 April 1948

Quaid-i-Azam c/o Govt. House, Peshawar

The Working Committee of the Jami'yyat Ulama-i-Islam, Peshawar, in a special session, has passed an important resolution for the information of Quaid-i-Azam and the Provincial Govt. which reads as under:

Jami'yyat Ulama-i-Islam, Peshawar, appreciate the services of Pir Sahib Zakori Sharif rendered by him for the cause of Islam during recent session of the NWFP Legislative Assembly and request the Provincial Govt. to include Pir Sahib in the Cabinet of Ministers.

SECRETARY

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Mohammad Ramzan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 46-GG/311

D. I. KHAN,
15 April 1948

His Excellency Quaid-i-Azam, Peshawar

Far-off and neglected D. I. Khan Muslims greet you. Your time most precious but we request for our nominee Nawab Tank to be selected for Cabinet who is brave and expert in irrigation machinery and agriculture and made tremendous sacrifices for *Millat*.

HAJI MOH[AMMA]D RAMZAN,
Advocate
Senior Vice-President, District Muslim League

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M. Ikramullah to A. S. B. Shah

Telegram, F. 65 (Part II)-GG/360

KARACHI,
15 April 1948

Major A. S. B. Shah c/o His Excellency the Governor NWFP, Peshawar

Following received from Bokhari, through Pahic, London:

Begins: Iqbal Day function arranged. High Commissioner, President[?], foreign diplomats and scholars participating. Earnestly request Quaid-i-Azam's message for occasion. Early reply solicited. *Ends*

IKRAMULLAH

Enclosure to No. 276
F. Amin to M. Ikramullah

Telegram, F. 65 (Part II)-GG/361

[*Undated*] *April 1948*

Bokhari from Farrukh Amin. Following is text of Quaid-i-Azam's message for Iqbal Day:

Begins: On this significant occasion when so many of great minds are attracted to the work, philosophy and poetry of the late Dr. Iqbal, I should like to send you a few words conveying my humble homage to the memory of that great patriot. Iqbal has left us a message of peace, unity and brotherhood. Let us make it our aim to spread that message throughout the world and to be worthy of the ideals for which Iqbal lived, strove and wrote his poetry. *Ends.*

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Francis Mudie to M. A. Jinnah

F. 675/38-9

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
LAHORE,
15 April 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I enclose a note[1] on the working of the Pakistan-West Punjab Refugees

and Rehabilitation Council, in which I have regretfully come to the conclusion that this Council should now be abolished and instead the powers of the Centre should be increased.

I had hoped that, possibly with a change in the West Punjab Ministry, it might have been possible to work the Council as it was intended to be worked, but I have now come to the conclusion that West Punjab politics are too uncertain and the issues involved too large for this to be done with any hope of success. The lack of co-operation between the Council and the other Pakistan Ministers, doubtless due to the distance between Karachi and Lahore, greatly increases our difficulties.

It may be that there is some better solution of this very difficult question, but I feel that the fate of these wretched people cannot be left to the chance that the Pakistan and West Punjab Council might possibly in some changed circumstances be a success. The problem is too urgent and too important for that.

I am also sending a copy of the note to the Prime Minister.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
R. F. MUDIE

*See F. 675/40-50. Not printed.

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Address by M. A. Jinnah at the Presentation of Colours to the 2/15th Punjab Machine-Gun Regiment

F. 216 (III)-GG/164

PESHAWAR,
15 April 1948

This occasion which affords me opportunity of presenting colours to your Regiment is an honour of which I need hardly say that I feel very proud. The qualities that are required for the making of a Regiment like yours are of a very high order such as an unbounded sense of discipline, loyalty, selfless devotion to duty and physical endurance to be fully developed. A man cannot at all times be thinking of great qualities—and indeed he would be a poor sort of man if he were to lose himself in an analysis of qualities—but let me tell you in a nutshell, they are all embodied in one simple phrase—loyalty to your Regiment—and your colours are a symbol and reminder of what your Regiment stands for just as you stand for your Nation. It is not for me to praise your records in the battles

that you have fought: that is a matter of history and facts. But I may venture to say that I have learnt of your heroic deeds with great interest and pride. But a regiment has much more to do than be in the firing lines of the battlefield, and you have, I hope, more years of peace than war before you.

Live always true to the ideals to which you have just dedicated yourselves afresh—to the service of Pakistan, and make your contribution to the protection of the weak and to the hallowed memory of your comrades and thus enhance the glory of Islam.

It is not words that count so much as deeds and I am confident that you will live up to your traditions when you are called upon to defend your country and the safety and security of your nation. You will, I am sure, hold aloft the banner of Pakistan and maintain its honour and prestige as a great nation.

In your new journey, let me tell you that you have my best wishes.

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Francis Mudie to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 46 (II)-GG/6

CONFIDENTIAL/IMMEDIATE

LAHORE,
16 April 1948

Your telegram No. 22/QC dated April 14th.[1] Am informing Mamdot, Daultana that you are prepared to see them and other Ministers at Karachi between 22nd and April 27th.

[1]No. 267.

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Address of Welcome by Residents of D. I. Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 216 (III)-GG/171

16 April 1948

TO THE GREAT LIBERATOR

We, the inhabitants of the District of Dera Ismail Khan, offer a most loyal and hearty welcome to Your Excellency and Miss Fatima Jinnah on your first visit to this far-flung part of the great Dominion of Pakistan.

We wish our land were flowing with milk and honey and we could make our welcome glitter with pomp and splendour. But, poor though we may be in worldly riches, our spirits are undaunted. Our hearts are full of gratitude and admiration for the wonderful miracle you have wrought and our welcome is the outcome of sincerest feelings of deep love and high esteem to the builder of the greatest Muslim State of today. Our attachment for Your Excellency's person is deep-rooted and imperishable. We have already given unmistakable proofs of steadfast loyalty and devotion to your ideal of Pakistan and on this historic occasion we again pledge our all in the service of the State which you have brought into being. Order us and we shall obey. Lead us and we shall follow. God willing, you will never find us wanting.

While we are prepared to make every sacrifice and fulfil every responsibility as citizens of Pakistan, we hope that the Government, which has inherited century-old traditions of imperialistic domination from foreign rule, will also under Your Excellency's noble guidance adopt an attitude in full consonance with changed circumstances and that those at the helm of affairs will do everything possible to bridge the gulf that has separated the Government from the people in the past. For, on this alone can the foundations of a really prosperous and powerful state be laid. No Government that fails to secure the confidence and co-operation of the people can ever be successful. We hope that the spirit of the noble example set by the great Architect of Pakistan in personally looking into the proper fixing of every little brick of the magnificent edifice, as is evidenced by the fact of his visit to a neglected part of the Dominion like Dera Ismail Khan, will be followed by all officers of the State, that all parts of the realm and all sections of the people without distinction will be accorded even-handed justice and equitable treatment, and that the curse of corruption and favouritism which is at present sapping the foundations of general administration will be put down with a resolute hand. We hope the principle enunciated above will be rigidly followed in the future and that, in consequence thereof, a long-standing grievance of our district (which had at times driven some of our people in sheer desperation and despair to seek a reamalgamation of the district with the Punjab) will be removed and we will henceforth receive a fair deal in the matter of public services and general measures for the agricultural, industrial and educational progress of the country.

Many years ago, our district was called the granary of these parts of the world and was reckoned among the richest wheat-producing areas in the Frontier [Province]. Now not only has it lost that reputation, but is actually faced with the grim spectre of hunger and death

stalking everywhere. Thousands are in the throes of starvation, and a very large percentage of population is barely existing. Acres upon acres of rich arable land are lying untilled, and villages and hamlets have been deserted, not because Nature had suddenly become niggardly but because man has failed to make proper use of her bounties. Water comes in abundant quantities but goes waste, land is fertile but remains uncultivated. Unfortunately, no serious, sustained, well-thought out efforts have been made to find a permanent solution of the problem. Temporary, make-shift arrangements made every year have done little good. Mere tinkering cannot do. Effective and far-reaching measures of a permanent nature will have to be adopted to ensure that instead of producing ravines and damaging land, hill-water will be properly controlled and utilized for irrigating thirsty lands; and that further supplies will if necessary be obtained from the river or tubewells and water-lifts. If this is done, D. I. Khan will produce enough food not only for consumption within the district but also for export, and in this way two of the most urgent problems of the N. W. F. Province, viz. food and money, will be brought much nearer solution than they are at present.

Our beloved Quaid-i-Azam! Your herculean efforts have liberated us from foreign domination, political slavery, and exploitation. We are now looking forward [*sic*] to you for emancipation in the economic, industrial, social and cultural spheres of life also; and hope that your visit will be the harbinger of a new era of peace and prosperity throughout the *Daulat-i-Khudadad-i-Pakistan*.

May you live long, our Great Liberator!

We are,
Your Excellency's loyal and grateful admirers,
RESIDENTS OF DERA ISMAIL KHAN DISTRICT

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Address of Welcome to M. A. Jinnah by the Citizens of Bannu

F. 126 (III)-GG/176
[*Original in Urdu*]

[*16*]*April 1948*

In the Name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful

Blessed be the day when you come in all your splendor; and may you come again openly to our assembly.

Infinite thanks to God Almighty Who has blessed us today with the

presence of our beloved leader for whom we have been waiting for long to behold with our restless eyes and restive hearts. Oh, the soil of Bannu! the far-off and remote corner of the country, be happy and feel rightly proud that today the most cherished and longed-for person, Quaid-i-Azam, has graced you with his presence. What a great occasion for us, the poor and the forsaken!

Highly respected Quaid-i-Azam, in compliance with your command we arranged for, in perfect peace and security, the evacuation and departure of non-Muslims of Bannu, who formed 75% of its population, to Indian Dominion. It is on record that even during the British rule the Bannu City was raided on several occasions by the Tribals who inflicted loss of life and property, police patrol and strict vigil notwithstanding. Credit for this peaceful evacuation of non-Muslims goes to the officials and the workers of the Muslim League. This fact was acknowledged by the non-Muslim Evacuation Committee. As a gesture of gratitude, the Committee stated, "We are highly obliged to the people of Bannu, the high officials, and the members of the Muslim League who, through their immense generosity and good-neighbourliness, provided us all sorts of protection and security. But for this the city would have been a scene of communal riots and carnage unprecedented in either Dominion, because of its being in close proximity to the tribal areas."

Great Quaid-i-Azam the District of Bannu depends on the river Kurram for its irrigation and potable water. The dykes built to contain the river are made of mud which are washed away during the flood season. It would be very kind of you if the dyke presently under contemplation is built so strongly as to stop wastage of water and to protect the people from the ravages of flood.

Further, in the desert areas of Marwat and Waziristan potable water is very scarce. During drought, residents are compelled to migrate to other places in search of water. We shall be grateful if proper arrangements are made for adequate supply of potable water in the area. For the last about six months no quota of cloth has been allotted to this district which is causing restlessness among the people. The enemies of Pakistan take this opportunity to bring a bad name to the country, and are indulging in self-aggrandizement. This problem may kindly be looked into and addressed satisfactorily.

The Province in general, and District Bannu in particular, have yet to achieve autarky in food. General shortage in food often demoralises the people. It would be kind of you if orders are issued for supply of foodgrains on an urgent basis.

Great Quaid-i-Azam, as District Bannu is very close to the tribal belt, it would be proper and expedient if arms licenses are generously

issued for self-defence.

The District is very backward educationally. The Intermediate College that was run by the non-Muslims was closed down after their migration, causing disruption in educational facilities. The same college can be revived with very little funds as has been done at Dera Ismail Khan. This would save the children from suffering further in their education.

Your Excellency, we feel it our bounden duty to apprise you of the conditions prevailing in the Province. It may not be construed as a complaint against any individual or the Provincial Government. The influence of the Congressites has plummeted as it were, but they are trying hard to regain their lost position by hook or by crook. There is not an iota of change in their mentality and attitude. They are busy in subversive activities inside and outside the Assembly. District Bannu is a place of special interest to them for its affiliation with Faqir of Ipi. Despite our strong desire, efforts and clear perception for a strong and stable Pakistan, they are covertly conspiring with Faqir of Ipi to harm it. The Pir is also backing them openly. At his behest, the Congressites are dissuading the freedom-fighters from participating in *Jihad* for liberation of Kashmir, by describing it as a war of infidelity, and their martyrdom is likened to the killing of dogs. Such a negative move is causing disaffection and demoralisation in the rank and file of the freedom-fighters who were in the forefront of the struggle for achieving Pakistan and are even now ready to shed their blood for the sake of Pakistan.

We are afraid, if the hostile activities of Congressites are allowed to go unchecked, they might become unmanageable in the future.

In conclusion, we express our heart-felt gratitude to you for visiting this far-off and remote District. May you live long and may the people of Pakistan continue to enjoy your patronage till enternity!

May you live for a thousand years
And may every year consist of fifty thousand days
May this prayer from us and the rest of the world be granted!

Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad!

Pakistan Zindabad!

We are,
Your well-wishers,
CITIZENS OF BANNU

Jinnah addressing officers and ratings of HMPS *Dilawar* on 23 January 1948

Jinnah being received by members of Karachi Bar Association on 25 January 1948 on the birth anniversary of the Holy Prophet (PBUH)

Jinnah receiving a casket from Ardeshir Hormuzjee Mama, former Mayor and co-Founder, Mama Parsi Girls High School, Karachi, on his visit to Parsi Colony on 3 February 1948

Jinnah addressing the Sibi Darbar on 14 February 1948

Jinnah meeting some notables of Baluchistan on 14 February 1948

Jinnah bowing to receive a garland from a little girl at Sibi on 15 February 1948

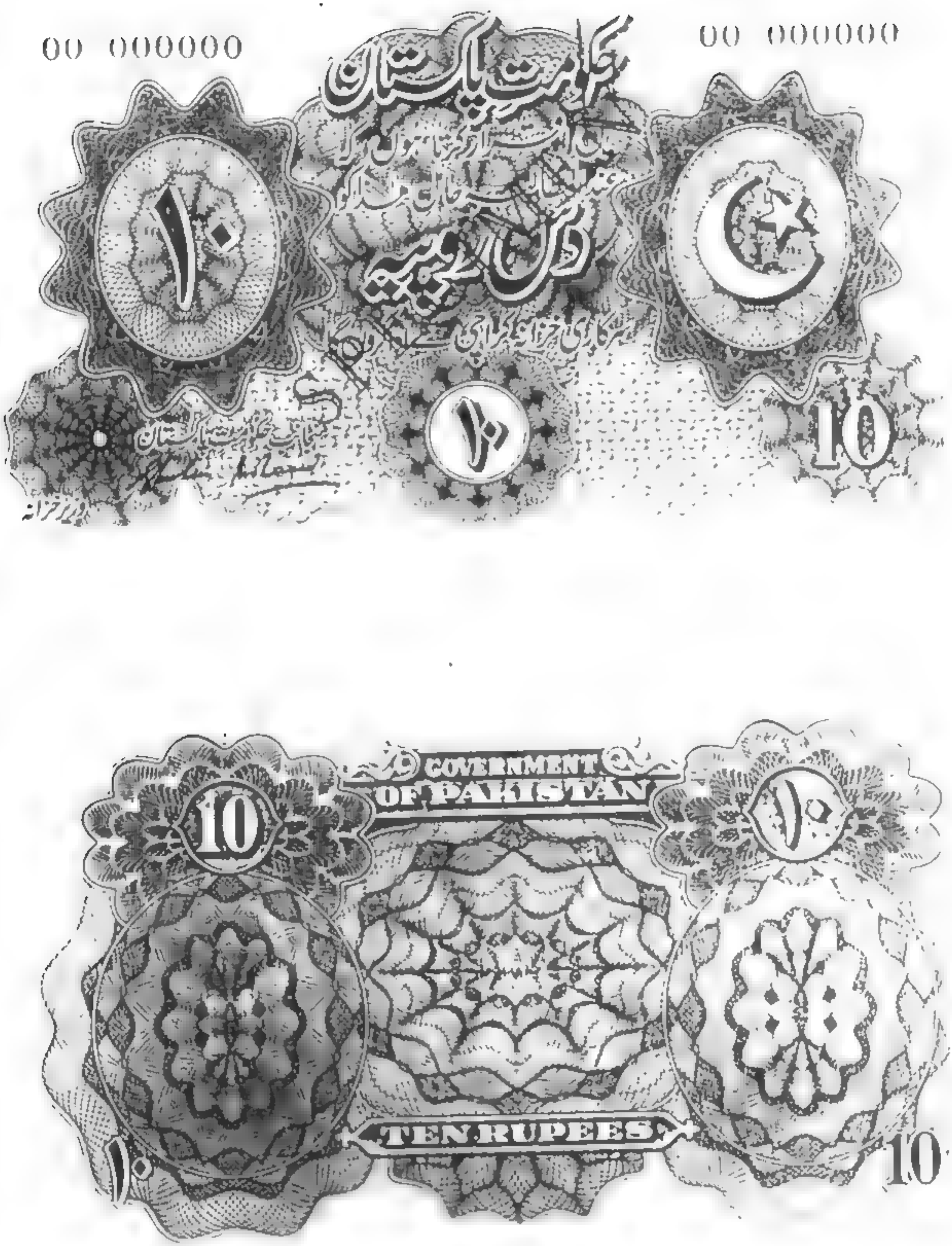
Jinnah addressing a public meeting at Dacca on 21 March 1948

Jinnah reviewing a Police parade at Dacca in March 1948

Jinnah being received by Air Vice Marshal Perry-Keene at Risalpur on 13 April 1948

A tribal sardar presenting a rifle to Jinnah on his visit to NWFP in April 1948

Specimen of Pakistan's first banknote of one hundred rupees
(obverse and reverse)



Specimen of Pakistan's first banknote of ten rupees
(obverse and reverse)

Jinnah and Fatima Jinnah arriving at a garden party in Lahore

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Address of Welcome by Jami'yyat Ulama-i-Islam to M. A. Jinnah

F. 126 (III)-GG/181
[*Original in Urdu*]

BANNU,
16 April 1947

Bismillah ir Rahman ir Rahim

Nahmaduhu wa Nusalli 'alaa Rasoolihil Karim
[We glorify *Allah* and ask His blessings and salutations of peace for noble Prophet (peace be upon him)]
Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu

Your arrival has made us extremely happy. We welcome you from the very core of our heart, as you have visited us despite your heavy time schedule.

.Sir, as Pakistan has come into existence due to the blessings of Almighty *Allah* and your ceaseless intensive endeavours, we expect that its future constitution would be based on the spirit of the following Qur'anic verses and a saying of Holy Prophet (peace be upon him):

This day have I
Perfected your religion
For you, completed
My favour upon you,
And have chosen for you
Islam as your religion
(*V: 4*)

And this (He commands):
Judge thou between them
By what *Allah* hath revealed,
And follow not their vain
Desires, but beware of them
Lest they beguile thee
From any of that (teaching)
Which *Allah* hath sent down
To thee. And if they turn
Away, be assured that
For some of their crimes

It is *Allah's* purpose to punish
Them. And truly most men
Are rebellious.

(*V: 52*)

Do they then seek after
A judgement of (the Days
Of) Ignorance? But who,
For a people whose faith
Is assured, can give
Better judgement than *Allah*?

(*V. 53*)

The Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) has said whosoever tampers with the Divine Order, that will be condemned.

(*Hadith Bokhari Sharif*)

Sir, we are confident that in accordance with the following Divine Order:

It is not fitting
For a believer, man or woman,
When a matter has been decided
By *Allah* and his Apostle,
To have any option
About their decision.

(XXXIII: 36)

and keeping in view your commitments, you will not give preference to any man-made system over the Divine Order and make Pakistan a role model for all Islamic countries on the pattern of *Khilafat-i-Rashida*, as it was in the early Islamic period, as Holy *Qur'an* says:

But my promise
Is not within the reach
Of evil-doers.

(*II: 124*)

The religion of Pakistan will be Islam and its laws will be based on Qur'anic injunctions.

MAULANA LUTFULLAH
President

It was acknowledged by F. Amin See F 126 (II)-GG/182, 24 April 1948. Not printed.

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Report on M. A. Jinnah's Visit to Dera Ismail Khan and Bannu

F. 216 (III)-GG/48-51

[*16 April 1948*]

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, accompanied by Miss Fatima Jinnah, arrived in Dera Ismail Khan from Peshawar at 9.30 a.m. on April 16. At the aerodrome, they were received by His Excellency the Acting Governor, Sir Ambrose Dundas, and the Hon'ble Prime Minister, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan. The 2nd Battalion of the Frontier Force Rifles presented the royal salute.

The Quaid-i-Azam then drove to the Circuit House amidst loud shouts of *Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad, Pakistan Zindabad* and frequent showers of flowers by a large number of eager spectators who had come from far-off villages and had lined up on both sides of the route. A number of gates had been erected which had all the best wishes and expressions of respect for the Quaid-i-Azam written on them. The traditional drum and the flute of the Pathans lent the truly frontier colour to the grand reception.

From 10 a.m., the Quaid-i-Azam started granting interviews to prominent persons in groups representing different opinions, including the representatives of Tank, Kulachi, nomad Powindah Maliks and of non-Muslims. All these groups extended a hearty welcome to the Quaid-i-Azam, felt proud of his visit to their district and expressed unflinching loyalty to the State of Pakistan. The points to which they drew attention of the Quaid-i-Azam were scarcity of water, lack of irrigation and education facilities, evils of control system, and such other matters.

The Quaid-i-Azam pointed out to them that the Government required time to eradicate evils which had existed for years in the country and that already geological survey was being vigorously made and soon schemes for development would be undertaken. He urged them to realize that with the establishment of Pakistan, things had basically and fundamentally changed and the country and the Government were theirs and it lay entirely in their hands to make or mar the country. He strongly impressed upon them the urgency of realizing their responsibilities and not to be misled by personal considerations, small advantages and the slogans that various interested parties so often raise. The evils of corruption, bribery, jobbery and nepotism had to be eradicated from the very root and tribalism had to be finished

altogether.

The Quaid-i-Azam advised them not to sell the vote to gain their personal interests but to treat it as a nation's trust which must not be betrayed. He asked them to forget their personal quarrels and to learn discipline in their ordinary life, to dedicate themselves to the service of the nation and he was sure that Pakistan would soon then become a great country. The demand for decontrol, he said, was really based on a misunderstanding created by defective administration of controls and by the slogans raised by interested parties. He told them that he would look into the matter.

To the deputation of non-Muslims, led by Rai Sahib Basant Lal Kapur, the Quaid-i-Azam said that the Pakistan Government was bound in duty to safeguard the life and property of every citizen and in doing so the Government was not doing them any favour. About inter-Dominion traffic and other facilities, he told them that such matters had to be taken up between the two Dominions and nothing could be settled unilaterally.

In spite of his strenuous programme, the Quaid-i-Azam found time to address a public meeting. In a short speech, he told them that he had found out what their difficulties were and what they desired and that on his return to Peshawar, he would hold discussions with the Provincial authorities and try to devise some solutions of the problems facing them. Their difficulties, the Quaid-i-Azam said, had not at all been created by Pakistan but were legacies of the past and now that their own Government had been established steps would soon be taken to remove them. If they united and worked as one nation, he assured them, Pakistan would soon become one of the greatest states of the world.

At 12.30 p.m. the Quaid-i-Azam left Dera Ismail Khan for Bannu. On his arrival, the 2nd 1st Punjab Regiment presented the Royal Salute at the Aerodrome. The Quaid-i-Azam then drove to the Flagstaff House in the Fort.

At 12.30 p.m., the Quaid-i-Azam, addressing a public meeting, urged the audience to realize the responsibilities that had devolved upon them with the establishment of Pakistan, to work unitedly for building up this infant State into a great power. By unity, Pakistan was achieved and now by united efforts Pakistan could be firmly and soundly established. He urged them to trust the present Government and to give it time to build up the State and he assured them that their hopes would be fulfilled. He also asked them to help the Government in eradicating bribery, corruption, nepotism and jobbery.

The Quaid-i-Azam granted interviews to the local members of the

Provincial Legislative Assembly, the Muslim League leaders, representatives of Bannuchi and Marwat tribes. He advised the Muslim League leaders that with the establishment of Pakistan, every Muslim, no matter what his past might be, must be treated as a brother and if any Muslim offered sincere co-operation, he must be welcomed. The State, he added, was not the property of anyone but was based on democracy and every one was entitled to all the benefits that it conferred and was most welcome to work for it. He very strongly urged upon them to establish the Muslim League organization on solid, sound and healthy basis, for that would remove most of the difficulties they were faced with.

At Bannu, the Quaid-i-Azam was presented a cheque of Rs. 5,134-11-6 by the Officer Commanding, 2nd 1st Punjab Regiment, for the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund. The Officer Commanding, Tochi Scouts, the Officer Commanding, Boys Company, Tochi Scouts, Miran Shah, and the Commandant 102 Brigade, Bannu also presented Rs. 8,000, Rs. 700 and Rs. 6,805, respectively, for the Fund. Miss Fatima Jinnah also received Rs. 700 and Rs. 720 from Mrs. S. Maqsood Nazir, Headmistress, Government Girls High School, Dera Ismail Khan, and Miss Alam, Headmistress, Government Girls High School, Bannu, for the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund.

From Bannu, the Quaid-i-Azam flew to Peshawar where he arrived at 6.45 in the evening.

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Mohammad Abbas & Others to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 120 (Vol. V)-GG/21

PESHAWAR,
17 April 1948

Thirty leaders of Kurram Agency were called in *Darbar* 17th instant. Resident selected four only from other tribes for talking. We requested repeatedly for our speaker also but he ignored. Kurram *Jirga* could not attend *Darbar*. We sacrificed men and money for Pakistan. Kurram Agency is gate for Afghanistan at border. Maltreatment such officials is harmful for Pakistan Government. Kindly take action.

K. S. MOHAMMAD ABBAS
K. B. SHAH SAYYED
K. S. NUR HASSAN
of Kurram Agency

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M. A. Jinnah to Francis Mudie

Telegram, F. 46 (II)-GG/7

CONFIDENTIAL/IMMEDIATE

PESHAWAR,
17 April 1948

Your telegrams 100-G of 14th[1] and 105-G of 16th April.[2] Can see Mamdot, Daultana and other Ministers on the 24th, 25th or 26th April at 11 a.m. Please wire immediately which date will suit them.

[1]No.268.
[2]No. 279.

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Mohammad Aslam Alizai to Abdul Qaiyum Khan

F. 76-GG/66-7

PAKISTAN EMBASSY,
KABUL,
17 April 1948

My dear Hon'ble Khan,

The bearer of this letter, Mohammad Bakhsh, is from Kohat. He is having his trade in Afghanistan.

He wishes to present a small carpet to Quaid-i-Azam bearing his resemblance in the texture.

I have advised him to approach you and present his small present through your kindself.[1]

With kindest regards,

Yours as ever,
MOHAMMAD ASLAM ALIZAI

F. Amin conveyed Jinnah's appreciation for the present. See F 76-GG/68 Not printed.

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Managing Director, Quaid-i-Azam Paper & Sugar Mills to M. A. Jinnah

F. 220 (II)-GG/5-6

CHAKBAZAR, CHITTAGONG,
17 April 1948

His Excellency,

We have pleasure to inform you that the practical work of our Quaid-i-Azam Paper & Sugar Mills Ltd. has already been started at Chittagong since [*sic*] three months. The Company was duly registered by the Registrar of Joint Stock Companies, Bengal, in July 47, under the Indian Companies Act, 1913-36.

We were in great difficulties with the starting of the Company, that was why we could not write to your honour for an authorised letter [*sic*] to name our Company with the words Quaid-i-Azam.

We have purchased about 400 acres of land in the hill tracts of Chittagong. About 100 acres of land has been ploughed [*sic*] with sugarcane, the seeds of which were collected from Rajshahi Division through great trouble. We have further made an arrangement to purchase 700 acres of more land for the Company near that place.

The work of construction of the Company's factory has already begun since [*sic*] two months.

In such circumstances, the District Magistrate of Chittagong has given an order on the 15th April 48, wanting an authorised letter of your honour. If we do not show the authorised letter, we shall have to change the name of our Company. There is no such clause according to Sec. 6 under the Indian Companies Act., clause 2, about the change of a Company duly registered. The present position of our Company is in half progress [*sic*]. If we do change the name of our Company, the work of which will tremendously be hampered and the public confidence of the Company will be shaken. Your honour has always encouraged us to start business for the welfare of the Muslim community in general. That is why we have started this through great difficulties.

We would, therefore, request you to solicit us [*sic*] with an early intimation[1] of an authorised letter of your honour, for which we shall

be ever grateful to your honour.

[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
Managing Director,
Quaid-i-Azam Paper & Sugar Mills Ltd.

[1]F. Amin replied that Quaid-i-Azam could not allow the association of his name with the venture. See F. 220 (II)-GG/7. Not printed.

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Addresses of Welcome to M. A. Jinnah by Various Tribal Jirgas

F. 216 (III)-GG/166-8

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
PESHAWAR,
17 April 1948

I. ADDRESS BY MOHMANDS

We, the independent Mohmand tribesmen, offer to you, Quaid-i-Azam, our most sincere welcome. May you not be tired!

We bow in gratitude to the Almighty God that after the lapse of a long time a Muslim State has once again been established in this country[*sic*] and an Islamic Government has replaced the non-Muslim regime. This is all due to your efforts. We pray that *Allah* may reward your labours in this world and in the hereafter. The services you have rendered to the Muslim nation in modern history and are still rendering, are well known. To breathe a spirit of unity among the Muslims, to establish a Government in face of grim opposition, and still more, to carve out an Islamic State, were things regarded as impossible of accomplishment; but your untiring efforts have made all this possible. This is no small achievement. We beseech our Almighty Lord to preserve this unity and harmony among the Muslims and make Pakistan strong. *Aameen*!

We hope that you are well aware of the services rendered and the part played by us (the Mohmands) in the struggle for the establishment of Pakistan. We have pledged our loyalty to Pakistan and declared ourselves to be a part of this State. God willing, we shall abide by our pledge. We assure you that we are always ready to do all in our power to serve Pakistan and will not fail or falter in offering all possible sacrifices, whether physical or material.

Now, we wish to place before you some of our tribal matters:

i. Our relations with the Pakistan Government should remain as

they had been in the past; that is to say, our administrative relations should continue to be a concern of the Pakistan Central Government and not of the Provincial Government. This will obviate the possibility of any interference with our internal tribal or territorial liberty. The Provincial Government is based on the votes of the people of the Province whereas the independent tribes have no votes. Therefore we are likely to suffer if we are administratively linked with the Provincial Government.

ii. Ours is a mountainous country, our lands depend on rainfall; and we are therefore a poor and hard-pressed people lacking the means of economic progress. We would, therefore, greatly appreciate the help, in any form and to any extent, that the Pakistan Government might be pleased to give us. We need education and employment to earn our livelihood. It is therefore essential that the Government should arrange educational facilities for us and allow us due opportunities and appropriate share in the services—civil and military.

iii. A large number of our tribal brethren have settled in the settled districts (Peshawar and Mardan) and many of them have received education; but so far they have not had a chance of serving the Government. Now that it is our own Islamic State, we hope that suitable opportunities of service will be offered to them and they will get their due share in this respect.

iv. Not only should the benefits, which we have had in the past, be allowed to continue but we hope that they will be increased.

Finally, we pray to Almighty God to favour you with long life for the service of Islam and for bringing about unity among the Mussalmans. *Aameen*!

We are most grateful to you for having given us an opportunity to meet you today.

II. ADDRESS BY KHYBER AGENCY TRIBESMEN

We the independent tribes of the Khyber Agency welcome you, Quaid-i-Azam.

May you not be tired!

We are grateful to our Almighty God that we find today in our midst a *Mujahid* (hero of Islam) like yourself, our beloved Quaid-i-Azam. The services and sacrifices rendered by you in the establishment of this Islamic State of ours, Pakistan, are known all over the world. None can compensate you nor repay you for what you have done for Islam; but we offer our humble prayer that *Allah* may reward

you both in this world and in the hereafter. We have, however, the satisfaction that the attainment of a great national goal is in itself the greatest reward. We have also the satisfaction that we, on our part, have done something in the establishment of Pakistan and we would like to assure you that we have pledged our loyalty to Pakistan and that *Insha Allah* you will always find us ready for the service of Islam and Pakistan.

Now we have a few tribal matters which we beg to mention to you:

i. We are very backward in education; we request that the existing Lower Middle Schools at Jamrud and Landi Kotal be raised to the standard of High Schools, and in addition to the three Primary Schools in this Agency we shall be grateful to have some fresh Primary Schools at other suitable places in the Agency.
ii. We have a sufficiently large number of unemployed young men in the tribe and very small number has been taken in the Pakistan Army and civil forces. We would, therefore, request that the recruitment of Afridis on a large scale in the Army and civil forces be made and in the civil departments the educated Afridis be encouraged to serve.
iii. From the very beginning we had been directly under the Central Government and we now also like to remain under the control of the Central Government.
iv. We are very poor in lands and the bits of land we have in our territory are *barani*. We request that irrigation facilities be afforded to tribesmen from the Kabul River or elsewhere.
v. Industrial products of the tribesmen are none and we are very backward in this, and we request that like the rest of Pakistan we may also be afforded with a share of modern machinery and industries.
vi. We have been exempt from income tax and we request that the said exemption should continue.
vii. We collectively and unanimously approach the Pakistan Government to continue all facilities and allowances of the late Nawab Mohammad Zaman Khan to his successor Malik.

In the end we all pray that God may grant you long life for the service of Islam and for maintaining unity among the Musalmans. *Aameen!*

Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad!

Pakistan Paindabad!

III. ADDRESS BY NORTH WAZIRISTAN TRIBES

We, the elders of the North Waziristan Agency, on behalf of our

tribes and ourselves, welcome you and beg to offer our congratulations on the success with which Almighty God has crowned your endeavours to bring liberty to the Muslims of this country and to save them from foreign and Hindu domination. You are the beloved father of a new Muslim State in the world.

Our enemies have tried their best to destroy our new-born State and have massacred our unarmed and innocent Muslim brethren across the border, but we Muslims by the grace of God have remained steadfast in our loyalty to you and, faithfully following your instructions, have not returned cruelty for cruelty. We assure you, our beloved leader, that whatever amount our enemies may continue to spend on trying to create divisions amongst us, we shall prove to the world that all Muslims form one single unit and no one can lead them astray.

May we respectfully but frankly tell you that it is impossible for us to tolerate the repression and the systematic extermination of Muslims which is being carried out in Kashmir, and we are determined to sacrifice our all to rescue our brethren from the tyranny of the Dogra regime. We are sorry to say, however, that, instead of giving us help, Government has placed restrictions on our movement. We request that these restrictions may be removed.

Quaid-i-Azam, as you are aware, we were never well-off even during the British regime, but the evacuation of troops has further ruined our economic condition. When the army was stationed in Waziristan, many sources of income, such as contract, tribal commission, work for the poor labourers, and trade for the tradesman were open to us. These sources have now stopped at a time when there is general economic depression throughout the world. A great many people have lost their jobs. We therefore request that steps may kindly be taken to improve our economic condition. Our *Maliki* allowances may be increased and we may be given state help to improve our lands. We should also bring to your notice our educational backwardness. We hope our national State will soon start a drive against illiteracy and we will receive our due share of schools.

We claim, Sir, that we are entitled to the same rights in the matter of recruitment to services as have been given to the settled districts. We deserve slightly preferential treatment, because we have so far remained backward. We request that our rights in respect of services may not be ignored merely because educationally we have been left behind.

Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad!

Pakistan Paindabad!

IV. ADDRESS BY SOUTH WAZIRISTAN TRIBES

Beloved Quaid-i-Azam!

We the representatives of South Waziristan have collected [*sic*] here today to greet you most sincerely on behalf of all the tribesmen of our Agency.

May you not be tired!

We deem it a great honour that we see you among ourselves here today. The great service that you have rendered to the whole Muslim community by establishing the free Muslim State of Pakistan cannot be repaid by anyone. God selects only the chosen ones for doing golden deeds. We congratulate you and honour you. God may grant you long life for guiding the destinies of Pakistan.

Now we have a few tribal matters which we beg to represent:

i. You know it, Sir, that we tribesmen have always been an independent people. We hope that this, our freedom will remain as it is. This does not mean that we are not with Pakistan. Pakistan is our own Islamic State and we have accepted it as such. We and the rest of Musalmans of Pakistan belong to the same brotherhood and are tied together in unshakable bonds of fraternal unity.
ii. We wish that our *Mawajibs,* i.e. *Maliki, Khassadari,* etc. should remain as before and if possible increased. We tribesmen are a poor people. Our present allowances are not adequate.
iii. We request that the prices of foodgrains be reduced.
iv We request that we may be given our due share in services, both civil and military. Being backward in education and therefore being handicapped, we would request that the rules for entering Government Service, such as competitive examinations, may kindly be relaxed in our case. Those among us who are educated may kindly be provided with suitable employment.
v. We request that Government should help us in educating our children.
vi. There are not enough properly equipped hospitals in our part of the country. We may please be given more hospitals.
vii. We need hardly say that Waziristan is very rich in minerals. It would prove beneficial both to Government and to us if factories are established there.
viii. The roads and posts which were built in our country by the predecessor Government may kindly be maintained in good condition. If they are allowed to deteriorate, it will not only be a big loss to Government but would also hit us hard. To a large extent, for our trade we depend on these roads. Moreover, large numbers of our poor tribesmen are employed on the maintenance of these roads. If

the roads are abandoned, all these people will lose steady income.

ix. Our administrative dealings, we request, should continue with the Central Government. If this arrangement is upset we would face many hardships. For instance, in present times we look for food, cloth, sugar and many other necessities of life to the Provincial Government who cannot deliver them to us promptly and in sufficient quantities. We therefore wish that in future these articles should reach us from the Centre through our own Political Officers. We do not say this by way of complaint nor do we mean to suggest that the Ministry is being unjust to us. This is not the case. Their own requirements are so many and their commitments in the administered areas so heavy that it is impossible for them to look after us as they should. Moreover, our conditions are so peculiar and different from those of the people of the Settled Districts that it is administratively inconvenient to adjust matters properly together. We, therefore, humbly pray that this, our request may kindly be given special and favourable consideration.

x. Lastly, we beg to state that nearly two years ago the Shabi Khel section of the Mahsud tribe was fined rupees one lakh and eighty thousand for committing an offence. The burden of this fine has proved too heavy for the tribe to bear and has shaken them badly. We request that the fine may kindly be remitted.

Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad!

Pakistan Paindabad!

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Reply by M. A. Jinnah to Addresses of Various Tribal Jirga

F. 216 (III)-GG/168-9

PESHAWAR,
17 April 1948

I have been looking forward since long to meet you, representatives of the Tribes of the North-West Frontier, and it has given me very great pleasure indeed to have met you here today. I am sorry I have not been able to visit you in your own parts of the country, but I hope to be able to do so sometime in the future.

I thank you for your welcome to me and for the kind personal references you have made about me. Whatever I have done, I did as a servant of Islam, and only tried to perform my duty and made every

possible contribution within my power to help our nation.

It has been my constant endeavour to try to bring about unity among the Musalmans, and I hope that in the great task of reconstruction and building up great and glorious Pakistan, that is ahead of us, you realize that solidarity is now more essential than it ever was for achieving Pakistan, which by the grace of God we have already done. I am sure that I shall have your fullest support in this mission.

I want every Musalman to do his utmost and help me and support me in creating complete solidarity among the Musalmans, and I am confident that you will not lag behind any other individual or part of Pakistan.

We Musalmans believe in one God, one Book—the Holy Qur'an—and one Prophet (peace be upon him). So we must stand united as one nation. You know the old saying that in unity lies strength; united we stand, divided we fall.

I am glad to note that you have pledged your loyalty to Pakistan and that you will help Pakistan with all your resources and ability. I appreciate this solemn declaration made by you to-day. I am fully aware of the part that you have already played in the establishment of Pakistan and I am thankful to you for all your sympathy and support you gave me in my struggle and fight for the establishment of Pakistan.

Keeping in view your loyalty, help, assurances and declarations, we ordered, as you know, the withdrawal of troops from Waziristan as a concrete and definite gesture on our part that we treat you with absolute confidence and trust you as our Muslim brethren across the border.

I am glad that there is full realization on your part that now the position is basically different. It is no longer a foreign Government, as it was, but it is a Muslim Government and Muslims hold the reins of this great independent sovereign State of Pakistan.

It is now the duty of every Musalman, yours and mine, every Pakistani, to see that the State which we have established is strengthened in every department of life and made prosperous and happy for all, especially those who need most.

Pakistan has no desire to unduly interfere with your internal freedom; on the contrary, Pakistan wants to help you and make you as far as it lies in our power self-reliant and self-sufficient and to help your educational, social and economic uplift, and not to be left, as you are, dependent on annual doles as has been the practice hitherto, which meant that at the end of the year you were no better off, asking for allowances—if possible, a little more.

We want to put you on your legs as self-respecting citizens who have the opportunities of fully developing and producing what is best

in you and your land. You know that the Frontier Province is a deficit province but that does not trouble us so mush. Pakistan will not hesitate to go out of its way to give every possible help, financial and otherwise [*sic*], to build up the economic and social life of our tribal brethren across the border.

I agree with you that education is absolutely essential and I am glad that you appreciate the value of it. It will certainly be my constant solicitude, and indeed that of my Government, to try to help you to educate your children and with your co-operation and help we may very soon succeed in making great progress in this direction.

Your desire for entering the Pakistan Service in the Civil and Military will receive my full consideration and that of my Government, and I hope that some progress would be made in this direction also without unnecessary delay.

You have also expressed your desire that the benefits, such as your allowances and *Khassadari,* that you have had in the past and are receiving, should continue. Neither my Government nor I have any desire to modify the existing arrangements except in consultation with you so long as you remain loyal and faithful to Pakistan.

I know there has been scarcity of foodgrains, cloth and sugar. You must realize that we have all been passing through difficult times all over the world and Pakistan is no exception. Indeed the whole world is facing hardships, but we are not unmindful of this problem, and we are endeavouring to the utmost of our capacity, with special care for Baluchistan and the Frontier Province, and you will not be neglected in this respect. We will do our utmost to see that essential commodities reach you in time and in reasonably sufficient quantities. I am hoping and looking forward to the time when more normal conditions may present themselves to us, so that we may be able to live with more ease and comfort in the way of food, clothing, housing and all the necessities of life.

In the end, I warmly thank you for the whole-hearted and unstinted declaration of your pledge and your assurances to support Pakistan, so that it may reach the pinnacle of glories of Islam and become a great and mighty nation among other nations of the world.

Pakistan Zindabad!

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T. A. Tausif Lodhi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. I)-GG/193-4

ATTOCK OIL CO. LTD.,
KHAUR,
18 April 1948

Dear and respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Having learnt that you are visiting Rawalpindi towards the end of this month, I write to request you to very kindly spare a few hours to visit the oil-fields at Khaur—fifty miles from Rawalpindi— and give me the honour of entertaining you and your respected sister to any meal you can conveniently spare [*sic*]. My wife respectfully joins in this request and is also writing to Miss Jinnah separately.

Perhaps it will not be out of place to introduce myself as Assistant Field Agent, Attock Oil Co. at Khaur. You may remember I had the honour of being your regular correspondent from Jullundur City from 1940 to 43 and had the privilege of paying my respects [a] number of times at Lahore, Hyderabad, Deccan and Bombay. After three years service afloat in the RIN, I joined M/S Steel Bros. & Co. Ltd., Managing Agents for Attock Oil, in 1946, being the first Indian and, till recently, the only Muslim on their covenanted staff. My wife is the niece of Maj. Gen. Akbar Khan and my real first cousin has recently been appointed Hyderabad's Agent-General in Pakistan.

We do hope you will accept our invitation.

With our respectful regards,

Yours obediently,
T. A. T. LODHI

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Ghulam Ishaq to F. Amin

F. 76-GG/72

PESHAWAR,
18 April 1948

Dear Farrukh Amin,

Wahab-ud-Din, *Salar* of Tordher, Swabi Tehsil, Mardan District, has

sent us a copy of the Holy *Qur'an* in a silver case, which he desires should be presented to Quaid-i-Azam as a gift from him. Hon'ble the Chief Minister will be very glad if the same is presented to Quaid-i-Azam, and Quaid-i-Azam is pleased to accept it.

2. The *Qur'an,* along with Wahab-ud-Din's letter[1] addressed to Quaid-i-Azam, is sent herewith.

Please acknowledge receipt.[2]

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM ISHAQ

[1]F. 76-GG/73. Not printed.
[2]Receipt was acknowledged by F. Amin on 6 May 1948. See F. 76-GG/74. Not printed.

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M. A. Jinnah to Jahanara Shahnawaz

Telegram, F. 65 (5)-GG/1

PESHAWAR,
18 April 1948

Mrs Shahnawaz, Lahore

Miss Jinnah and I were extremely sorry to learn tragic death of your daughter Mumtaz. Please accept our sincerest sympathies in your bereavement.

M. A. JINNAH

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A. A. Jalil to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. V)-GG/140-1

IMMEDIATE

ELPHINSTONE STREET,
KARACHI,
18 April 1948

SUBJECT: OUR CONTRACT NO. COAL 2(7)/48, DATED 29-1-48 FOR SUPPLY OF COAL FROM USA

May it please Your Excellency,

It is with great regret that I am forced to trouble Your Excellency in

taking the liberty of submitting the following facts for your kind consideration as the fair name of Pakistan is in jeopardy in the international trading circles.

2. As a result of my personal visit to America last year, I was in a position to give a firm offer for supply of coal to Sir Archibald Rowlands[1] last October. Since then protracted negotiations were carried on with me by the Ministry of Commerce, Industries & Works, Government of Pakistan, and at the end a contract for supply of 100,000 tons of American coal was placed on my firm with due sanction of the Ministry of Finance. During the earlier stage of the negotiations the Pakistan Embassy in Washington was consulted in the matter and, it seems, ample opportunity was given to that Embassy to match my offer but it failed. Out of numerous offers mine was selected as the cheapest and the most suitable.

3. It is true that Indian coal is cheaper than American coal but American coal is being supplied to different countries of the world to the extent of more than a million tons per month. The receiving countries do not consider the price of American coal costly in order to operate their essential services. On that consideration the Pakistan Government were justified in spending money for American coal which is readily available. Besides, apart from other considerations, the attitude of India in respect of supply of coal is bound to be more stringent in future because of her certain colossal industrial projects such as construction of several dams where coal would form the basic fuel for conducting these operations. In the circumstances it is unthinkable that India could supply more coal to Pakistan than what she has been supplying in the recent months in spite of what she professes.

4. In spite of our repeated requests to carry out the terms of the contract, the Government of Pakistan have failed to honour their obligations involved in the contract. The subject-matter of my contract has now become widely known in the commercial circles of Europe and America and the failure of the Pakistan Government to implement the contract has created a bad impression all over the world. I reproduce below a sentence from a letter dated the 29th March 1948 received from a prominent American firm at New York:

> It is to be regretted that this situation has impaired the confidence in the intergrity of the Pakistan Government.

Similar expressions have been conveyed in several letters to various European firms here from London and New York. We are all trying our best to serve Pakistan and place her on the map of the world as a State commanding confidence of business and banking circles but if the Government of Pakistan think so lightly of their contractual obligations

then such efforts can never succeed.

5. The full story regarding this coal contract is a painful reading which we refrain from presenting to Your Excellency. The sickening report that we and several prominent European firms have received from America and England and the ways the things have been conducted in Pakistan do not do any credit to the name of Pakistan. The situation can still be saved if Your Excellency commands the authorities concerned to honour the Government's obligations and thus establish its name in the eyes of the trading public here and abroad. A few dollars is not a costly expenditure for a State to maintain its reputation.

Always at Your Excellency's service and hoping to be pardoned for this intrusion into Your Excellency's precious time,

We remain,

Your Excellency's obedient servants,

A. A. JALIL

Proprietor,
Three Oceans Trading Co. (Pakistan)

[1]Adviser to the Governor-General.

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Abdul Ghaffar Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 662/4

PESHAWAR,
18 April 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The nature of my talk[1] with you has been placed by me before the representatives of the Khudai Khidmatgar Organisation. They have unanimously decided that they shall spare no efforts in strengthening and safeguarding the interests of Pakistan and they shall be prepared to make every sacrifice for this cause.[2] And they have also agreed that they shall do nothing[3] which may tend to obstruct the work of the Government, but will indulge in legitimate criticism.

Yours sincerely,

ABDUL GHAFFAR

[1]They met on 15 April 1948 at Peshawar.
[2]See Annexes I & II.
[3]See Annexes III & IV.

Annex I to No. 294
Paul H. Alling to George Marshall

US National Archives, 845 F. 00/3-948

UNCLASSIFIED

AMERICAN EMBASSY,
KARACHI,
9 March 1948

SUBJECT: KHAN ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN, NORTH WEST FRONTIER LEADER, TAKES OATH OF ALLEGIANCE TO PAKISTAN

Sir,

I have the honour to refer to the Embassy's despatch No. 78 of February 25, 1948[1] on the subject of the first session of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly (Legislature) which opened at Karachi on February 23, 1948, and in particular to the reference in that despatch to the absence from the Assembly of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the Red Shirt leader from the North West Frontier Province.

Under what is understood to have been considerable pressure from the moderate elements in his party, Khan Abdul Gahffar Khan appeared in the Constituent Assembly on February 28 and took the oath of allegiance to Pakistan. On March 5 he made his maiden speech, which lasted 30 minutes. Speaking in Urdu, he said that he did not want to criticize the Government but desired to remove the misunderstandings that have arisen about him and his followers. He repudiated the suggestion that he wished to divide and destroy Pakistan. He said that he had been opposed to the division of India but that, now that partition was an established fact, he, as a practical man, accepted partition. Assuring the Assembly that he was against sectional divisions, he asked the Assembly to consider his remarks as those of a friend and in the interest of Pakistan. He did, however, have certain criticisms to offer against the Government of Pakistan and certain suggestions to offer with regard to the future status of the Pathans.

With respect to the latter he felt that an autonomous state within Pakistan to be called "Pathanistan" should be created out of the present North West Frontier Province and should embrace additionally the tribal territories inhabited by Pathans. He added that there was absolutely no truth in what he called "propagandist reports" to the effect that he wanted to truncate Pakistan by forging an independent sovereign state of Pathanistan.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, in his critical remarks on the present Government of Pakistan, said that he looks at the Pakistan administration and finds that there is no difference between it and the British

administration. He was particularly critical of the Government for having three British Governors, "whereas in India the Indians have Indian Governors," and for also having a large number of other British officials in the Administration. He said that the "British that we turned out from the Frontier are now again on the top of us."

The Red Shirt leader, tall, gaunt, and beak-nosed, also complained against the Muslim League, saying that such purpose as it had at one time was served when Pakistan was created, and he felt that its work and duty were now over with the achievement of Pakistan. He expressed the opinion that the League should accordingly be disbanded.

On March 6 the Prime Minister, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, made a lengthy reply to the speech of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. In response to the charge that the British, in effect, dominated the present administration, the Prime Minister said that "the British were before our masters; they are now our servants." The Prime Minister explained that under the existing rules under which the administration of Pakistan is being carried on, the Governors have no power but are merely advisors to the Ministers. He added that [under] the constitutional set-up in Pakistan "it is the Governor-General who wields absolute power." The Prime Minister then said, with some sarcasm, that "the Khan Sahib seems to have ignored the fact that in India Lord Mountbatten is Governor General while in Pakistan the Quaid-i-Azam is Governor General. Will the Khan Sahib now express his honest opinion whether the British have been given more powers in India or Pakistan?"

The Prime Minister then referred to the Khan Sahib's complaint that there were too many other Englishmen in the Government of Pakistan and explained at some length why it had been found necessary to engage British subjects to fill certain positions in the Government. In substance, the reason was that Pakistan did not have trained personnel to fill those positions. The Prime Minister then went on to praise the work of the British who had accepted such positions. He said: "I would like to tell Khan Sahib, on the basis of six months experience, that those Englishman who are now working under our Government have the interest of Pakistan at heart. They are not ruling now. But thanks to the British training and discipline, it has now been proved that an Englishman can be as good a servant as a master. Today he is working with absolute devotion as a servant of the State just as a servant should."

On the subject of Pathanistan the Prime Minister said that the Khan Sahib had objected to his province being called the North West Frontier Province. "My reply to this," the Prime Minister said, "is that if the

Constituent Assembly suggests any other name that suggestion will be accepted." The Prime Minister went on to explain the character of the populations inhabiting the various provinces of Pakistan, pointing out that there were a number of different people in each province and he did not feel that there was any justification for the Khan Sahib's contention that a province should be named after a particular clan or tribe. However, as previously indicated, the Constituent Assembly could decide upon another name for the North West Frontier Province if it so desired, and for his part, the Prime Minister said, if the people of the tribal areas ever expressed a desire to be included in the North West Frontier Province, "then I assure you that neither the Government nor the Constituent Assembly will have any objection to it."

With regard to the Khan Sahib's allegation that the Government of Pakistan was treating the tribal people in the same way the British had treated them, the Prime Minister, denying the allegation, said that the Government of Pakistan had given proof of its desire that the tribal people should live as brothers with the people of Pakistan by having withdrawn all of its forces from the tribal areas. The Prime Minister asserted that Pakistan did not wish to take or hold an inch of tribal soil by force. He added that whether the Khan Sahib and his tribal brothers wished to become a part of Pakistan or not, the Government of Pakistan would do all that it could to promote their welfare and to further their interest. He added: "We want to help them not because they are Pathans but because they are our fellow-Muslims. It will be the earnest desire and constant endeavor of the Government of Pakistan and myself to improve the lot of the people of those areas in Pakistan which were so badly neglected and subjected to cruel and barbarous treatment. This we are determined to accomplish within the limit of our resources." The Prime Minister said that he again wished to repeat that if the people of the tribal areas, of their own free will and choice, wished to join the North-West Frontier Province, the Government would welcome them. The Government, however, did not desire to put any pressure by force of arms or otherwise on any area of Pakistan, especially on the people of the tribal areas, who are so justly jealous of their freedom.

[Remaining portion illegible]

Respectfully yours,
PAUL H. ALLING

[1]Not traceable.

Annex II to No. 294
Paul H. Alling to George Marshall

US National Archives, 845 F. 00/3-1648

UNCLASSIFIED

AMERICAN EMBASSY,
No. 126
KARACHI,
16 March 1948

SUBJECT: ORGANIZATION OF THE ALL-PAKISTAN PEOPLES' PARTY

Sir,

I have the honor to refer to the Embassy's despatch No. 111 of March 9, 1948[1] on the subject of the attitude of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the North West Frontier leader, toward the Government of Pakistan, and particularly to the last page of that despatch concerning Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's opposition to the continuance of the Muslim League.

On March 9, a "draft memorandum and constitution" of what was called the "All-Pakistan Peoples' Party" was published in the local press under the names of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and the following seven other Muslim opposition leaders: Khan Amir Ahmad Khan (NWFP), Sheikh Hissamuddin (West Punjab), Sheikh Zahiruddin (West Punjab), Munshi Ahmad Din (Karachi), Khan Abdul Samad Khan (Baluchistan), Mr. G. M. Syed (Sind) and Sheikh Abdul Majid (Sind).

The memorandum, or manifesto, said that after thoughtful consideration the signatories had come to the conclusion that they should set up a distinct party for the purpose of solving the problems which vitally concern the future of Pakistan. They said that at the very outset they wished to make it clear that they "stand unreservedly for the security and stabilization of this state which we regard as a common heritage and a sacred charge entrusted to us for the benefit of generations to come." The signatories added that they had given earnest thought to the proposal to associate themselves with the Muslim League Party but that, much as they wished to work together with other elements interested in the welfare of Pakistan, they were of the opinion that the Muslim League had outlived its usefulness and that even in the League's revised form it was not felt that anyone having a true appreciation of the present needs of Pakistan could look to the League for inspiration and incentive. The statement continued: "Our joining it would only add to the confusion, delay the era of progressive approach to problems for which the common man has been desperately looking, and accentuate those very evils which have, in the recent past, led to such unprecedented misery." It was then

added that by setting up the Peoples' Party it was the intention of the organizers to bring into greater relief "an alternative process of thought, an alternative program in which alone, we feel, lies the solution of our peoples' problems." The signatories explained that they envisaged "Pakistan as a Union of Free Socialist Republics" and added that it was their belief that complete economic equality between man and man was "an inevitable natural consummation, and any attempt to impede or delay that process would only prolong human agony. In Pakistan we look forward to seeing the end of poverty, illiteracy, and class domination, monopoly and exploitation, whether economic or political."

In further explanation of their objectives Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his colleagues said that the above obligation could not be achieved unless equal opportunities and rights for the citizens of state were provided and asserted that the stability of the state could not be permanently assured until and unless the units thereof feel that they enjoy unlimited and unabridged freedom to fulfill their own destinies according to their own genius." The statement continued that no central power has ever flourished where the constituent units have been constantly struggling to preserve their own integrity and ways of life from central control, and to meet this requirement the formula was to have Pakistan as a Union of Free Socialist Republics. Elucidating somewhat on this point, the signatories remarked that in stressing "the principle of republic" they meant to keep their state free from and unpolluted by any foreign influence, whether that be in the form of political superiority or economic domination. It was further stated in this connection that the aims and objectives of the party would be national both in outlook and composition, that the State should be saved from becoming a "new cockpit of foreign, political and economic rivalries and intrigues," and that communalism could never be fitted into the context of a sovereign state.

The signatories ended their manifesto with the assertion that their Party would be open to any citizen of Pakistan above the age of 18 who pays a fee of 4 *annas* and signs the Party pledge.

In phraseology the manifesto had the appearance of being something perilously close to communist jargon, but there is as yet no evidence to indicate that the Party is in fact inspired by communist influence.

[*Last three paras omitted*]

Respectfully yours,
PAUL H. ALLING

The Secretary of State,
Washington

·See Annex I ante.

Annex III to No. 294

Paul H. Alling to George Marshall
Telegram, US National Archives, 845 F. 00/6-1748

RESTRICTED [AMERICAN EMBASSY,]
No. 338 KARACHI,
17 June 1948

North-West Frontier Government arrested Abdul Ghaffar Khan Red Shirt leader June 15 in Kohat District en route to Bannu. Sentence three years rigorous imprisonment given same day by Deputy Commissioner Kohat allegedly for attempting to conspire with agents of Faqir of Ipi with view stirring up trouble in tribal area to coincide with Indian offensive movement in Kashmir. Removed to jail in West Punjab. Difficult assess dangers Ghaffar Khan's recent activities but Embassy inclined belief motives for arrest primarily vindictive because past associations with Congress, pre-partition opposition establishment Pakistan and recent organization People's Party opposing Muslim League. Present following not believed large enough or sufficiently influential cause disorders as result his arrest. Pouched Delhi.

PAUL H. ALLING

Annex IV to No. 294

Charles W. Lewis, Jr., to George Marshall
US National Archives, 845 F. 00/6-2148

CONFIDENTIAL AMERICAN EMBASSY,
No. 267 KARACHI,
21 June 1948

SUBJECT: THE ARREST AND IMPRISONMENT OF ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN

Sir,

I have the honor to refer to the Embassy's telegram No. 333 dated June 17, 1948,[1] reporting the arrest and imprisonment of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, and to the Embassy's despatch No. 244, dated June 1, 1948,[2] on the Pakistan People's Organization particularly to the last paragraph reporting a general feeling in Pakistan that the People's Organization would not be allowed to become an effective opposition party.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, leader of the Red Shirts and President of the Pakistan People's Organization, was arrested by the Government

of the North-West Frontier Province on June 15 at Bahadur Khel in Kohat District, N.W.F.P., while proceeding to Bannu. According to a communique issued by the Frontier Government on the same day, Abdul Ghaffar Khan had been on his way to Bannu to collaborate with agents of the Faqir of Ipi with a view to stirring up trouble on the border. The communique charged the Red Shirt leader with anti-Pakistan activities and utterances, but did not specify the charges or cite their legal basis. The following day the Frontier Premier, Abdul Qaiyum Khan, announced that on the day of his arrest Abdul Ghaffar Khan had been sentenced to three years rigorous imprisonment by the Deputy Commissioner of Kohat District under Section 40 of the Frontier Crimes Regulations. It has been announced that the Red Shirt leader was then taken to the West Punjab, where, it is understood, he is lodged in the Montgomery jail.

According to the two official statements that have been made on the arrest of Abdul Ghaffar Khan, he is charged with returning from the convention of the Pakistan People's Organization (May 9-11) "with what appears to be a definite and clearly laid out plot to create disturbances in the NWFP to synchronise with the expected and much advertised advance of the Indian Army, towards the Frontier Province." When Ghaffar Khan began to tour the Mardan District, allegedly in the furtherance of this plot, the Frontier Government decided upon his arrest. It was desired that action should be taken under the new N.W.F.P. Public Safety Ordinance which had long before been sent to Karachi for the Governor-General's signature. The Frontier Government decided to make the arrest under the existing Frontier Crimes Regulations only when the Red Shirt leader set off allegdly to meet agents of the Faqir of Ipi, presumably to conspire against the security of Pakistan.

Other accusations leveled against Abdul Ghaffar Khan in official statements are (1) that he opposed the idea of Pakistan before partition and after its commencement advised his followers not to swear allegiance to it (2) that he founded the Pakistan People's Organization "by rallying together all old Congress elements in Pakistan", and (3) that he has made a number of speeches recently of an anti-Pakistan nature. Reference was made in the official statements to extracts of Abdul Ghaffar Khan's speeches which have appeared in the press. Typical of the reportedly anti-Pakistan portions of Ghaffar Khan's speeches that have appeared in the English-language press are:

> "The Pakistan Government are not a representative government of the people. Pakistan is full of refugees and local inhabitants, who have no voice in the administration..."

"Pakistan was established in a day. While the Indian Government are constituted according to the democratic rules and regulations based on equality and justice, the Pakistan Constituent Assembly has not taken a single step to evolve the constitution."
"Mr. Jinnah, as the Governor-General of Pakistan, is not a representative of the Muslim nation. He was appointed by the British King and as such he is responsible to him and not to the nation..."

THE BACKGROUND

More light on the reasons for Abdul Ghaffar Khan's arrest comes from survey of the background of the dispute between Ghaffar Khan and the Muslim League. Its most recent phase begins with Ghaffar Khan's oath of allegiance to Pakistan in the Constituent Assembly on February 23 and his formation of the All-Pakistan People's Party six days later. The Muslim League reaction to these moves was to try to persuade the Red Shirt leader to join the Muslim League. Methods of both enticement and intimidation were tried out, but Ghaffar Khan proceeded with his plans for an opposition party and was elected as the first President of the Pakistan People's Organization. Following the Organization's first convention, Ghaffar Khan campaigned vigorously in the North-West Frontier Province. It was due to the nature of this campaigning that led the Frontier Government, according to its Premier, to plan for Ghaffar Khan's arrest. The change in Muslim League intentions became increasingly apparent. At a meeting on May 15, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Frontier Premier, reiterated his old demand for complete political unity in Pakistan, but did not again ask for Ghaffar Khan's entrance into the League. At the same meeting, Mian Jaffar Shah, Frontier Education Minister, declared that for the next five years there is no place for party politics in Pakistan. On June 8, Abdul Qaiyum Khan held a press conference at which he attacked Ghaffar Khan's speeches and read extracts from them for the press. On June 11 *Dawn's* Peshawar correspondent wrote that:

"Feeling of resentment and anger is gathering momentum amongst the valiant and patriotic Pathans of NWFP against the present day intensified and subversive campaign of the Red Shirt leader, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan".
"In addition to the strong editorial notes in the Frontier newspapers, private letters and telegrams from far and near are pouring in here daily—all demanding with a common voice an 'immediate stern action' against the Frontier fifth columnists in the interests of the safety and security of Pakistan".

> "It is feared that if this 'seditious movement' is not nipped in the bud at once serious repercussions might follow as a result of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's conspiracy with the Faqir of Ipi, hatched and financed by the enemy abroad consistently since Pakistan came into existence."

On the same day it was announced at Bannu that an "agent" of the Faqir of Ipi, Maulvi Gul Shahdin, had been arrested under Section 40 of the Frontier Crimes Regulations, and *Dawn* carried a story that the Faqir of Ipi had lost most of his former following as well as his health. About this time other press reports, in the Urdu as well as English language papers, indicated that a campaign was on against Red Shirt opposition elements in the NWFP.

REASONS FOR THE ARREST

A close examination of the charges brought against Abdul Ghaffar Khan leaves considerable doubt that the real reasons for his arrest were those given the most prominence officially. The most specific charge, that the President of the People's Organization was about to conspire against the security of the state, has not as yet been supported by concrete evidence, documentary or otherwise. It is true that the Faqir of Ipi, like Abdul Ghaffar Khan, opposed the partition of India, but very little has been heard of him since. He has always been a rather mystifying character, ensconced in a cave in the hills not far from the N.W.F.P. border. For decades, he has been the most influential spiritual leader among the Pathans, but there have generally been conflicting reports as to just what he was saying. Most significantly, however, his influence is now conceded to have declined precipitously over the last year, due to the general upsurge of communalism, and to have been superseded by the powers of "Pir Manki Sharif." The Pir of Manki Sharif, Aminul Hasnat by name, comes from a long line of religious leaders from whom he derives much of his reputation. He is a young man of only about 35, but since his acceptance of the Muslim League position on Partition in 1947, his star has been in the ascendant.

Assuming that Abdul Ghaffar Khan was guilty of intending to conspire against the security of Pakistan, it is curious that the official statements made about his arrest go on to make other charges against him of a vague and non-legal nature. To have once openly and vigorously opposed the idea of Pakistan, for instance, is not in itself a recognized legal offence. Neither is the formation of an opposition party, in itself. The leaders of the Congress party in Pakistan, including eleven members of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, have equally

laid themselves open to such charges and yet have retained their liberty. As for the alleged anti-Pakistan speeches made recently by Abdul Ghaffar Khan, a careful scrutiny of the passages quoted in the press reveal only anti-Government rather than anti-Pakistan statements.

Rather than these general charges or the possibility of an anti-state conspiracy with foreign enemies, the basic reason for Abdul Ghaffar Khan's arrest appears to be the Government's distrust of his type of opposition party. Some evidence for this exists in the obviously organized build-up in the press to Ghaffar Khan's arrest—at a time when Ghaffar Khan's potential influence as a foreign agent had probably dropped to an all time low. The best evidence of purely political motivation was the arrest of Mr. G.M. Syed, Secretary of the Pakistan People's Organization, by a Government of Sind order dated the same day as Abdul Ghaffar Khan's arrest. Under the Sind Public Safety Act, Mr. Syed was ordered to proceed to his home village of Sann (Dadu District) and to remain within three miles of there for three months. It is not claimed that Mr. Syed was also conspiring with foreigners. Other members of the new party and the Red Shirts were arrested about the same time. A report from Peshawar dated June 16 states that Khan Abdul Wali Khan, son of Abdul Ghaffar Khan, and two Red Shirt members of the Frontier Legislative Assembly, Abdul Aziz Khan (Mardan District) and Khan Yaqub Khan (Bannu District), have also been arrested.

The Prime Minister of the Frontier Province himself disclosed some of the reasons why the Government reacted against the Red Shirt[s]. In his press conference on the arrest of Abdul Ghaffar Khan he complained that there was invariably a delay in the arrival of the monthly quota of food-grains received from the Central Government. He also chided those who were pressing for the immediate adoption of *Shariat* law. Abdul Ghaffar Khan is reported to have scored [*sic*] the Government on this point in his speeches. Another reason for concern about the Red Shirts was of course their advocacy of provincial autonomy, particularly for the North-West Frontier Province. Probably an even more basic reason for the Government's hostility to the Red Shirts at this time, however, was the fact that they form the core of the new Pakistan People's Organization.

It may appear strange that a political movement only three months old and with only one member in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly could be said to invite more hostility from the Government than the long-established Congress party with eleven members currently in the Constituent Assembly, but it is so. Muslim League leaders nowadays do not inveigh against the established Congress party in Pakistan but

are always deploring "the mushroom growth of splinter parties"—among the Muslims, that is—and particularly the Pakistan People's Organization. The explanation of this paradox appears to be that the Congress, being a predominantly Hindu party, need not be feared. Its appeal in Pakistan will always be limited to non-Muslims. The same cannot be said of an anti-communal party headed by popular Muslims. Such a party could get the votes of almost all non-Muslims, and with only moderate Muslim support in addition, say in one or two provinces like East Bengal and the N.W.F.P., could quickly become a threat to the Muslim League dominance and to the solidarity of Pakistan itself. Even assuming that an anti-communal party could only thrive as a minor party in Pakistan today, its influence would be disruptive to a considerable degree. Apparently Muslim League leaders cannot stand the thought of this. They consider that the country is or should be on a virtual war footing, with no political disagreements, among the Muslims at least. To attack the Government from within Muslim ranks has become tantamount to treason. The utmost discipline must be displayed, for it was only through such submission that Islam once became great. This is a characteristic Muslim League line of reasoning. It thrives on opposition, whether from without or within the ranks of Muslims. The attention that was once directed against Hindu domination now has turned away to sources of intra-communal opposition, particularly to the Pakistan People's Organization with its anti-communal and mildly socialist platform.

No doubt one reason for Muslim League hostility to the People's Organization is the latter's vaguely egalitarian economic objectives. The Muslim League has proved itself extremely conservative in economic respects, as its predominantly landlord leadership would indicate, especially considering the plight of the approximately one and half million refugees in Pakistan who are not as yet permanently resettled. It appears likely, though it is never admitted, that the Pakistan People's Organization incurs at least some of its official opposition because of its suggestions that some basic changes ought to be made in the economic *status quo* of Pakistan.

PUBLIC REACTIONS

Editorial opinion expressed on the arrest of Abdul Ghaffar Khan has been favorable so far, though some papers have withheld comment. Only *Dawn* among the English language papers of Karachi has expressed an opinion on the subject to date, a fact which may signify a measure of disapproval from the other two papers. As could be expected from its semi-official position, *Dawn* adds its vituperation to

the official campaign against the Red Shirts and does not mention the constitutional issue involved. Those Urdu papers reviewed which have commented on the arrest have also spoken favorably of it.

It is difficult to estimate what the "public" in any wider sense thinks on the subject. Among several of the better educated non-official Pakistanis with whom representatives of the Embassy have talked the consensus is that Abdul Ghaffar Khan had to be carefully watched but imprisonment for three years of hard labor was too drastic a response to his challenge. No reports from the Frontier Province have told of disorders there, but there is always the possibility of sudden violence in that quarter. *Dawn's* reporting from Peshawar notwithstanding, there is little reason to believe that this latest move on the part of the Frontier Government has made it any the more popular.

In this connection may be mentioned the somewhat parallel Suhrawardy case. H.S. (Shaheed) Suhrawardy, last Premier of united Bengal and a Muslim League member of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, on June 3 was ordered to depart from East Bengal. He had gone there to make a speaking tour for communal harmony, he said, but the Nazimuddin Ministry imputed "disruptionist" political motives to him, probably out of fear for his popularity. In this case, as in Abdul Ghaffar Khan's, many people stated that the Government's heavy handedness was a tactical error. In neither case has there been much discussion on the plane of what constitutional principles are involved. No doubt the Government has the powers which were exercised, under the 1935 Government of India Act, but there is remarkably little questioning of that Act's continued application in a country now free from foreign control.

SIGNIFICANCE

Abdul Ghaffar Khan's imprisonment, like the arrest of other People's Organization leaders and the ban on Suhrawardy's speaking tour, points up certain significant features in the process of governing Pakistan. Muslim League chiefs have been trying various methods ever since the establishment of Pakistan to eliminate provincialism and anti-communalism, for each is a threat to the solidarity of Pakistan, each being a form of anti-nationalism in Pakistan. To appearances the League campaign succeeded very well in the N.W.F.P.; a number of Red Shirt leaders were enticed or frightened away from their leader, and an overwhelming League majority was secured in the Frontier Assembly. In a country with strong traditions of civil liberties, particularly one nominally at peace, this would ordinarily be considered enough. But in Pakistan, apparently, such traditions are superficial where existent at all, and

nominal peace is not enough to warrant much hope for the flowering of civil liberties.

More or less consciously top Muslim League leaders seem to have already rejected political democracy as it is understood in the West and have begun instead to grope for an "Islamic" policy that presumably will better fit Pakistan's needs as they see them. Meanwhile they continue to lean on the authoritarian props on which the British raj rested. Accustomed as they were to living under such rules as the various provincial "Public Safety" acts, Pakistanis now find it the path of least resistance to use them for themselves. Furthermore, prospects for continued national emergencies in Pakistan appear to be certain enough to make it likely that present authoritarian methods of government will become standard operating procedures, habituating the minds of the people and determining the form of the new constitution of the Government. At least as long as the threat of open war continues, it seems extremely unlikely that any serious political opposition will be allowed in Pakistan. The blows that have so swiftly fallen on the Pakistan People's Organization have already supplied much evidence to this effect.

Respectfully yours,
CHARLES W. LEWIS, JR.
Counselor

[1]Annex III.
[2]Not traceable.

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Report of M. A. Jinnah's Reply to the Address of Welcome by Edwardes College

F. 216 (III)-GG/170-1

[PESHAWAR,
18 April 1948]

"Praise your Government when it serves, criticise it when it does not serve, but do not go on all the time attacking, indulging in destructive criticism, taking delight in running down the Ministry or the officials," said Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Governor-General of Pakistan, addressing the students of the Edwardes College, Peshawar on April 18.

Continuing the Quaid-i-Azam said:

"This is not a foreign Government that you should take delight in exaggerating things. This is your Government. Therefore, appreciate when a good thing is done. Certainly criticise fearlessly, when a wrong thing is done. I welcome criticism but it must be honest and constructive"

The Quaid-i-Azam emphasised the need of concentrating on scientific and technical education in the country, as that would help [in] grappling [with] the various economic problems facing the country.

The Quaid-i-Azam called for a reorientation of the outlook on the part of the citizens of the State in order to revolutionise and remodel the past legacies from which they were suffering, namely the mentality, the character, and the customs they have been victims of for more than a century as slave people.

"I am no stranger to this institution. I came here as your address rightly records in 1936. Well, perhaps many of you do not know what happened then, but Mr. Principal, the sympathy and the kindness that your institution showed me at that time I shall always remember. I was, to put [it] in one word, literally dismissed from this Province in 1937. But that did not dishearten me. I came again, I believe, in 1945-46 during the time of the last elections. I found then that there was a great change but, unfortunately, on that occasion also we were defeated. I do not like to remind you of unpleasant things.

My young friends, ladies and gentlemen, I would say one word and it is this that this Province of yours had to undergo a lot of suffering and trouble, but it was ultimately saved by the grace of God. Today I am happy to see better thing here. What more can one really expect than to see that this mighty land has now been brought under Muslim rule, as a sovereign independent State.

Mr. Principal, when I visited you last, your institution was kind to me and today you are good enough to pay me a compliment of the highest order. I thank you, your staff and my young friends. I am very glad to know from the address of the development of this institution. The history of your college is one which any student should be proud of. It is very gratifying to learn of your many activities in the realm of knowledge and learning amongst the people of the Frontier.

In your address, Mr. Principal, you have touched on subjects to which I am paying close attention. I entirely agree that instead of turning [out] mere clerks and Government servants, your college is now offering suitable subjects for students, which would enable them to take their place in commerce, trade, industry, banking and insurance.

Mr. Principal, a most refreshing note I have observed in your address, a thing which is generally very rare. It is when you say we do

not mean to take this opportunity of placing our needs before you, because we are very well being looked after by the Hon'ble Prime Minister Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, who is a great source of inspiration to us. This is, as I have said, very rare. Generally, every class, every association, every individual, is used to a method. It is either full of praises and flattery which is demoralising or it is full of grievances and complaints. Most addresses are nothing but petitions and prayers.

Ladies and gentlemen, I do not blame you. It is the fault of the system under which we have been working and which has so demoralised our people. They do not see, they cannot realise what a revolutionary and basic change has taken place. Now you have not to submit petitions and prayers. This Government is your Government. But every Government is slow to move with regard to its policy, with regard to its programme. The administration moves in a particular way, and this applies to every sovereign independent Government. No doubt, I do not claim that ours is a model administration. Far from it. I do not say that our Government has, within a few months that we have been in power, been all right. Those in our administration and those who are in charge of the Government, the Ministers in the Provinces and [at] the Centre including myself, learn every day. But now I want you to keep your heads up as citizens of a free and independent sovereign State".

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Jahanara Shahnawaz to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 65 (5)-GG/2

LAHORE,
19 April 1948

Many thanks for your and Miss Jinnah's kind message[1] of sympathy in this hour of trial. I need all your prayers and blessings to help bear my irreparable loss.

JAHANARA SHAHNAWAZ

No. 292.

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George Cunnigham to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 221 (II)/44

19 April 1948

Thank you very much for your most generous telegram[1] which has touched me deeply. May Pakistan go from strength to strength.

GEORGE CUNNINGHAM

[1]No. 266.

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Omer A. Suttar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. V)-GG/80-2

73 CHITTARANJAN AVENUE,
CALCUTTA,
19 April 1948

Your Excellency,

It has been brought to our notice that you have been pleased to sanction a sum of Rs. 50,000 for the Calcutta Islamia Hospital, out of the Relief Funds at your disposal. Permit me to inform you that during the riots of August 1946 and the many smaller disturbances after that, Islamia Hospital has been the only institution which has rendered help and succour to many thousand Muslims, both in the Casualty and Indoor Departments. I shall not be exaggerating at all when I state that the number of deaths would have been larger if the Hospital had not been there and if its staff had not worked day and night to do all in its power to help those in need of it.

The Islamia Hospital has also served many thousand Bihar refugees ever since they began to pour into Calcutta. Our Indoor and Outdoor Departments have served them also as ungrudgingly as those who suffered in the Calcutta riots.

These extraordinary services have been a heavy burden on the finances of the Hospital. Our monthly expenses have more than doubled from Rs. 6,000 to Rs. 14,000. An added item on our list of difficulties has been the transfer of the offices of Muslim merchants from here to Chittagong and Dacca and even to distant Karachi. They were our chief patrons for the last 22 years. The Committee is determined to carry on the good work as long as it can but in the absence of its local patrons

and supporters, it must now seek assistance from a wider field.

The Government of Bengal has sanctioned Rs. 36,000 a year as a recurring grant to the Hospital for three years. The Corporation of Calcutta gives us Rs. 20,000 a year. This total of Rs. 56,000 cannot cover our expenditure, which, as stated, is Rs. 14,000 a month. If we reduce this, many hundreds of the daily visitors will have to go disappointed.

Seeing the growing usefulness of the Hospital, the Committee purchased a plot of land adjacent to its present premises on the Chittaranjan Avenue, at a cost of Rs. 1,30,000. We have also in balance a sum of Rs. 2,00,000 for erecting a building on it for the Women's Section. The Government of United Bengal, before the partition, had sanctioned an equal amount of Rs. 2,00,000 as a capital grant. The new Government of West Bengal has not seen its way to revalidate the grant. We have consequently been unable to start building up to this time.

I have taken the liberty of writing at this length because I know you are deeply interested in the institution. You have not only visited it but our X-ray Department bears your honoured name. I hope the information that you have sanctioned Rs. 50,000 for services rendered to Bihar refugees and to sufferers from riots, is correct.

May I, however, appeal to Your Excellency that, if possible, you will be pleased to increase the donation to Rs. 1,00,000, because we need the amount to keep the institution going. Apologising for the lengthy of this letter.

I beg to remain,
Your Excellency,
Yours most respectfully,
O. A. SUTTAR
Hony. Secretary,
Islamia Hospital

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R. G. Casey to M. A. Jinnah

F. 65(4)-GG/21-2

125 WILLIAM STREET,
MELBOURNE,
19 April 1948

Your Excellency,

On my return to Australia I have now had [the] opportunity to hear the broadcast recording that you were good enough to do at my

request and I hasten to write to thank you for such a stirring and virile message. I have now myself done the introduction to it and it will be broadcast over about eighty odd radio stations throughout Australia in the very near future. I am greatly obliged to you for giving us such a message which I think cannot fail to do good.

My wife and I were very appreciative of your courtesy in having us to dinner at Karachi as we passed through and of the opportunity of meeting Miss Jinnah.

With all good wishes to you in the great task that you have undertaken and with our thanks and appreciation.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
R. G. CASEY

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Address by M. A. Jinnah at a Public Meeting[1]

F. 216 (III)-GG/169

CUNNINGHAM PARK,
PESHAWAR,
20 April 1948

I thank you for the opportunity you have afforded me to address this mighty, great and wonderful gathering.

The people of this province are the kindest and I am very thankful for the kindness and affection with which you treated me during my ten days stay here. I shall not forget this occasion for my life-time. Now you in your province have grasped the real situation.

You have paid me enough compliments for having established Pakistan. I did my best. I came to this province three times. I came first in 1936, then in 1946, and this is the third time that I have come to this province. I fought for your province since 1924 but unfortunately that was an individual effort.

Your province was completely misled and misguided by false propaganda and foreign money. You were under a stupor and it took Muslim League full seven years to open your eyes and at last you won the Referendum by the grace of God.

We have to reconstruct and rebuild this mighty land, including your province. By the grace of God and by your support and co-operation and by your adopting right methods and the right course, I

have no doubt that we shall march along our goal of making Pakistan one of the greatest states of the world. But we have a lot to do.

You are not out of danger. Let me tell you that today there exists a national emergency, internally and externally.

Do not be misled. You have realised that it is the Muslim League and the Muslim League alone that has saved the Frontier Province from going into the clutches of the Hindu Raj. That party has made sacrifices and thousands have died in the achievement of Pakistan. Do you think that the Muslim League can give you the right lead or those who were against us, those who were in the enemy camp? Are they entitled to look after Pakistan or we?

Certainly, now that Pakistan is established, there will be many who will profess complete loyalty to Pakistan, who will say that they will live and die for Pakistan. There will be many who will profess such strong feelings. Don't you believe them readily. Realise there is a national emergency. We want only one party for the moment, avoid mushroom groups and parties. Avoid your energies being wasted in little squabbles and domestic quarrels, avoid factions, avoid provincialism and stand united as one nation. Help and support your Government. Give your Government a chance.

What object can I have except to serve my people to the best of my ability and my judgement.

Now this is a different Government. You understand that this Government does not belong to this man or that man. This is your Government.

No doubt we have got men who are selfish. I know we have men who are guilty of jobbery, bribery and nepotism. I do not say that the Government is perfect. But now [that] we have got the reins of the Government, believe me we are wide awake; we are watching your Government, your province, your Ministry, your civil services, and what is generally happening in this province. It is under our searchlight and there is no doubt we shall be soon be able to X-ray it and throw out the poison from our body politic. But you must have patience and give us a chance and a reasonable time.

You have been suffering from many evils; these are a century old. Pakistan came into being only eight months ago; you cannot expect any human being to wipe off every thing which is bad within a week.

Therefore, I fervently appeal to you to stand together, remain united. Stand by the Muslim League since the Muslim League alone has achieved this Pakistan. Stand together as you did for the purpose of achieving Pakistan. I admit sometimes mistakes are made and you see wrong things being done but try to put them right, not in an unfriendly way, not in a hostile spirit, not in a spirit of creating friction,

not in a disruptive spirit, but in a spirit of brotherhood.

Just as one brother speaking to another, try to point out you are wrong, try to persuade them, reason with them, and make them understand; give up arrogance, and defiance. It is very easy to break up but it is very difficult to build.

If you go on following my humble advice, I have no doubt that this beautiful land of yours will become a prosperous, flourishing, and strong province in every sense of the word. I have a reasonable estimate of the potentialities of this province and God has given you everything. Will you rise to the occasion and apply your hand to the plough and bring out the treasure lying underneath!

If you really love me and have regard and respect for me, I fervently appeal to you to make up your minds in this mighty gathering that you will try your best and follow my humble advice that I have given to you now and in my other speeches.

[1]Earlier, Syed Badshah Gul presented an Address of Welcome to the Quaid-i-Azam on behalf of the people of the Frontier Province and the Tribal Areas assuring him that they would "water Pakistan with their lifeblood." See F. 216(III)-GG/171-2. Not printed.

301

Roger Thomas to S. M. Yusuf

F. 25 (Part IV)-GG/76

KARACHI,
20 April 1948

My dear Yusuf,

I will be proceeding on leave on 2nd May next and expect to be absent from Pakistan for at least four months.

I hope Quaid-i-Azam will be graciously pleased to grant me the honour of an interview prior to my departure.[1]

I enclose herewith a Note on the Report of the Sind Hari Committee which Quaid-i-Azam may care to see.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
ROGER THOMAS
Kt., CIE
Agricultural Adviser

[1]F. Amin informed Roger Thomas that due to his pre-occupation Jinnah could not grant him an interview. See F. 25(Part IV)-GG/84. Not printed.

Enclosure to No. 301
Note by Roger Thomas on the Report of the Sind Government Hari Committee (1947-48)

F. 25 (Part IV)-GG/77-83

20 April 1948

The Sind Government Hari Committee was appointed on 3rd March 1947. The members of the Committee were:

Roger Thomas	Chairman
M. Masud, I.C.S., Collector of Nawabshah	Member
N. M. A. Sidiki, Manager, Encumbered Estates	"
Khan Sahib G. S. Kehar, Secretary, Agriculture & Industries Department	"

Mr. Agha Shahi, I. C. S., was initially appointed as Secretary and was later replaced by Rao Sahib Gopichand Banwari.

The terms of reference of the Committee were:

a. to examine the alleged grievances of the *haris*;
b. to recommend such feasible measures as will improve the standards of living of the *haris* without unduly disturbing rural economy;
c. to consider the advisability of creating safeguards for the protection of the *zamindar* if it is proposed to give rights to *haris* which may operate to his disadvantage.

The Committee undertook to examine all the alleged grievances of *haris*, whether expressed or implicit. All the alleged grievances are concerned either with their *zamindars* or with Government. In considering the measures to be adopted for improving the standard of living of *haris*, the Committee confined its attention to such measures as may be feasible and desirable within the framework of the existing Land Tenure System. The majority of the Committee consider that matters concerned with the nationalization of the land and the abolition of *zamindari* are not within the scope of the terms of reference. The Report is framed accordingly.

The Report of the Committee was submitted to the Sind Government on 19th January 1948. The Report is unanimous except for Chapters I and II. Mr. Masud promised a Minority Report on these two Chapters, but it has not as yet been received.

Chapter I gives the general background to the recommendations made in the remaining three Chapters. It is an objective account of the *hari's* way of life and his environment. Emphasis is laid on the responsibilities of *zamindars* towards their *haris* and towards the use of land. Some indication is given in the concluding part of this Chapter as to how *zamindars* can voluntarily assist in improving the welfare of their *haris*.

Chapter II deals with two major problems: Specific regulations to

govern *batai* practices and the advisability of granting permanent rights of tenure to *haris*. In our approach to the problem of allaying the legitimate and just grievances of *haris*, whether explicit or implicit, we have endeavoured to preserve a sense of realism and to make proposals which are not only practical but feasible without unduly disrupting rural economy. We have knowingly weighed the scales in favour of the *hari* by giving him substantial rights to which he is unaccustomed. Where we deem that these rights will operate to the disadvantage of *zamindars* we have considered the advisability of creating safeguards for their protection; but we have recommended relevant safeguards only in those cases where, in our opinion, they are demanded by civic justice.

The specific benefits which we recommend should be afforded to *haris* are briefly enumerated below. The bracket references are the paragraph numbers in the Report.

At the time of the division of the crops between the *zamindar* and *hari*, the latter should be allowed to take one-half of the crop (144)[1] and no deductions in the form of *abwabs* or other exactions (147) should be permitted. In the case of straw the *hari* should be allowed 2/3rds (149). The only permissible deductions from the *hari's* share of the gross produce will be the cost of harvesting (144). The *hari* should be allowed to grow half acre of fodder for his work-cattle at a concessional cash rent (150), and 1/40th acre of vegetables, free of rent. No free labour for the personal gain of the *zamindar* should be permitted. Wage labour should be paid on the same day on which it is engaged (156): this applies in particular to *cher* labour employed by the Public Works and other departments for emergent work when no other labour is available. *Haris* engaged on the clearance of water courses and channels on behalf of a *zamindar* should be fed at his expense (157). The Tenancy Agreement between *zamindars* and *haris* should be made compulsory and should conform to Government regulations (160). The maintenance of accounts by *zamindars* in a prescribed form should be made compulsory (173). No interest should be charged to the *hari* on loans in cash or in kind made for productive purposes (179). The *zamindar* should be held responsible for the acts of his agent who advances money to *haris* (183). All costs of transport on the *zamindar's* share of the produce should be borne by him (186). The cotton accounts of *haris* should be maintained and settled as prescribed (193 & 194). Limits should be prescribed on that portion of the *hari's* share of the produce which may be taken in settlement of debts so as to leave him with enough to meet his domestic requirements (200). Seed issued to *haris* on loan in kind should be made without interest charges (201). For purposes of fixing rates of produce taken from the *hari* in settlement of his debts the Government control price should be taken. If the price is not controlled by

Government then the local wholesale market price at the time of the division of the produce should be taken (203). The harvested produce should be divided within 14 days after it is ready to be marketed (204). Any debts owing [*sic*] by a *hari* to his *zamindar* exceeding the prescribed maximum should be cancelled (208). On the termination of his tenancy, whether voluntarily or by eviction, the *hari* should be legally entitled to:

a. the cost of permanent improvements made by him on the land cultivated by him;
b. the residual value of any manures applied to the land at his cost;
c. the value of his unharvested crops; and
d. the expenses incurred by him in preparing the land for the ensuing crops (211).

On eviction from his tenancy the *hari* should be paid additional compensation for disturbance equal to the land revenue assessment for the previous 12 months on the crops cultivated by him. On change of occupancy of land where *haris* are engaged, the sitting *haris* should be allowed priority of tenancy (214). Hari Tribunals should be constituted at each *taluka* headquarters. The Chairman of the Tribunal would be a *Mukhtiarkar* or an officer specially appointed by Government. He would be assisted by a panel of advisers who would be *zamindars* and *haris* in equal numbers. The constitution, powers and duties of the Tribunal are prescribed (220).

Chapter II of the Report recommends the following specific safeguards as protection to the *zamindar*: The Tenancy Agreement so provides that it would be a criminal offence for a *hari* on initial engagement to make a false statement regarding his debts to his former *zamindar* (166). As the current land settlement rates are based on the *zamindar's* estimated profits, which include customary exactions from the *hari's* share of the crop, we recommend that until such time that the settlement rates are revised, the *zamindar* should be permitted to charge the *hari* Rs. 2 per acre of rice and cotton and Re. 1 per acre of other crops in place of *abwabs* (187). A *hari* who grows cotton and is in debt to his *zamindar* should be obligated to deposit his share of cotton in the *zamindar's* store pending sale (192). The buyer of a *hari's* cotton should be obligated to pay off the *hari's* debt to the *zamindar* subject to the limits prescribed (197). The *hari* should be obligated to cut cotton stalks before January 15th as a precaution against the dissemination of disease (198). A *hari* who voluntarily terminates his tenancy should be obligated to clear his debt before taking away his cattle (207). It should be a penal offence for a *hari* to abscond without paying his debt in conformity with the Regulation (216). A *hari* who absconds from his cultivation should forfeit his right to any compensation (217).

The Tenancy Legislation Committee appointed by Government in

1945 recommended that protection should be given to *haris* in the form of permanency of tenure. So far Government has not implemented this recommendation. Our Committee has reviewed the position (231- 248). The majority of our Committee is of the view that the grant of permanent rights of tenure to *haris* should be deferred indefinitely (247). The Chairman recommends that a Pilot Scheme to grant permanent rights of tenure to *haris* may be adopted in one *taluka* irrigated by a non-perennial (Rice) canal (248).

Government should legislate through a Tenancy Rights Act to regulate *batai* practices of cultivation and to grant rights to *haris* (249).

Chapter III deals with the activities of those nation-building departments directly concerned with the welfare of *haris*. Specific recommendations are made concerning cattle breeding (258), agricultural engineering (259), veterinary dispensaries (267), the training of veterinary staff (268), improved facilities for agricultural credit and for the supply of essential domestic and consumers goods in the villages through the establishment of credit agricole [farmer's Bank] depots by the Co-operative Department (274), the adoption of a system of rural education better adapted to rural needs (278 to 284), the training of primary teachers for rural schools (285), training for village leadership (286), the grant of scholarships to children of *haris* (288), adult education (291), mobile dispensaries (294), training of midwives (295), control of malaria (298), encouragement of cottage industries (300), publicity organisation (301), Intensive Pilot Publicity Scheme (303), the constitution of a Permanent Board of Economic Enquiry (308), the appointment of a whole-time Commissioner for Rural Development (314), the suppression of cattle lifting (331 to 337), the delegation of responsibility to Collectors of districts for ensuring the coordination and execution of Government plans in rural reconstruction (339), and the codification of legislative measures affecting agriculturists (340).

Chapter IV (348-399) deals with long-range development and is mainly concerned with the *hari's* position on Government lands which will be brought under irrigation by the projected new barrages. Recommendations are made on the general policy which Government should adopt in allocating *na-kabuli* lands (353). A Collaborative Farming Scheme is proposed on part of these lands. Collaborators would be Government and its agricultural tenants. The *batai* system of farming will be adopted with part mechanisation of cultivation (364). To undertake this work an Agricultural Development Corporation is proposed (367). The form of the organisation is defined (375-393). In order to enable some of the anticipated problems to be solved in advance, a Pilot Collaborative Scheme on 2,000 acres of lift land to be commanded by the Lower Sind Barrage

Project is proposed (398). Government should consider the feasibility and advisability of delegating to the proposed corporation the management of those Encumbered and Court of Wards estates which exceed an area of about 500 acres (394).

The summary of recommendations made in the Report are separately shown at pages 162-175 (b).

Appendix III gives extracts from the Rowlands Report of the Bengal Administration Enquiry Committee, 1944-45, which we consider could with advantage be adopted in Sind.

Appendix IV gives a brief account of the Sudan Gezira Scheme, the Sudan Alternative Livelihood Scheme, the Sudan Gash Board Scheme and the Africa Groundnut Scheme, with a review of the salient features common to these schemes.

ROGER THOMAS

[1]The figures, here and subsequently, refer to page numbers of the Report.

302

Report on M. A. Jinnah's Engagements at Peshawar

F. 216 (III)-GG/178

21 April 1948

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah met today the representatives of the Provincial Refugees Relief Committee, the Bar Association, the Frontier Co-operative Bank and Frontier Co-operative Marketing Federation, and a deputation of Hindus led by Lala Kotu Ram.

Mr. S. M. Khan, the leader of the representatives of the Provincial Refugees Relief Committee, made a personal present of Rs. 200 to the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund.

Mr. Ziauddin Ahmed, President of the Bar Association, warmly welcomed the Quaid-i-Azam's visit to the Province and said that in all political movements the legal profession had been in the forefront and that in addition to what had already been done, the men assembled there placed at the Quaid-i-Azam's disposal their services which might be used in any way.

In reply, the Quaid-i-Azam said that in the history of the world members of the legal profession had always been pioneers of great movements and he expressed the hope that those present would take the opportunity of playing their part fully in building Pakistan, which would, of course, mean sacrifice that had been pledged.

The representatives of the Co-operative Bank and the Co-operative

Marketing Federation presented a purse of Rs. 5,000 for the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund and expressed the hope that the Government of Pakistan would recognize co-operation as one of the best means of economic uplift.

In his reply, the Quaid-i-Azam said that the Pakistan Government was their own and every possible help would be given to them. He described commerce, industry and finance[1] as the backbone of the State and urged them to take full advantage of the vast opportunities thrown open to citizens. He urged them to work honestly for the Bank but also to bear in mind how best to serve the State.

A deputation of Hindus led by Lala Kotu Ram, M.L.A., extended a warm welcome to Quaid-i-Azam and said that they did not want any privileges but wanted to fully enjoy rights of citizenship. Lala Kotu Ram presented a purse of Rs. 285 towards the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund.

The Quaid-i-Azam in his reply said that he had in so many speeches given assurances to the minorities that the Government of Pakistan would safeguard the life, property and culture of minorities and on that account there should be absolutely no fear. Every Pakistani irrespective of caste and creed was entitled to all the privileges that the State offered to its citizens. He also remarked that the surest way to establish the sincerity of their professions was on the basis of deeds and not on the basis of words.

As a token of esteem and love for the Quaid-i-Azam, the proprietors of the Muslim Arms and Ammunition Factory presented a rifle to him.

In the afternoon, the 2/14 Punjab Regiment presented a purse of Rs. 3,000 toward the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund.

[1]The subsequent portion taken from F. 216 (III)-GG/172.

303

M. A. Jinnah to Ambrose Dundas

F. 46-GG/36

21 April 1948

Dear Sir Ambrose,

You know that the question of additional Ministers was considered at a meeting of the Frontier Muslim League Assembly Party on Thursday, the 15th, presided over by the leader and Premier, Mr. Abdul Qaiyum Khan, and they unanimously resolved[1] to ask me to appoint an additional

Minister or Ministers, and decided that they would accept him and be absolutely loyal to him as a party. I have given my careful consideration in the discharge of this responsibility that was placed on me and I have come to the conclusion that Mr. Jaffar Shah should be appointed as an additional Minister forthwith. As regards the second Minister, the matter is still under my consideration, and as soon as I am in a position to come to a satisfactory conclusion, I shall communicate his name to you.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Sir Ambrose Dundas, KCIE, CSI,
Governor, NWFP, Peshawar

[1]No. 273.

304

Aga Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 143-GG/5

22 April 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Probably Your Excellency knows all about this matter and your Govt. is moving but in case it has not been brought to your attention, I send this letter. During this winter I came socially across leading Americans who came to Europe on missions and came to the Riviera for recreation. They said that U.S.A. had some millions sterling as War Credit from India but were sure America would give it back if India spent it on education and welfare. I immediately said that Pakistan should get its proportional share to which they agreed. Your Excellency knows very well that Pakistan's life and death depends on its economic strength or weakness. And that these depend on scientific development. North America in the 19th cent[ury] developed on foreign capital and in this cent[ury] Argentina, Brazil, S. Africa and Australia owe their prosperity to foreign capital but they have all had the men capable of profiting from borrowed money. We must have as immediate objective the same proportion of Muslim scientific technicians as India, but, as future target, the same proportions as, say, Belgium or Switzerland. Now, if we can get from U.S.A. the amounts, which I am told they are ready to return, is the time to start building up our institutes and training our youth. This will be a great stand and other schemes of our own can follow but nothing of this importance is otherwise immediately available. There is one other subject

on which I would like to approach Your Excellency, but I have not yet the necessary facts and figures at my disposal.

I am,
Your Excellency,
Yours very sincerely,
AGA KHAN

305

Allahbux K. Zia to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. I)-GG/212

FADOO BUILDING,
BUNDER ROAD,
KARACHI,
22 April 1948

Your Excellency,

Glory to *Allah!*

Though an offer of unconditional surrender and a present of tributes, as this submission consists of, coming from a humble person, may not be regarded of any value, I have to submit this petition in order not to add glory to your name, but to accord relief to my own conscience.

Before August 15, 1947, when I was not in the know of what was actually passing between the great leaders of the British Government, of the Indian National Congress, and of the Muslim League, I was of the opinion that the Cabinet Mission Plan was the best solution of the problem of India. I was, then, even opposed to the ideology preached by you. And I went so far as to condemn and criticise your activities in the course of my letters[1] addressed to you and in the course of personal contacts with different people.

However, now that Pakistan has been established, my opinions have changed. I have discussed this subject in my letter of date addressed to Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, a copy whereof is attached hereto.[2] I have written this letter to him because he belongs to my province and he represents my constituency in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan.

And, now, I hereby make an unconditional surrender to you, Sir. From now onward, I will serve the nation under the banner of the Muslim League.

I am a practical man, and I hold no faith in words devoid of a support by deeds. I, therefore, aim at serving the nation by doing something. At present, I propose helping the Government and the people in their efforts

to eradicate corruption from among the public servants. A workable plan, in this connection, I will submit to you in a few days.

No better tributes can be paid to you, Sir, than these that you are the Father of the Nation. May *Allah* bless you in your efforts to serve the nation as sincerely as leaders of graceful nations serve their people. However, I wish that when serving the nation, you will not try to act as their dictator, because an example of this nature set by you will be followed by the nation for centuries to come. May *Allah* guide you in your thoughts and deeds.

Pakistan Zindabad! Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad!

Obediently yours,
ALLAHBUX K. ZIA

[1&2]Not traceable.

306

F. Amin to Maula Bakhsh Rehmatullah

F. 76-GG/70

22 April 1948

Dear Sirs,

I am desired by the Quaid-i-Azam to thank you for the *karakuli* cap which you presented him at Peshawar, and to say that he appreciates your kind thought.

Yours faithfully,
F. AMIN

Sh. Maula Bakhsh Rehmatullah,
Cap Merchants, Bazar Qissa Khani,
Peshawar City

307

Sadiq Hasan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 120 (Vol. V)-GG/15-8

LAHORE,
23 April 1948

Steady deterioration in economic and social situation in West Punjab very disturbing, demands immediate attention. Factors outlined

below need speedy remedial action: (A) Unemployment industrial, agricultural, services [*sic*] assuming serious proportion; volume of crime already much higher than before; unemployment greatest temptation to crime and unruliness if not effectively checked; danger of widespread disorder. (B) Over half a million refugees still in camps with no immediate prospect of rehabilitation; idleness and uncertainty breeding unrest and discontent. (C) Prisoners from East Punjab another factor that might endanger social peace unless rehabilitated. (D) Discontentment among martial Meos another grave threat, already thousands trekked back India, dangerous to morale of Indian Muslims. Factors mentioned above greatly accentuated by rising cost of living and scarcity of essential goods. In view of above earnestly request for immediate steps to reduce unemployment and plan small scale industry by strengthening Provincial and Central Industries Departments and ordering Provincial Govt. to work more efficiently and in a liberal way.

SHAIKH SADIQ HASAN
Member, [Punjab] Legislative Assembly

308

F. Amin to Mohammad Bakhsh

F. 76-GG/68

23 April 1948

Dear Sir,

I am desired by the Quaid-i-Azam to thank you for the carpet which you presented him at Peshawar and to say that he appreciates your kind thought.

Yours faithfully,
F. AMIN

Mohammad Bakhsh, Esq.,
Pakistan Embassy, Kabul

309

Address by President, Pakistan Olympic Association[1]

F. 2-GG/19-20

23 April 1948

You Sir, have given the greatest possible impetus to sports in Pakistan by consenting to be the Patron-in-Chief of our Olympic Association.

The motto of the Olympic World is "Citius, Altius, Fortius" and a nobler one than this is hard to coin. It is not for nothing that the symbol of Olympics is the five rings representing the five continents of the earth interlinking and entwining. These are not just geometrical lines drawn at random, and transferred to the flag with a white background. They signify purity of thought and action. There is a whole philosophy at the back of it and today we pray that in this torn and gored earth what politicians and diplomats fail to achieve, international sportsmen shall accomplish.

I do not propose to hold up the ceremony by a lengthy speech but I must in passing make a reference to one or two things for I know that whenever we are surrounded by difficulties we look up to you Sir, to surmount them. We need in Karachi the capital of Pakistan a first rate stadium, and secondly we need in our new State definitely to create a State Department of Physical Culture and Education and we must attempt to place Pakistan on the map of the sports world. In 1950, we propose to hold the Pan-Islamic Olympic Games in this city and we need to build from now on for the realisation of this our cherished dream. We propose to commemorate these our first National Games in Postage Stamps.

For the Pan-Islamic Olympic Games, 1950, our representatives, the brains of this show, shall inaugurate the first International Muslim Conference in London in July and August.

We are planning to have in Karachi, Pakistan Olympic Club, and I am glad to mention here that our popular Governor of Sind, Sheikh Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah is taking keen interest in the matter. The management of the Karachi Hindu Gymkhana have been approached, and this establishment, shall be changed into a popular cosmopolitan club before very long and shall function as the Pakistan Olympic Club.

These our attempts are nation building activities of the highest order, and we are confident that with you as our mentor and guide we shall clear all hurdles high or low.

I thank you Sir, and Miss Fatima Jinnah for gracing this occasion.

I am confident, Sir, you will give us your blessings, and your guidance, and God willing we shall achieve what we desire, for we know, that what we desire, we shall deserve.

·Drafts of Nos. 309, 310 & 311 were furnished by the Associate Secretary of Pakistan Olympic Association. See F. 2-GG/14. Not printed.

310

Address of Welcome by Pir Illahi Bakhsh, Chairman, Organising Committee, First Pakistan Olympic Games

F. 2-GG/18-20

23 April 1948

May it please you, our Quaid-i-Azam,

I give you the greetings of youth and the blessings of age and take this opportunity to thank you and Miss Fatima Jinnah for your kindness in accepting our invitation to the First Olympic Games of Pakistan, of which State you are the designer and architect. We see before us today the assemblage of the youth of our nation ready to enter upon the field in competition in games and sports, the channels for creating sound minds in sound bodies.

May we pray that under your guidance, the guidance of a hurdler of merit and obstacle racer of the highest order in the domain and field of political hurdles and obstacles, it shall be possible for our nation to march onwards and upwards to our ultimate goal, the goal of being a strong and healthy nation, fighting all its battles in true sportsman spirit, never hitting below the belt. Strong enough to show the mailed fist and meek enough to admit mistakes and endeavour to improve.

311

Speech by M. A. Jinnah at the Opening Ceremony of First Pakistan Olympic Games

F. 2-GG/21

23 April 1948

Pir Illahi Bakhsh, Mr. Ahmed Jaffer, Members of the Organizing and other Committees, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It has given me great pleasure to come here today to perform the opening ceremony of the First Pakistan Olympic Games. I agreed to become the Partron-in-Chief of the Pakistan Olympic Association in the realisation that the success of our people in all walks of life depends upon the cultivation of "sound minds",[1] the natural concomitant to "sound bodies". To the athletes and youth of the nation I bid welcome. My message to you is: build up physical strength not for aggression, not for militarism, but for becoming fighting fit all your life and all the time in every walk of life of your nation wherever you

be and always to be a force for peace, international amity and goodwill. After these games you shall go to the World Olympiad at Wembley Stadium, London, representing us as messengers of our goodwill and my best wishes will go with you. Remember to win is nothing, it is the effort and the spirit behind the effort that count.

To the organizers of Olympic Games I say, well done, for successfully completing the preparations for this meet in so short a time. You say you want a stadium and are planning to hold Pan-Islamic Olympics in 1950; and I hope your wishes may materialize. It all depends on you. Your demand for a State Department of Physical Culture and Education is one which requires consideration of Pakistan Government. I hope that they will examine this aspect of the matter in dealing with many educational problems that are facing us.

In the end I thank you for your warm welcome and wish you every success.

312

M. A. Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120-GG/90-1

LAHORE,
24 April 1948

A SUGGESTION[1]

The Quaid-i-Azam, as creator and head of the State of Pakistan, is the embodiment of the aspirations of those who strove for the establishment of a national home for Indian Muslims and the living hope that the dreams of its founders will be realised. He is, naturally and rightly, Pakistani and, as such, is above the criteria which apply to others. Such a position has its disadvantages as well as its advantages; and the disadvantages are emphasised when the head of the State is seeking to teach and instruct the man in the street and the field.[1] In the North-West Frontier Province, as in the East Bengal, the Quaid-i-Azam has been preaching the gospel of national, as contrasted with regional patriotism. And he has been talking to leaders, big men rather than to those who stand most in need of the lesson. In Peshawar he addressed a mammoth public meeting on the need for national unity in the face of threats from without and within. Yet the vast majority of his large audience knew nothing of what he had said. The veneration attaching to his person and the magic of his personality—which had attracted

so great a gathering to the Cunningham Park—were largely wasted so far as concerns assimilation of his message. Nor could these intangibles be recaptured in putting across the content of his speech by Radio Pakistan or by Pakistani newspapers. This waste of one of Pakistan's most priceless assets could easily be avoided by a little enterprise on the part of the Dominion Public Relations Department and a little cooperation from the Quaid-i-Azam himself. There is no difficulty in repeating either verbatim or in general outline, the public speeches of the Governor-General in the language best understood by his audience—preferably in the presence of the Quaid-i-Azam. The people of Pakistan need the lessons which their leader is seeking to teach them and he is uniquely qualified to be their instructor. It is a tragedy indeed when his words of wisdom are permitted to go over their heads.

M.A. KHAN
Secretary,
Youngmen's Muslim Association

[1]An article published in the *Civil & Military Gazette*, 24 April 1948.

313

Eileen and Clinton Bond to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol.V)-GG/93

FIVE SPRINGS,
RACE COURSE SPINNEY,
QUETTA,
24 April 1948

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

We hope you will remember who we are; we have now at last sold our property here and are leaving for England. We have lived in Quetta for 35 years, and in Mussoorie and Karachi 15 years; it's a long time out of a life, fifty years, but now we must go. We hope very much that you will not consider this letter an impertinence, but will realize that it is dictated by a very sincere admiration and respect that goes back over many years. Anyway, what we very much wish you will do is just to write us a few words of Godspeed yourself, in a letter that we can cherish and show to our grandchildren. We would be so honoured if you will.

We are leaving Quetta for Karachi about the 4th of May and Karachi

by air for England three days or so after that.

We will wish you peace and ease of heart and mind,

Yours sincerely,
EILEEN & CLINTON BOND

314

H. C. Moton to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. V)-GG/83-4

BUNGALOW NO. 2, ROAD NO. 26,
SADDAR,
KARACHI,
24 April 1948

Your Excellency,

On hearing the news of Hon'ble Mr. I. I. Chundrigar's appointment to Afghanistan, I was prompted to suggest that the Memons having been the vital element of the commercial life of this subcontinent, have played their part to the utmost in building this State in view of their full-fledged moral and material support and as such a nomination for that portfolio of Commerce will be very much appreciated.

It would be the rightful placement and the rightful step if taken. The best qualification is to have been constantly conversant and to be at the helm of the task that is to be assigned. Hence it will have a traditional phenomenon and a characteristic effect in its acquisition.

In this connection, I may propose the name of a Kathiawari Memon of the highest repute among the Muslims, namely, Mr. Cassim Suleman Adamjee of Jetpur / Rangoon.

Hope this shall receive the active consideration of Your Excellency.

Beg to remain,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
HAROON CASIM MOTON

315

M. A. Latif to S. M. Yusuf

F. 65 (7)-GG/1

MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR,
(EDUCATION DIVISION),
KARACHI,
26 April 1948

My dear Yusuf,

The Hon'ble Minister for Education is convening a conference on the 10th of May 1948 to inaugurate the following Cultural Associations:

Pakistan-Afghanistan Cultural Association
Pakistan-Iran Cultural Association
Pakistan-Arab Cultural Association
Pakistan-Turkey Cultural Association

The object behind the establishment of these Associations is to foster cultural relations through the exchange of students, teachers, literature [*sic*] and scientific and cultural missions. You will recall that the Pakistan Educational Conference held in November 1947 had passed a comprehensive resolution stressing the need for the establishment of cultural relations with foreign countries, especially of the Middle East.

In view of the importance of this occasion, I am directed to request you to obtain a message from the Quaid-i-Azam which will be read out by the Hon'ble Minister at the inaugural ceremony.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. LATIF
Deputy Secretary

Enclosure to No. 315
Message from M. A. Jinnah for the Inauguration Ceremony of Various Cultural Associations

F. 65(7)-GG/3

The need for solidarity and better understanding among Muslims was never greater, not only in Pakistan but all over the world, than it is today and any step or effort calculated to achieve this objective should be welcomed by all right-thinking Muslims. The inauguration of Pakistan-Afghanistan Cultural Association, Pakistan-Iran Cultural Association, Pakistan-Arab Cultural Association, and Pakistan-Turkey Cultural Association is a step in the right direction. By promoting cultural

relations, these Associations will offer further opportunities of mutual exchange of views and thus help in cementing the bonds that already exist between Pakistan and the Muslim countries, particularly of the Middle East. I, therefore, hope that this movement will go ahead with all success.

316

Mohammad Alley Haji Hashim to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. I)-GG/80

KARACHI,
26 April 1948

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Enclosed is a cutting from the *New Sind* which speaks for itself. The *New Sind* is one of the old papers of Sind and is edited by a Sindhi. The Governor of Sind is absolutely right in redistributing the portfolios among his Ministers. I venture to submit this for your kind perusal.

With respects,

Yours faithfully,
MOHAMMAD ALLEY HAJI HASHIM

Enclosure to No. 316

F. 120 (Vol. I)-GG/82

GOVERNOR HAS ACTED CONSTITUTIONALLY[1]

Today the cry of Sind is for an honest leader. Clever people have ruined Sind. Honesty is a great thing in a leader though it is best policy to have an honest leader.

Among the present Ministers there is none save Kazi [Fazulallah] who is above board and honest. But Kazi must go with Khuhro because for Kazi loyalty is more than anything in life. If Khuhro was saved from gallows[2] it was through the miracle of God but work of Kazi. Kazi did not rest, did not sleep till he got Khuhro out of trouble. Now Kazi would either sink or swim with Khuhro.

Khuhro, by creating trouble for himself, is not going to be the leader of Sind Legislative Assembly unless he gives up his fighting attitude and makes up with his colleagues, especially with His Excellency Sir Ghulam Hussain. For the smooth running of administration of any province two things are very necessary; one is that Cabinet should be

one team with one voice and it should have sweet relationship with H. E. who is the head of the Province.

Now there is neither unity among the Cabinet members nor is there happy relationship between the Premier and the Governor. Governor is helpless so long as Cabinet is one and all Ministers are united. But if there is disunity among the Cabinet members, Governor immediately comes in because every order is passed by His Excellency the Governor and he is responsible for the administration of his province, though through Ministers. But they are his Ministers and his Government. Sir Ghulam Hussain never interfered with the work of his Ministers so long [as] they were united. But now that there is a tug of war between the Ministers, he had to interfere to save his province. This is pure and simple constitution. Why Governors are appointed if Ministers are everything. So long as Ministers are working as a team, Governor does not come into the picture. But the moment Ministers are divided, the Governor must step in to save the situation. It is, therefore, that constitution has provided a Governor for such occasions. The very fact that Sir Ghulam Hussain did not interfere with the Ministers so long as they were united, shows that he is absolutely a constitutional Governor. Now that he sees that the Cabinet is a divided house, he once more acts constitutionally to save Sind from ruin by Ministers' fights and feuds, to come in the picture.

Whatever Sir Ghulam Hussain has done as Governor of Sind is absolutely constitutional. If Premier makes a mess of Sind affairs by fighting with his colleagues of the Cabinet he leaves no choice for H. E. but to step in to stop the mess.

Some departments were absolutely ruined. The Civil Supplies Department was in a mess and so were Home and P.W.D. The complaints which I have published from time to time about Qureshi Buswalla do not reflect any credit on the Minister who was in charge of it. How Civil Supplies Department is working that people of Sind have not received their quota of cloth for full one year can well be imagined. That P.W.D. is managed in a manner that Sind Government has lost lakhs is a public scandal. Should Government of Sind permit these departments to be handled by the Ministers who have done nothing to improve them but have done everything to ruin them? After the exposures about these departments in the press, Governor had no choice but to change the portfolios.

He found that Kazi is incorruptible and gave him the Department of Civil Supplies. As Kazi could not have Revenue as well as Civil Supplies, he gave Revenue to Mir [Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur] to lessen the burden of Kazi. About law and order there were so many complaints that

H.E. had to take it from the Premier and give it to Pir.

Qureshi Buswalla who has played havoc with Sind by his criminal actions of robbery and looting is openly protected by Premier in charge of Law and Order. H.E. has received innumerable complaints about Law and Order Department. If after receiving so many complaints and open exposures in the press, H.E. does not take action to change the portfolio, he is unfit to be the Governor of Sind because for everything of [*sic*] Ministers he is finally responsible for the administration of his province. If he is responsible, as he is by the act, he must use his discretion. So long as everything was going on peacefully, he allowed his Ministers to carry on. But now when things have gone too far, he stepped in to save the situation. This pure and simple act of his is based on constitution. The cry of *Sind Observer,* the Premier's paper, that H. E. has acted unconstitutionally is absurd. Let Ministers ruin Sind and set it on fire like Rome, and H.E. like Nero should sit and fiddle. This is what *Sind Observer* wants. But H.E. is not going to allow Sind to be ruined because he loves his Sind much more than anyone, at least more than Khuhro, the boss of *Sind Observer,* who by his action has done nothing but brought ruination on Sind.

[1]The *New Sind,* 26 April 1948.

[2]Khuhro was charged with conspiracy for murder of Allah Bakhsh Soomro, ex-Premier of Sind, at Shikarpur on 14 May 1943. He was, however, acquitted by the Sessions Judge, Sukkur, on 23 August 1945. See Hamida Khuhro, *Muhammed Ayub Khuhro, A Life of Courage in Politics,* Ferozesons, Lahore, 1998, 249-68.

317

Address of Welcome to M. A. Jinnah by Karachi Chamber of Commerce[1]

KARACHI,
27 April 1948

Mr. R. L. Coghlan, Chairman of the Chamber, welcoming the Governor-General, said that of all the events of the past year, "there is one of incomparably greater importance than all others, namely, the inauguration of Pakistan as a separate State".

"This auspicious event," the Chairman continued, "was, alas, closely followed by a series of tragic happenings which placed an immense burden upon the administration of the newly formed state—a burden beneath which many an old well-established state might well have succumbed.

"It is the great achievement of Your Excellency, of your Government, and of the people of Pakistan as a whole, an achievement which has won the admiration and sympathy of the whole world, that the new state has bravely and successfully shouldered this burden, and although it would be unduly optimistic to suggest that henceforth all will be plain sailing, no one who has studied the events of the past eight months can be in any doubt that the ship of State has weathered the worst of the storms, and is now well and truly set upon her course.

"Those who, because the idea of Pakistan was new to them and unfamiliar, thought that Pakistan itself would have but an ephemeral existence, have been shown how mistaken they were, and none can now doubt that on August 15, 1947, a new power was born among the nations of this world. It is a very proud moment for us that the architect of the mighty achievement, the Quaid-i-Azam, is here with us today.

"The inauguration of Pakistan as a separate state has introduced a set of conditions which differ entirely from those ruling before the Partition, and which inevitably will affect the entire economic life of the country, and the direction in which it will develop in the future. There will be—to some extent there have been—great changes in every field, but in none more than in the field of industry.

"Agriculturally, Pakistan is the most advanced nation in the continent of Asia, much more so than India, as is evidenced by the greater yield per acre of almost all its main crops, but industrially it is backward. At the present time of world shortages of all the principal raw materials, a country which has surpluses of three such valuable ones as wheat, cotton, and jute, is in a strong position, but the Government wisely sees further ahead than the present situation and realises the necessity of a greater measure of self-sufficiency in manufactured goods than obtains at present.

PRACTICAL CONTRIBUTION

"A very practical contribution to the industrialization of Pakistan is the Sind Government's Trading and Industrial Estate Policy. The progress made by the Karachi Industrial Trading Estate over the last 10 months has been extremely satisfactory, when one bears in mind the great political changes that have taken place, and the universal difficulties in obtaining raw materials of almost every form, and capital goods.

"I understand that the intention of the Government of Sind is to have three such estates, the other two in Sukkur and Hyderabad, respectively, but work on these has had to be postponed, though it is hoped that a start may be made in three or four months. Meanwhile the Karachi Estate is developing 2,400 acres of the 5,000 allotted it, and good progress has been

made in providing the necessary public utility services.

"As a guide to the public on factory construction, and also to assist refugee industrialists, the Sind Government are constructing 12 model reinforced concrete factory buildings on an entirely new principle, of which the main feature is great economy in the use of steel. Four large hangars are also under construction to provide godown accommodation for lessees and a sample of the type of house it is proposed to erect to accommodate technical staff of the factories has been built near the Paradise Cinema and is open to the public for inspection.

"It is hoped also ultimately to build two satellite towns in the neighbourhood of the Estate to accommodate the 60,000 work people, which it is expected will be employed when the estate is fully developed".

"This Chamber notes with satisfaction that, subject to the approval of the Constituent Assembly, Karachi is to be the permanent capital of Pakistan. It is to be hoped that the Constituent Assembly's confirmation will not be long delayed as upon it hang decisions of the highest importance in the sphere of town planning, in order that Pakistan may have a capital worthy of the world's newest great power.

TRADE AND COMMERCE

Coming to trade and commerce, the Chairman pointed out that the Government "should announce its policy, for any stated period, in good time, and having done so, stand by it, and refrain from trying to direct more than necessary the details of an intricate trade".

He then described in detail the development leading to the raising of the Pakistan cotton export tax from Rs. 40 per bale to Rs. 60 and said that "all this disturbed the Karachi cotton trade considerably".

As regards import trade control, Mr. Coghlan pointed out that the policy should be decided and announced longer in advance than is at present the custom.

"I know that the reason given is that Government themselves do not know in advance how much foreign exchange will be available for the purchase of imports, and without this knowledge they cannot plan for imports, "he added. "To this I would reply that, under the present dispensation, they are equally unable to forecast how much foreign exchange will actually be used, because, as a result of the delay in issuing import licences, many of them become inoperative. When the importer receives his licence, it is too late for him to obtain delivery of his goods within the period of the licence's validity. Applications for the current licensing period, January to June 1948, were invited up to February 28, and a large number of them are still pending. Thus all licences issued hereafter will be operative, unless the goods they cover

happen to be actually in stock in their country of origin".

TRANSPORT PROBLEMS

Referring to transport and its problems, he said: "In the field of civil aviation the first half of the year saw the emergence of Karachi airport into the busiest air traffic centre of India, a position later to be lost to Calcutta. Karachi still, however, retains the title of the best equipped civil airfield east of Cairo. It is today being used regularly by all except one of the international lines which serve the East, BOAC, KLM, Air France, and Pan American Airways.

"The exception, Trans-World Airlines, uses Bombay as its port of entry, a tendency which may extend to the other lines shortly, especially if the Bombay airfield at Santa Cruz is developed in accordance with the present ambitious but nebulous plan. The recent increase in the import duty on aviation spirit in Pakistan by 25 per cent, coupled with the increased tax, will help to attract large aircraft to Bombay, as the fuel bill of the airlines is approximately one-third of their total operating costs.

"As regards civil aviation in Pakistan, in pre-partition days the field was held by Indian National Airways in West Pakistan, while East Pakistan had no services at all. At the instance of the new Government, Orient Airways took over I.N.A.'s West Pakistan routes and also opened up services in East Pakistan. This company has been operating under the usual difficulties inseparable from sudden expansion, but its record of operations compares very favourably with the longer established Indian companies who have had difficulties of their own.

RAILWAYS

"Lack of fuel has been one of the Railways great difficulties but, apart from that, the uncertainty of booking restrictions has proved a very difficult factor to contend with. The fact of booking being opened at certain stations one day, closed the next and, probably, reopened a few days later, is not the least of problems which have affected us, since it has frequently happened that the Railway staff at stations are unaware of the orders issued by the controlling staff at the divisional headquarters, and this happens even when the station is no further from its divisional headquarters than are Keamari and the Karachi Stations.

SALES TAX

"A recent development in field of taxation has been the imposition of a central sales tax, from April 1, to replace the various provincial sales taxes which were in force up to that date. The new tax is payable on all sales of all commodities. Thus if an article changes hand five times between producer or importer and consumer, it will pay tax five

times, at a total rate of over 15 per cent. In addition, a few luxuries or semi-luxuries have to bear an enhanced rate.

"Pakistan is a predominantly agricultural country, and has inherited a system of taxation under which agricultural income is exempt from income and super tax. Thus the bulk of the population is outside the scope of direct taxation. The new sales tax will, to some extent, redress this by making the agriculturalist pay not only on his purchases of consumer goods, but also on his sales of produce, but from the point of view of equity, this tax has the defect that it hits alike the poor and rich income tax-payer and non-payer. I hope, therefore, that it is intended only as an interim measure, and that the ultimate intention is to bring agricultural income within the scope of personal taxation.

"Finally, I should like to say a few words about the situation with regard to staff in which most of our members are placed. As you know, Sir, the majority of the clerical staff of all businesses throughout Pakistan, before partition, was Hindu, and the departure of the Hindus has placed many of us in a very awkward situation. Many of those who have come forward to replace the departed staff are potentially excellent material, but it will be a long time before they have gained the experience necessary to fill adequately the places of their predecessors.

"The banks are particularly hard hit, as banking, of all businesses, is one in which the work must never be allowed to fall into arrears, and we are glad to hear that a school for training bank clerks has been started in Lahore, from which, it is hoped, partly-trained staff will in future be available.

"I should like to make one suggestion concerning the administration of Government. This is that the discretion given to subordinate officials should be curtailed and that disciplinary action should be taken against those who exceed their powers.

"It is no exaggeration to say that, particularly in the districts, minor revenue and police officials arrogate to themselves the powers of Cabinet Ministers and Secretaries to the Government. If the victims of such usurpations of power appeal to higher authority, the utmost redress that they can hope for is to get the petty officials' orders overruled. Action is rarely taken against the offending officials and, of course, there is no compensation to the victim for any inconvenience and loss which he has undergone.

"Nothing can be more calculated to destroy business confidence and bring trade to a standstill than the feeling that one is perpetually at the mercy of the arbitrary action of petty officials".

[1]The *Pakistan Times*, 29 April 1948

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Reply by M. A. Jinnah to the Address by the Karachi Chamber of Commerce

F. 204 (II)-GG/21-37

27 April 1948

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce, Ladies and Gentlemen!

It gives me great pleasure, Mr. Chairman, to be here this morning with you all at this, your 88th Annual General Meeting. I notice that you are holding this meeting in the premises of the Karachi Cotton Association; one can hardly dissociate Karachi from commerce and the commerce of this place from cotton, whether this is accidental or otherwise, but it is very appropriate. You have, Mr. Chairman, covered a very wide field in your address, from the founding of the sovereign and independent State of Pakistan to the petty usurpations of power by minor officials here and there over this far-flung Dominion, from the intricacies of cotton trade to the commonplace of delays. You will, however, hardly expect me to follow you in every detail in my reply. I cannot, however, let an opportunity, such as you have presented to me today, pass without calling attention to certain salient points arising out of your address.

Let me, Mr. Chairman, first acknowledge the tribute which you have justly paid to my Government and my people for the manner in which they faced up to the tragic events which so closely followed the establishment of Pakistan. It was inevitable that many otherwise sensible people should greet Pakistan as an unwanted and intolerable child whose birth could not long survive their displeasure. You have rightly pointed out how mistaken were the people who, because the idea of Pakistan was new and unfamiliar to them, thought that Pakistan would have but only an ephemeral existence. None can now doubt, in your words, Mr. Chairman, that a new Power was born among the nations of the world on August 15, 1947. The difficulties and the tribulations through which Pakistan has passed have helped to strengthen and temper the new State into steel which is now well and truly set upon the course on the uncharted seas of the future. The people who have made effort which secured their separate freedom in the face of derision, disbelief, and the utmost political opposition will not fail to make the additional effort necessary to consolidate their liberties, and any delusion or illusion from which some people still suffer, let me make it clear, that the sooner they bury this notion—Pakistan surrendering to India or seeking

union with Central Government—the better it will be for the peace and prosperity of both the Dominions, and it will help a great deal to establish goodwill and good-neighbourly feelings.

I am glad to note that you are disaffiliating your Chambers from the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India as a necessary corollary of the Partition, and intend to form an Association of your Pakistan Chambers of Commerce.

You, Mr. Chairman, have rightly given pride of place to cotton in dealing with trade and commerce. I am glad to know that you have recognized that Pakistan's cotton policy could not have been more liberal or less restrictive than it was until the impact of India's decision to decontrol cloth and refuse it to us except in return for cotton, forced measures of regulation on us. Even so, all contracts made before 23rd January, 1948, by traders in Pakistan—national or foreign—were honoured. That the cotton trade should have shown such admirable capacity to adjust itself to changing conditions is a matter for gratification. I would like to express the appreciation of the Government of Pakistan for the manner in which traders have played their part in helping to move cotton to the port and from the port to the markets of the world.

You have also referred at some length to the import policy of the Government of Pakistan and internal controls exercised within the country and have pleaded that as few handicaps should be placed on trading as possible. Regulation and restriction with their attendant administrative evils will be imposed only where conditions compel, and any expressions of opinion you care to make from time to time will always receive my Ministry's careful thought. I can assure you on behalf of the Government of Pakistan that it is their intention and policy to let the channels of free trading flow as freely as possible. In so far as the internal controls on essential commodities are concerned, my Government have already decided to review them at a conference with the provinces in an attempt to relax and remove as many of these as circumstances would now permit. So far as overseas trade is concerned, a considerable sector of imports has been released from licensing by the notification of an Open General Licence for a wide range of goods coming from Commonwealth sterling countries. This list will be kept under constant review with the object of expanding it and the question of including therein imports from other soft currency areas is now receiving the attention of the Ministry for Commerce. The situation in regard to dollar imports and other hard currencies is, of course, very difficult and licensing must continue to protect the balance of payments. Even in this field, however, you can assist by bending your energies to directing and increasing our exports to dollar and hard currency

countries. This, fortunately, should not be difficult in the case of the major Pakistani raw materials and I shall look forward, Mr. Chairman, to your constant support in this matter. Anything that Government can do to facilitate exports to these areas by removing as many restrictions as possible will be done. I have little doubt, Gentlemen, that your efforts in this direction will bear fruit as we are rich in the commodities which the world so badly requires, like cotton, jute, hides, skins and wool. You have made a plea that in the interests of trade, Government should make an announcement of the import policy in good time. The Government of Pakistan fully appreciate this view and will do all they can to make as early an announcement as circumstances would permit. The uncertain factors which delayed the announcement of their policy in the past will, Government hope, not recur in future.

The complete breakdown of the banking and financial mechanism in the West Punjab is a matter which governmental action alone cannot remedy. We can make the conditions as favourable as possible but bankers alone can repair the machine. It is our unalterable determination to maintain law and order and to secure and retain public confidence in our administration of affairs. In this context, and given your goodwill, the reconstruction and restoration of our commerce and trade should proceed apace. This is my appeal to you today, Gentlemen, to make a ready and sustained effort to help us to help you.

There is one matter, Mr. Chairman, which you have mentioned only in passing, namely the statement issued by my Government on the Industrial Policy of Pakistan. The statement is of such far-reaching character that I would ask of you as a business community to examine it with the care and attention which the importance of the subject and the direct bearing it has on your own well-being requires. That my Government should have taken time to consider matters carefully before formulating their policy which must vitally affect the future of the country, is a matter that need not cause any sense of frustration. For I am reminded in this connection of an observation of that wise man, Francis Bacon,[1] who said—"It is good to commit the beginnings of all great actions to Argus[2] with his hundred eyes and the ends to Briareus[3] with his [three] hundred hands; first to watch and then to speed". Whilst I do not propose to recapitulate the statement here, I would like to call your particular attention to the keen desire of the Government of Pakistan to associate individual initiative and private enterprise at every stage of industrialization. The number of industries Government have reserved for management by themselves consists of arms and munitions of war, generation of hydel [*sic* for hydro-electric] power and manufacture of railway wagons, telephones, telegraphs and wireless apparatus. All other industrial activity is left open to

private enterprise which would be given every facility a Government can give for the establishment and development of industry. Government will seek to create conditions in which industry and trade may develop and prosper by undertaking surveys of Pakistan's considerable resources of minerals, schemes for the development of country's water and power resources, plans for the improvement of transport services and the establishment of ports, and an Industrial Finance Corporation. Just as Pakistan is agriculturally the most advanced nation in the Continent of Asia as mentioned by you, I am confident that if it makes the fullest and the best use of its considerable agricultural wealth in the building up of her industries, it will, with the traditions of craftsmanship for which our people are so well-known and with their ability to adjust themselves to new techniques, soon make its mark in the industrial field. I am glad to know that you are favourably impressed with the concessions announced by the Finance Minister to new industrial enterprises in the matter of Income Tax and depreciation and that you regard the statement as holding out more encouragement to new industry than the corresponding statement of policy made by the Government of India. If you want any clarification of any aspect of the policy, my Government will be only too willing to furnish the same.

Fortunately, in the Port of Karachi, we have adequate facilities to handle not only the trade of western Pakistan but also such trade as offers for Afghanistan and the adjoining areas of the Indian Dominion. For reasons into which I need not here enter, this trade has suffered a severe setback since Partition. I hope that in everybody's interest you will endeavour to restore Karachi's standing in this regard. I have no doubt that the port of Karachi has very bright future. It is the only port which serves this side of Pakistan and the location of the Pakistan Naval Headquarters has added greatly to its importance. I can look with confidence to its rapid development. The scheme for remodelling the East Wharf and the provision of Naval and Commercial Dry Docks is under our active consideration and should, when completed, make Karachi one of the most modern ports. I may assure the business community that I am watching with keen interest the present and future interests of the port.

The end of the period of "Standstill" and the consequent entry of India and Pakistan into normal international relations, should advance and give precision to the movement of trade. Bonding facilities are being provided by my Government in Karachi Port for this purpose. On the other side of the subcontinent, the Government of India have also agreed to provide bonding facilities in Calcutta so that from now

on, the capacity of the Port of Chittagong to handle raw jute will be supplemented by transit facilities through the Port of Calcutta.

In the field of Civil Aviation, Pakistan is fortunate in having at Karachi the best equipped airport in the East. Its position and climate are in its favour and now that Karachi has become the capital of Pakistan, there is no likelihood of the airport ever losing its importance. Its pre-eminent position will be maintained as we are alive to the need of its continued development in accordance with the international standards and to the need of facilitating everywhere national and international air transport operations. Karachi will remain one of the main centres of international air traffic as most of the progressive countries of the world have approached us for bilateral air transport agreements and we already have agreements with U.S.A., France, Netherlands, Iraq, and recently negotiated agreements with India and Ceylon. Delegations from U.K. and other countries are expected in Karachi soon. For all these Karachi will remain the airport of entry and departure. The use of Bombay as the port of entry for Trans-World Airlines was provided for in the Air Transport Agreement between the U.S.A. and India before Partition and does not indicate a subsequent tendency to transfer operations from Karachi to Bombay. On this service, Karachi airport was used, in the first instance, as a temporary measure pending the provision of health facilities at Santa Cruz.[4] You have referred to rise in airline operating costs occasioned by the recently increased cost of aviation spirits in Pakistan. This is a question which I have no doubt will be considered by my Government in the light of your observations.

I am glad to hear that you have appreciated the difficulties which beset Orient Airways in establishing, at a very short notice, vital air communications within Pakistan between Eastern and Western Pakistan and between Karachi and Delhi and between Karachi and Bombay. These arrangements had to be made on a temporary basis while a long-term national air transport policy was being formulated. The Government announced their policy on the 5th of December, 1947, limiting air transport operations to two commercial airlines to be selected for the operation of all the scheduled services to be licensed by the Government. The names of these companies will be announced shortly together with the routes to be operated by them subject to finalization of agreement recently negotiated with the Government of India. To serve these companies and, to a large extent, the Royal Pakistan Air Force, it is also proposed to establish, at Karachi, a company to carry out major overhaul and repair of aircraft, the training of mechanics and maintenance engineers, and such other common services as the Government and airlines may require. The Government will participate

financially in this enterprise and plans for the establishment of this company are now under active consideration of the Government.

You have referred to the difficulties experienced by your members on account of the uncertainty of booking restrictions. As you are aware, booking restrictions have been rendered necessary on account of coal shortage due to spasmodic and insufficient receipt from India. The North Western Railway has always endeavoured to move as much traffic as possible with their available resources. The movement of refugees placed a heavy strain on the Railway's capacity at a time when coal receipts were at their lowest, but in spite of these difficulties, essential goods, e.g. foodstuffs, kept on moving though restrictions had perforce to be imposed on the movement of goods carried under lower priorities. The Railways, however, relaxed restrictions to the extent possible whenever there was even a slight improvement in coal receipts, but whenever the coal position deteriorated restrictions were reimposed. In spite of the manifold difficulties created by inadequate supplies of coal from India, the refugee traffic, the numerous staff problems created by Partition, the Railway administration, as and when the position improved, restored the facilities which had to be curtailed from time to time. I hope that the Chamber would appreciate their efforts in keeping the rail transport going. There was some improvement in the coal position on the North Western Railway during February and March and, as you are aware, unrestricted booking was resumed with effect from 4th March in local bookings and from 12th April in foreign bookings. Unfortunately, coal supplies from India have been inadequate during April and, although some of the coal ordered from the U.S.A. has been received, stocks are dwindling. Representations have been made to India, and it is hoped that there will be no reimposition of the previous unfortunate restrictions, except those occasionally imposed for operational reasons.

As regards the complaint that the railway staff at stations are unaware of the restrictions imposed from time to time, I am advised that all restrictions are conveyed to stations immediately on their imposition. It is possible that in the early days after Partition, due to large-scale transfers of staff, there was a certain amount of disorganization resulting in incorrect information being furnished. The N.W. Railway has, however, taken suitable action to ensure that correct information relating to restrictions is conveyed to merchants.

As regards prepartition claims, I hope you are aware of the provisions of the Indian Independence` (Rights, Property and Liabilities) Order 1947, under which the liabilities and financial obligations of the Governor-General in Council, outstanding immediately before 15th August, 1947, devolved on the Dominion of India. The Pakistan Government have

already made the position in this respect clear in their Press Note of the 25th March, 1948. The matter is under correspondence with the Government of India and it is hoped that a settlement in regard to this outstanding question will be reached at an early date.

Reference has been made by you to the difficulties and anxieties which naturally spring from shortage of residential and office accommodation in this town. The Government of Pakistan have, subject to the approval of the Constituent Assembly,[6] decided to locate the permanent capital of Pakistan at Karachi. Detailed planning of the layout will take some time but this should not delay construction of some residential accommodation. In this field, as in many others, Gentlemen, you have a big contribution to make. There are vast open areas where buildings could, with advantage, be constructed. Building materials such as cement and stone are available in abundance, though steel and timber are rather scarce. All the same, my Government would like to see the business community take up a programme of large-scale building construction in Karachi.

Mr. Chairman, commerce and trade are the very life-blood of the nation. I can no more visualize a Pakistan without traders than I can one without cultivators or civil servants. I have no doubt that in Pakistan, traders and merchants will always be welcome and that they, in building up their own fortunes, will not forget their social responsibility for a fair and square deal to one and all, big and small. Government have for some time been perturbed over the constantly rising spiral of prices of the necessities of life in Pakistan. They are now engaged in a study of how best the spiral could be broken and prices brought down. I have little doubt that my Government can confidently count on your full support in every measure they may decide to take to achieve this object.

Commerce, Gentlemen, is more international than culture and it behoves you to behave in such a way that the power and prestige of Pakistan gain added strength from every act of yours. I have no doubt the commerce of Pakistan would be an effective instrument in the establishment and maintenance of high standards of business integrity and practice. If Pakistan goods are to establish for themselves a reputation all their own, a beginning must be made now and here. I assure you, Gentlemen, that anything my Government can do to achieve this end they shall do. I would like Pakistan to become a synonym and hallmark for standard and quality in the market places of the world.

Let me, Mr. Chairman, thank you once again for the honour you have done me in asking me to be the guest of your Chamber on this occasion. I wish you and your Chamber well in the many years that lie ahead of us and may you, as true Pakistanis, help to reconstruct and build

Pakistan to reach a mighty and glorious status amongst the comity [*sic*] of nations of the world, and let us pray that Pakistan will make its contribution for peace, happiness and prosperity of the world.

[1]English philosopher; died 1626.
[2]In Greek mythology, a monster with one hundred eyes.
[3]In Greek mythology, a three hundred-handed and fifty-headed giant
[4]The Bombay airport.
[5]Enclosure to Annex to Appendix VI, Vol. V, 632-8.
[6]Approved on 22 May 1948. See Enclosure to Appendix II.11.

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Mohammad Amin Khan Khoso to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 120 (Vol. I)-GG/187-9

KARACHI,
27 April 1948

Quaid-i-Azam,

In dismissing Khuhro[1] you have really earned blessing of all true friends of Sindh. Sindh cannot have better friends than yourself and H.E. Ghulam Hussain. Hope you have saved us from complete destruction by this timely action. May I humbly request you to see that mischief-mongers do not exploit present situation and that your action is fully explained to the outsiders who do not know real intentions of Khuhro gang.

MOHAMMAD AMIN KHAN KHOSO

M. A. Khuhro, Sind Premier, was dismissed by the Governor-General on 26 April on charges of gross misconduct. See the *Pakistan Times*, 27 April 1948.

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H. L. Hill to S. M. Yusuf

F. 120 (Vol. V)-GG/9

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS,
RAWALPINDI,
27 April 1948

Dear Sir,

I would be grateful if you would bring the enclosed appeal to the notice of Quaid-i-Azam for favourable consideration, and do what

else you can to give this appeal publicity.

Yours sincerely,
H. L. HILL
Brigadier
President, St. Faith's Home for Children

Enclosure to No. 320

F. 120 (Vol. V)-GG/10

ST. FAITH'S HOME FOR
CHILDREN,
RAWALPINDI,
26 April 1948

Dear friend,

This is an appeal to your charity on behalf of this Home for Children.

It was started five years ago in Lahore by the C.E.M.S. to look after destitute and stray Christian children. It commenced with ten rupees and a fund of love and charitable goodwill. It takes in children of any age up to nine years, and afterwards places them in various mission schools.

Thanks to the charitable response of many, this Home has progressed successfully, and in its peak period, dealt with as many as forty-six children in one year. It is supported by the Diocese of Lahore.

Having no permanent accommodation it was moved to Murree and is now temporarily housed in Christ Church Vicarage, Rawalpindi.

There are at present twenty children in the Home, ranging from nine months to nine years of age. They are all well and happy, and those of age attend the Station School, Rawalpindi.

Efforts are now being made to establish the Home on a regular basis. It requires permanent accommodation and endowment, besides funds for current expenses.

These children belong to Pakistan, so I have no hesitation in appealing beyond the Christian population to the entire public of this Dominion, as well as to those who have served here in the past.

Contributions will be gratefully received by Deaconess Dorothy, Cathedral High School, Lahore, or the undersigned.

This is truly a worthy cause.

Yours sincerely,
H.L. HILL

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M. A. Jinnah to Francis Mudie

F. 46 (II)-GG/11-2

28 April 1948

Dear Sir Francis,

I am in receipt of your letter dated the 19th of April 48,[1] and also your previous communications, and I have given my full consideration to all that you say. Since then, I had an opportunity of discussing matters relating to the West Punjab with the leaders who had come to Karachi on the 24th, and my last talk with them was today. At present all I can say to you is that my reaction is that things are hopeful.

I am coming to Abbottabad and after I have finished with the programme which is the immediate object of my visit, I propose to stay on for the 7th and thereafter, and I have purposely not fixed my programme as to when I shall return in order that I may be there with you and help in every way I can to put Punjab on a better footing if possible, so that there should be complete co-ordination between the Governor, the Ministers *inter se* and [the] Ministry *vis-a-vis* the Governor and the administration and services and the people outside generally.

I hope you will be there and make arrangements for your staying on until we are able to find a satisfactory solution of the Punjab situation and the problems[2] that are facing us.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Not traceable.
[2]See Annexes I to IV.

Annex I to No. 321

F. 46 (II)-GG/25-6

West Punjab Ministerial Crisis: Daultana and Shaukat Resign: Premier Summons Party Meeting[1]

LAHORE, May 28: Two Ministers of the West Punjab Mian Mumtaz Daultana, Finance Minister, and Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan, Revenue Minister, today resigned from the Cabinet. It is understood that their resignations have been accepted.

Following the resignations the Premier, Khan Iftikhar Husain Khan [Mamdot], has summoned a meeting of the Muslim League Assembly Party on Tuesday, June 1, at 9-30 a.m. at the Assembly Chamber, to

review the situation.

The Ministerial crisis had been brewing for the last two months. Both Ministers had originally threatened to resign from the Cabinet soon after the last budget session on the joint plea that under the leadership of Khan Iftikhar Husain Khan, the Ministry was functioning in "a most irregular and haphazard manner and that they had failed to discharge their duties towards their people."

They had been, however, persuaded to stay on in the Cabinet by various factors striving to iron out the mutual angularities.

In spite of their several conferences with the Quaid-i-Azam, with Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, and among themselves, both in Karachi and Lahore, the West Punjab Ministers failed to weld themselves together in a single unit and their differences finally crystallised in one-half of the Cabinet going out.

DAULTANA'S STATEMENT

Mian Mumtaz Daultana, in a 1500-word press statement on the reasons for his resignation from the Ministry, said:

I submitted my resignation from the Ministership in a formal letter to the Premier in the first week of April. My reasons for wishing to be relieved of my Cabinet responsibilities were as follows:

1. In my view the present Ministry had no clear programme. It had never attempted to formulate an integrated policy on any matter of national importance, and it had no defined objectives towards which it wanted to lead the people or by the light of which it proposed to shape their destiny.

Consequently, the day-to-day administration of the Province in the present period of gravest national crisis was a confusion of vague, ill-conceived and frequently divided purposes and cross-purposes.

2. There was no attempt made to subject the Cabinet Ministers in their departmental work to any supervision or discipline which would lead to an integration in the work of Government. Each was master in his own field and went his own way. This further aggravated the indeterminateness of a common policy.

The machinery of administration was allowed to degenerate through lack of discipline and an absence of strength or seriousness in its control. Corruption and insubordination grew apace and no attempt was made to check it.

At the same time the best officials felt that they had no security or certainty, because they were frequently transferred and shifted about at the behest of individuals.

Similarly, the Government did not attempt to distinguish the honest and dishonest, the competent and incompetent officials with the

result that the will to work and the fear of punishment was blurred in all of them.

Most fatal of all, a popularly constituted Government, drawing its all and only support from public opinion, had lost all contact with the people.

No attempt was ever made to place the difficulties of the Government before the people, to arouse the people to a sober and all-out national effort, or to create an atmosphere of popular confidence and trust, in which alone a Ministry in the present circumstances could fruitfully function.

All connection of the Muslim League Ministry with the Muslim League organization was severed, which led to the weakened [*sic*] and demoralization of both.

A combination of these defects have [*sic*] led to the present evils of which almost every single citizen in the province is despairingly conscious. The Ministry is no longer trusted by the people, it has lost the respect and discipline of its subordinate staff, and it is openly held up to ridicule by all who would comment on it.

This has resulted in a complete mishandling of the refugee problem, an unprecedented increase in corruption and nepotism, and an inability among the people to make a united effort towards national progress sustained by high morale.

I had made frequent attempts to bring these defects to the notice of the Premier and I had suggested such remedies as come to my mind. No effort was made to give serious thought to my suggestions.

At last when I realized that my presence in the Cabinet was not likely to affect the policy or administration of the Government in any way and that by staying in the Cabinet I had no contribution to make to the national effort, I submitted my resignation to the Premier.

I was, however, directed not to take any step till we had sought the advice of our political leaders in Karachi, and I felt I was bound both by sentiment and by discipline to reject this instruction.

I would like to make it clear that at no time was I instructed by the Quaid-i-Azam or by Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan to stay on in the present Punjab Cabinet.

I did, however, at a stage, when it appeared that it was being contemplated that I may take Khan Iftikhar Husain's place as Premier of the Province, come to a decision after full consultation with Khan Iftikhar Husain Khan, that I was prepared to remain in the present Cabinet provided that Iftikhar Husain Khan showed determination to make an all-out effort to improve matters within a reasonably prescribed time.

I have now resigned from the West Punjab Cabinet, for all the reasons which compelled me to submit my resignation in April last

are as true today as they were then.

If anything, they have been further aggravated, and our determination to battle them has further weakened.

SHAUKAT HYAT'S STATEMENT

Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan in his statement said: "With the establishment of Pakistan I accepted a seat in the West Punjab Cabinet to make my humble contribution in mobilizing the people and the administration to solve the vital problems after the partition and the terrible happenings in the East Punjab.

I have not spared myself in the effort and have devoted myself, to the best of my capacity, to the task which I had undertaken.

After several months' strenuous effort, however, it became painfully clear to me, as it did to many others, that, notwithstanding the best of intentions, the present set-up of the Ministry was not helping towards a satisfactory solution of the vital problems before us and that its inability to do so was leading to increasing confusion, administrative chaos and popular discontent.

The main reasons for this unfortunate state of affairs were lack of co-ordination within the Ministry and in the administration and the absence of proper liaison between the Ministry and public opinion.

The problem of improving the state of affairs and putting the Province out of its disastrous consequences has been the subject of many discussions and long deliberations.

Some of us have had to bring it pointedly to the notice of the Premier that notwithstanding all goodwill, this serious situation could not be averted without strong, courageous and effective leadership which unfortunately has not been forthcoming.

Some of the best friends and well-wishers of this Province and of Pakistan, who can see things in their true perspective independently of personal considerations, emphasized their view that the only possible solution lay in an immediate change of leadership.

The choice before me was either to continue in office notwithstanding my conviction that matters could not improve and were likely to get worse in the existing circumstances, or to tender my resignation and thereby make myself free to tell the *millat* and the party why I could not fully discharge my responsibility as a Minister in the present set-up.

I have given this matter most anxious consideration, particularly in view of the acute state through which our nation is passing at this juncture. I have been constrained to adopt the second alternative and have

today tendered my resignation because the vital issues before the nation brook of [*sic*] no delay.

[1]The *Dawn*, 29 May 1948.

Annex II to No. 321

Mamdot Replies to Shaukat's and Daultana's Statements[1]

LAHORE, May 28: "It is a matter of great regret that two of my colleagues named Mian Mumtaz Mohammad Daultana and Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan have chosen to resign from my Cabinet at this critical juncture when everyone of us should have contributed his maximum endeavours towards solving the problems facing ourselves," said the West Punjab Premier, Khan Iftikhar Husain Khan of Mamdot, in a rejoinder issued late tonight to the statements of his two outgoing colleagues.

The West Punjab Premier added: "I would have avoided making a public statement before the Muslim League Assembly Party had met and considered the issues raised by my colleagues and their statements released to the press today. But since they have chosen to rush to the press, I have no alternative but to place bare facts before the public.

"It has been alleged that the Cabinet had no definite policy and programme. It is clear that the one fundamental policy before the Central Pakistan Cabinet as well as all the Provincial Cabinets is to build up, strengthen and consolidate the national State of Pakistan which the *Millat* has achieved after making enormous sacrifices unparalleled in history.

"As regards the programme for achieving this fundamental policy I think the constitutional position is quite clear that it is a matter of joint responsibility for all the Ministers. The soundness or otherwise of the programme is obviously a matter of credit or discredit for the Cabinet as a whole.

"It is surprising that knowing this constitutional position fully well, my colleagues have, after a period of nine and a half months, thought it fit to complain about the lack of suitable programme.

"As far as any radical or revolutionary programme is concerned everyone will agree that neither in Pakistan nor in the neighbouring Dominion of India Union could anyone in the present abnormal conditions even think of such a programme. The most that could be done at the moment was to devise schemes and plans and to chalk out a programme for the development of the province.

"I would like to point out that all the departments concerned with the development of the province, namely industries, irrigation, electricity, transport, agriculture, forests, co-operative and veterinary have

been in the charge of my two colleagues since the very beginning. The power of Finance which has intimate bearing on development was vested in one of the two colleagues, Mian Mumtaz Daultana, who also controlled food and civil supplies.

"It was primarily the duty of my two colleagues to formulate plans for the development of the province and to devise programmes for their implementation.

"Owing to my pre-occupation, my colleagues had the fullest opportunity and scope for showing their talents. I am astonished that instead of appreciating the free hand afforded by me to them they have tried to put the blame on me for not interfering in their work.

"My colleagues would have been justified in making their assertions if they had brought any schemes or plans before the Cabinet and the Cabinet had turned them down. Ever since the formation of the Cabinet only one plan concerning the nationalization of motor transport was brought before us and it was duly approved.

"An Act has already been passed by the Provincial Assembly for giving effect to it. There is no instance of any other plan or scheme having been sponsored by the colleagues which might have been delayed or rejected. It is regrettable that my colleagues should have laid blame at the door of the Cabinet, a matter which was primarily and solely their concern and responsibility.

"My colleagues have also referred to frequent transfer and shifting of officers at the behest of individuals. I am sure they would have hesitated in making such an allegation if they had only searched their own hearts before making it. I am pained to see that reference has also been made to corruption and nepotism. I need not say anything about this as I am sure that the public is fully aware of the real situation and the fact as to where the blame lies.

"My colleagues have also raised the question of contact between the Ministry and the people. I can state with confidence that as far as I am concerned, I have visited every important place in the province and contacted people and workers; listened to their grievances in private and public meetings, and done my utmost to afford redress.

"Ever since I headed the Cabinet I have endeavoured to reach all levels of the people even in the stormiest days. The touring done by me during the last nine months exceeds the total touring done by all my colleagues put together.

"Another sheet of my political life is the confidence reposed by the nation in my humble self. I depend on no *bradari* based on caste or clan. Nor have I ever tried to create a faction or a clique to advance my personal ends. Islam is the only *bradari* I recognize, Islam is my only "ism" and the

Muslim League is the only party to which I have steadfastly owed allegiance.

"I am proud of the fact that throughout the struggle for Pakistan I have fought as the most loyal lieutenant of the Quaid-i-Azam and I cherish this loyalty as one of the most valuable assets of my life.

"I am fully conscious that Premiership of the province in these abnormal days is by no means a bed of roses, nor is it a source of profit or material gain to me. Considerations of personal comfort would have induced me to seek escape from the arduous task assigned to me by the people through the League Assembly Party.

"I do not, however, shirk responsibility because I am convinced that the people need my services and I enjoy their fullest confidence. The moment I feel that they do not need me or I have lost their confidence in the slightest degree, I will have no hesitation in making room for the person who enjoys the confidence of the party.

"I appreciate the problems that confront the province, and I am fully determined to tackle them. But I am fully convinced that with the grace of *Allah* and the help and co-operation of the people we shall overcome all difficulties that beset our path.

"I earnestly appeal to one and all to eschew intrigues, close the ranks, and stand united in faith and discipline, so that by our common endeavours we may bring strength, prosperity and happiness to our province.

[1]The *Dawn*, 29 May 1948.

Annex III to No. 321
F. 46 (II)-GG/29

The West Punjab Gazette Extraordinary

LAHORE,
31 May 1948

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT

(GENERAL)

NOTIFICATION

29 May 1948

No. 2836-PP-48/23242—The Governor of West Punjab has been pleased to accept the resignations of the Hon'ble Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana and the Hon'ble Sardar Shaukat Hyat

Khan from his Council of Ministers.

S. GHIAS-UDDIN AHMED
Secretary to the Governor, West Punjab
H. A. MAJID
Chief Secretary to Government, West Punjab

Annex IV to No. 321
F. 46 (II)-GG/33

The West Punjab Gazette Extraordinary

LAHORE,
3 June 1948

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT

(GENERAL)

NOTIFICATION

3 June 1948

No. 2840-PP-438/23921—The Governor of West Punjab has been pleased to make the following allotment of portfolios among the members of his Council of Ministers:

The Honourable Khan Iftikhar Husain Khan of Mamdot, the portfolios of General Administration, Law and Order, Publicity, Rehabilitation, Local Bodies and Panchayats.

The Honourable Shaikh Karamat Ali, the portfolios of Industries, Co-operative Societies, and Education.

The Honourable Mian Muhammad Nur Ullah, the portfolios of Finance, Transport, and Jails.

The Honourable Major Syed Mubarik Ali Shah, the portfolios of Revenue and P. W. D., Irrigation, Building and Roads and Electricity.

The Honourable Mian Abdul Hamid Khan Dasti, the portfolios of Health, Civil Supplies, Agriculture, Veterinary and Forests.

S. GHIAS-UDDIN AHMED
Secretary to the Governor, West Punjab
H. A. MAJID
Chief Secretary to Government, West Punjab

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F. D. Piracha to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. I)-GG/92

P.O. NO. 456,
LAHORE,
28 April 1948

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

It is with great pleasure that we wish to bring to your notice the establishment in West Punjab of the "Pakistan Tanneries Limited". Our pleasure is all the greater because the Pakistan Tanneries Limited is the first large-scale tanning venture in the whole of Pakistan.

The tanning industry in West Pakistan has so far suffered disastrously due to lack of attention. Consequently, in spite of all necessary raw materials being available, there is no tanning industry in existence.

We fully realize that a programme of rapid industrialization alone can build and sustain this country. It is to realize and to attain this goal that we are striving to establish in West Pakistan the foundations of a full-fledged tanning industry.

Our plans are nearing maturity and we hope to set up our first tanning factory within the next few months on the main Lahore-Peshawar road, about 14 miles from Lahore.

There are many difficulties in our way, but we feel that our task would be easier and our burden lighter if your blessings were with us to spur us on. We hope we shall not be denied them. *Insha Allah,* with God's grace and your blessings we are certain we shall succeed in our work.

Yours sincerely,
F. D. PIRACHA
Managing Agent,
Pakistan Tanneries Limited

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Pir Illahi Bakhsh to M. A. Jinnah

F. 46 (III)-GG/1-2

KARACHI,
28 April 1948

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

As personally decided I am submitting the names of various candidates for the provincial ministerships. Having regard to honesty, efficiency and loyalty of each individual, I would give them the preferential rank as under:

1. *Mr. Mahomed Azam:* He is at present Chief Parliamentary Secretary. He is considered to be very honest, hardworking and an energetic young man. He is very loyal to the Muslim League. He is son of late Khan Bahadur Mahomed Ibrahim, *Vazir* of Khairpur State. I would give him first chance.
2. *Kazi Mohammad Akbar:* He is the man who defeated G. M. Syed. Is a young and energetic man. Has done good service for refugees at Hyderabad. He is at present a Parliamentary Secretary.
3. *Mir Bandchali Khan Talpur:* He is an ex-Minister. He is honest but of easy-going nature and very slow in the disposal of work. He had been changing sides even when he was a Minister under Shaikh Ghulam Hussain and late Mr. Allah Bakhsh.
4. *Mr. Mahmood Haroon*
5. *K. B. Haji Moula Bakhsh*

With respects,

Yours obediently,
PIR ILLAHI BAKHSH

324

M. A. Jinnah to Frederick Bourne

F. 221 (3)-GG/1

28 April 1948

Dear Sir Frederick,

With reference to our conversation during my stay in Dacca, I informed you that I will let you know as soon as possible with regard to

your position as Governor of Bengal. I have fully considered the whole matter and I am pleased to inform you that I have come to the conclusion that you should continue to be the Governor of East Bengal till March 1949, and I hope you will accept it. A formal letter of appointment will be sent to you in due course.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

His Excellency Sir Frederick Bourne,
KCSI, CIE, ICS
Government House, Dacca

The letter of appointment was sent on 18 May 1948. See F 221 (3)-GG/2. Not printed.

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Qazi Mohammad Isa to M. A. Jinnah

F. 614/5-6

PERSONAL/PRIVATE

204B E. I. LINES,
KARACHI,
29 April 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

You have forgiven the greatest opponents and even the enemies of the Muslim League and Pakistan and have given every one a chance to start afresh, but I still feel that I have not yet been forgiven. I have been the greatest victim of circumstances and I have suffered untold miseries and hardships. I have learnt a good deal in this period of hardship and trial and I am a wiser man now. I plead for forgiveness of the past omissions and implore you to tell me that you have really forgiven me.

God alone knows how I have been able to pull through all this period of suspense, but I endured all this in the hope that my Quaid-i-Azam would forgive his erring son.

I need not waste your precious time by narrating the way I worked all along for the cause which was so dear to us all, sparing none who had designs to harm us; the final test was the Kalat episode; Col. A.S. B. Shah would bear me out the part I played in that case. Though I had no approach to you but I always told Nawabzada Sahib and the Foreign Office how to deal with the man. The Khan had succeeded in winning over all the anti-Pakistan elements to his side but the one real block which he could not succeed to win over was the League block and

having failed in that, my friend, the Khan, went all round to scandalise me in the most clever manner and making many believe [*sic*] but I am grateful to God that it is he who stands exposed.

Even to-day under the new League our Province has enrolled the maximum number of members in proportion to its population; the Province was, is and shall always remain solidly with the Muslim League. I need not dwell on the meagre part I have played in this connection because it is all too well known to you. I feel that the mission you had entrusted me there, is over and I place myself at your disposal.

In spite of the fact that I have lost everything and that I am the most unhappy man, I feel I have enough energy in me to serve; entrust me with the most difficult job and I shall not spare myself. I shall never give you the chance to be disappointed in me again; just give me a chance; I am down; please pick me up and I do not want to say any more.

I am leaving for Quetta on the 1st.

With kindest regards,

Yours as ever,
Q. M. ISA

326

Agha Ghulam Nabi Pathan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120(Vol. V)-GG/104-9

NAPIER ROAD,
KARACHI,
30 April 1948

May it please Your Excellency,

The events of the last few days culminating in the dismissal of Mr. M. A. Khuhro from the Premiership of the Province and the proposed reshuffle of the Sind Ministry have given rise to hopes, all over Sind, of a real beginning of the long-awaited drive against corruption, in spite of many misgivings about other matters connected with the said events. But even these are being dimmed only because offenders, more notorious for their corrupt ways, appear to be well on the way to have a firmer grip on the public life of this backward Province.

While I must take this opportunity to pay to Your Excellency my respectful homage for the long-awaited beginning of the crusade against corruption, I deem it also my duty as your loyal and devoted follower to place the following facts and suggestions in the hope that the same

will receive due and timely consideration so that the hard task undertaken by you may have a fair chance of success.

As far as can be seen by the man-in-the–street, it appears that the two gentlemen, Pir Illahi Bakhsh and Mir Ghulam Ali Khan, are to have a fresh and more formidable lease of public life as a result of the reshuffle of the Sind Ministry that is expected to take place in a couple of days. In view of the fact that both these gentlemen have played a conspicuous part in bringing about the present situation for patently selfish purposes as also because of their past career which is an unmitigated record of corruption of a foul type, much worse[1] than that of any others in their position, it is idle to expect the masses to take this anti-corruption drive seriously if these two gentlemen are allowed to escape enquiry and due punishment and instead they continue to dominate the Province as before.

I am prepared to submit a detailed list of the numerous well-known charges of corruption against both of these gentlemen if I am given an opportunity to do so. For the purposes of this letter, I beg to give here below only a few facts that should suffice to make out what would be a prima facie case of summary action against them.

Pir Illahi Bakhsh was a pauper only ten years ago before he became a Minister. Today he is master of lakhs and owns large areas of valuable land. His garden of 30 acres at his village has been built entirely at Government cost. He and his sons have direct and indirect interests in several business concerns such as Pakistan Copra Mills (for which a special quota of *copra* has been ensured), forest contracts in several districts, public transport routes in Dadu District, as also purchasing agencies for several places in that district. Only last year, he made thousands by charging every Hindu student three thousand rupees for admission to Dow Medical College.

Mir Ghulam Ali's public career has been an unbroken tale of self-aggrandisement, public oppression and favouritism at the cost of Government and also of the people at large. Thousands of poor *haris* have suffered untold misery at his hands and have been deprived of their proprietary rights as *Makhadeems* in the Mir's *Jagirs*. His interference, both in civil and criminal courts, has been an open scandal. His favourites, e.g. Pir Mahfooz and Ahmad Moosa as also Muhammad Marzooque, have made tons of money because of liberal permits of various nature and special quotas of controlled commodities issued to them by the Mir. He has also favoured them with purchasing agencies on Government's behalf only to provide them with means of making cheap money. Only half an hour's interview with Mr. R.R. Pearce, Director of Civil Supplies, Sind, would suffice to convince you of the

vast jobbery and corruption of which the Mir Sahib has been guilty. His regime of office as Minister will long be remembered for the vast scale on which smuggling, black-marketing and making of money by a few personal friends and relations have been carried on in the Province.

Your most obedient servant,
GHULAM NABI
General Secretary,
Sind Provincial Muslim League

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Fazl Mohammad Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. V)-GG/41-67

569 GARDEN EAST,
MODEL COLONY,
KARACHI NO. 5,
30 April 1948

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Kindly excuse my taking the liberty of addressing this appeal to you. My object is to request you to consider certain suggestions which I am submitting as my humble contribution to the service of Pakistan. I have had, for some time, a mental and moral urge to do so. I am sure there are many Muslims in Pakistan whose minds have been working on these lines.

2. My suggestions concern various aspects and spheres of Muslim life and are mostly constructive. However, to some extent, I have had to adopt the direct method of pointing out the chinks in our armour, and to that extent, I have made suggestions for repairing these chinks. It is not at all pleasant to point out our own weaknesses, but I am doing it, with apologies to all concerned, for the sincere and true service of not only Pakistan but also of the whole Muslim world....

3. In order to reach a larger section of our people, I have expressed my ideas in Urdu and they are being placed before the public shortly in the form of a book. However, for your convenience, I am giving, in this appeal in English, a brief resume of my ideas. This appeal also will go into the book.

4. The very fact that you have performed the miracle of achieving Pakistan, at a small cost, places on your shoulders the responsibility of making Pakistan a real Pakistan. In my humble opinion, your responsibility does not end there. As has been often repeated, Pakistan is the

fifth largest State of the world and also the first largest [*sic*] Muslim State. This means more responsibility, particularly for you. As the eldest brother of the Muslims of the world, it is, in my humble opinion, your duty to take advantage of the present psychological and political situation, and make use of this unique opportunity which the Great God has given you, and give the Muslims of the whole world the right lead, and bring them back to the right path (*Siraat-i-mustaqim*), and thus make the *Millat-i-Islamia* of the whole world really strong.

[*Para 5 omitted*]

6. All these efforts are necessary, and so are the schemes of industrial expansion and other schemes of development and reconstruction, which are being launched in Pakistan.... In addition, we have had to begin from the very beginning, and we are weak in every respect except one, viz. enthusiasm. But human enthusiasm, as we know, does not last very long. We have to take advantage of it immediately, otherwise it will be too late. It is well-known that we are weak materially and morally. Unless we take up both material and moral reconstruction simultaneously, we cannot be really successful.... Our greatest misfortune is that for centuries we have been living in un-Islamic surroundings and under anti-Islamic influences, and our educated classes (which include the leaders and the officials) have undergone an education which is different in some important essentials from the education which we are planning to give to future generations in Pakistan....

7.... It is well-known that the enemies of Pakistan are working day and night against us in a relentless manner. We cannot afford to wait. It cannot be gainsaid that the real strength of Pakistan depends more on the strength of the character of its citizens than on anything else. It is also well-known that corruption, selfishness, disunity, provincialism, petty jealousies and other low practices are as rampant among us as ever before, or perhaps more than before....

8. At this stage, I consider it necessary to make a pointed reference to certain special traits or features of Muslim character and also their deep relation to the present extraordinary political and psychological situation. One special feature of the character of Muslims is that suffering improves them, emergency brings out the best in them, and they become better in every respect when they are in trouble. Another special feature of their character is that an Islamic appeal goes direct to their hearts under all circumstances. When they are reminded of God's Godliness and His Oneness (*La Ilaha Illallah*) and also that they are followers of the Prophet (blessings on him) and that their Holy Book is the *Qur'an,* this appeal never fails....

9. We are equally fortunate in having as our leader, the greatest man of the age, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, who has not only achieved Pakistan for us, but who has also infused enthusiasm into his colleagues and the whole rank and file of the *millat*. On the other side our misfortunes have also been great. Lakhs and lakhs of Muslim lives have been lost. Millions had to leave their homes under heart-rending conditions. Lakhs of these *muhajireen* died of starvation, disease, and also of violence during their extremely difficult and dangerous journeys to Pakistan. Thousands of women were abducted, dishonoured and killed and countless children were murdered. The value of lost property, movable and immovable, goes to astronomical figures. Kashmir and Junagadh have been invaded and ravaged. Hundreds of other troubles and losses have been inflicted on us. The colossal refugee problem has affected directly or indirectly the life of almost every person and every home in Pakistan. The social and economic life of crores of Muslims inside and outside Pakistan has been upset in various ways and to varying degrees.

[*Paras 10 to 21 omitted*]

22. Another important problem for Pakistan is the future constitution of the State. In the first place we must unlearn the un-Islamic idea that the State has no religion. It may be true in non-Muslim countries, but Islam cannot brook this idea. Under Islam, one cannot separate religion from life. Islam is a code for the regulation of everything in life, from the lowest detail to the highest matters of State. The present constitution which has come down to us from the old Government of India is un-Islamic, and, therefore, it has to be recast on Islamic lines. The present Governments in Pakistan came into existence under the old system. Many people are already objecting to their continuance in office. However, they have some very good excuses for carrying on the administration for the present. Firstly, the colossal refugee problem was fraudulently and violently thrust on us immediately after the establishment of Pakistan. Secondly, several other fraudulent and violent acts have been directed against Pakistan in quick succession. We find ourselves in the midst of a gigantic struggle. It would, therefore, be extremely unwise and dangerous to change horses in mid-stream. I am sure the present Governments will not continue in office longer than is absolutely necessary. At the same time, one might expect the pace of constitution-making to be expedited a little more, so that new governments might come into existence as a result of the next elections which are expected to take place under an Islamic system. I am sure that this great problem will be solved in due course.... It is well-known

that a nation gets a government which it deserves. For the future, we must always remember that if we are honest, we deserve to have a good government and good officials, and we shall have them; and if we are dishonest, we deserve to have a bad government and corrupt officials, and we shall have them.

[Para 23 omitted]

24. Now I proceed to give my suggestions:

ADVISORY COUNCILS

Advisory Councils or Councils of Elders be constituted as early as possible, one for the Central Government and one each for the Provincial Governments. There is no doubt that Governments and Assemblies consist of those representatives of the people who are duly elected. But the persons considered to be suitable for these Councils are not likely to enter the political arena....

ELECTIONS

The property, income and other qualifications of voters and candidates be completely abolished. Every sane adult, male or female, be given the right to vote or to stand for election to any Legislative Assembly or any other Elective Body. Constituencies be re-cast to suit present conditions.

The following acts should be considered to be criminal offences punishable with imprisonment, otherwise corruption is likely to vitiate the elections:

a. Public, private or secret canvassing by any person in his own favour or in favour of another person.
b. Buying or selling, or attempts at buying or selling, a vote or votes.
c. Transporting or feeding a voter or voters for securing his or their votes.
d. Acquisition, or attempt at acquisition, of a vote or votes by persuasion, coercion, or any other unfair means.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Early action be taken to make religious education compulsory for Muslims in all existing schools and colleges. Suitable books for this purpose already exist in Aligarh, Lahore and Hyderabad, Deccan. Another set of text-books may, if necessary, be prepared with the help of the existing books.

Religious education be made compulsory....

N.B. Only practical religion and the Islamic Code of Ethics be taught. Controversial points are to be avoided.

Training schools for preachers be established at Karachi, Lahore, Peshawar, Quetta and Dacca.

Preachers be appointed throughout Pakistan for the regeneration of Islam.

A regular course of study and practical training be prepared for the preachers training schools.

The Collectors and the Heads of Department be required to supervise the work of preachers and be made responsible for the practical regeneration of Islam within their jurisdiction. This includes Local Boards, Municipal Committees and Corporations....

TECHNICAL, VOCATIONAL AND PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION

Arrangements for technical and vocational education be made at every suitable centre, so that it may be possible for students to take up a technical or vocational line after the first four years of general education.

Provision be made for the guidance of students at various stages of study to help them to choose suitable vocations, occupations and professions.

Special arrangements be made in Pakistan for training young men in Accounts and Banking.

Special scholarships be offered for the training of Chartered Accountants in foreign countries.

Special scholarships be offered to suitable students in Engineering (Mechanical, Electrical and Civil), Medicine and Technology for higher studies and for specialisation at well-known centres in Europe and America.

Early action is recommended for the further development of Agricultural Research work at Lyallpur [now Faisalabad].

Suitable veterinary graduates be selected for further study in Europe and America.

A special provision be made in the budget at the Centre and in each Province to meet the expenditure on special training or higher studies in foreign countries for the benefit and service of Pakistan.

Military training be made compulsory for all physically fit boys in high schools and colleges.

Military training be provided for as an optional subject in all high schools and colleges for girls.

Nursing and First Aid be made compulsory in all high schools and colleges for girls.

Selection of students for scholarships be made by competition always. The results of university examinations may be used for this purpose, whenever and wherever it is possible.

PHYSICAL CULTURE

To encourage physical culture in schools and colleges, tournaments in various games and sports including wrestling be held by Educational authorities at regular intervals in all districts, divisions and provinces.

Physical culture be encouraged among the masses by holding, at regular intervals, tournaments including wrestling open to the public.

BUSINESS TRAINING

It is very desirable to encourage educated young Muslims to take to

business. For the purpose of making suitable arrangements for their training, organisations, consisting of representatives of chambers of commerce and Government, be set up at Karachi, Lahore, Peshawar, Quetta, Dacca and other suitable places.

DEFENCE

Military service for at least three years be made compulsory for every physically fit male. Those who have undergone military training in a high school or a college for at least three years may be exempted.

Training in nursing and first aid be encouraged among the women of Pakistan by means of scholarships.

In order to build up a reserve for an emergency, recruitment to the Army, Navy and the Air Force be carried on in Pakistan as was being done during World War II.

COMMUNICATIONS

The programme of the development of communications should particularly include communications with other Muslim countries. Full advantage be taken of the fact that a long belt of Muslim countries extends from Indonesia by sea and air to eastern Pakistan and from there by sea and air to western Pakistan and from there by land, sea and air, right up to the Atlantic.

HEALTH

Suitable local organisations be set up at various places for looking after the health of the masses.

Suitable measures be adopted by health organisations for the segregation and treatment of persons suffering from contagious and infectious diseases.

EXTERNAL RELATIONS

.... Our relations with Muslim countries ought to be based on the principle of Islamic brotherhood, and are therefore expected to be more intimate than the usual diplomatic relations. Our relations with non-Muslim countries will be based on peace and goodwill and will be guided by the political and commercial interests of both sides....

The two-nation theory, which has brought about the existence of Pakistan in this sub-continent, is applicable to other parts of the world also. The central or basic idea is that Muslims are a nation apart from other nations, and that they cannot form one nation with any other nation....

It is the duty of Pakistan to carry the two-nation theory into practice in Pakistan as well as in other parts of the world, and make Muslims true Muslims all over the globe. It is a mission for the regeneration of Islam....

In carrying out the programmes suggested above, we should not forget that the ties of Islamic brotherhood all over the world will naturally become stronger and stronger every day. From now onwards, we should aim at the formation of a United Muslim Nations Organisation as early as possible. The Muslim nations which are members of the present United Nations Organisation may continue to be members of that Organisation. At the same time, we should have a separate organisation for Muslim Nations. It will be very helpful to the establishment of peace in this world, and it will also safeguard the interests of Muslims all over the world and will make them really united and strong.... It may hold its sittings in different Muslim countries wherever they are invited to do so.

Propaganda in favour of the establishment of a United Muslim Nations Organisation may be started as soon as the Karachi Broadcasting Station begins functioning....

MISCELLANEOUS

Special measures be adopted or special laws be passed for the prevention of extravagance and waste among Muslims, especially at marriages and social functions.

Now I proceed to suggest another programme which may make Muslims true Muslim all over the globe. One of the duties of a true Muslim is *Tabligh*. Islam is a great blessing. If we are blessed with Islam, it is our duty to try to extend this blessing to those who are not fortunate like us. In the past, we did not take full advantage of the very great opportunities offered to us in this sub-continent. The fault lies on our side. We did not set a good example by leading honest and pure lives like true Muslims. Therefore, we failed to discharge our duty of *Tabligh*. Now we have another opportunity although it is not so good as we had in the past....

[*Rest of the document omitted*]

Yours sincerely,
FAZL MOHAMMAD KHAN
ex-Director of Public Instruction, Hyderabad, Deccan

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Note by Anonym

F. 820/75-7

SECRET *Undated* [*April 1948*]

As Quaid-i-Azam is aware, the Governor, NWFP's responsibilities

are twofold: first, as constitutional Governor acting through his Ministers (and Legislature) for the administration of six settled districts, and second, as Governor-General's Agent for the Tribal Areas and Frontier States of Dir, Swat, Chitral and Amb.

2. The geographical position of NWFP links up its affairs with Afghanistan, Kashmir, Tibet and Central Asia while internally this Province forms the bulwark of Pakistan's defence and security.

3. The income of the Province (six settled districts) is about 60 to 80 lakh. Its expenditure is over two crore. The Province receives a subvention of rupees one crore from Pakistan Government. On the other hand, the Centre spends nearly nine crore on Tribal Areas and Frontier States for [which] Governor-General is responsible.

4. The administration of the six settled districts as well as tribal areas is fast deteriorating. It has been adversely affected by the following factors:

[*Sub-para (a) omitted*]

b. shortage of food, cloth and sugar. The Pathans cannot do without necessities of life for long.[1]
c. anti-Pakistan propaganda by Afghanistan
d. hostile attitude of Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his followers who are now acting as fifth-columnists in accordance with a set plan.
e. the unfortunate rift between Premier and Pir Sahib Manki Sharif.
f. the inefficiency of Muslim Pakistani officers and lack of devotion for Pakistan. The wholesale departure of British administrators has left a big void and we are now up against the difficulty of filling their places. There are not enough Pakistani officers to take over the posts left vacant by the departure of British officers.
g. absence of constructive and progressive nation-building programme, and lastly,
e. the absence of enlightened propaganda machinery

5. The people of NWFP are very sound at heart. But unfortunately their enthusiasm for Pakistan is not being sufficiently exploited. The Premier is a very honest, able and conscientious Pakistani. He is a pillar of strength for the administration but he is badly served. The Revenue Minister is very honest and a great devotee of Pakistan but his administrative ability is practically nil and his desire to look after the welfare of the inhabitants of his own Dist. (Hazara) does not permit the interest of Pathans sufficiently to come within his comprehension.

6. The following remedial measures are suggested:

a. appointment of a Governor who knows the Frontier and in whose efficiency, honesty and integrity the people have confidence. If

he is a Muslim he must be a proven devotee of Pakistan and must have the ability and aptitude to deal with administration and political problems of the Frontier.

b. evolution of a policy to deal with Abdul Ghaffar and his Red Shirts.
c. appointment of two Pathan Ministers. This would make the Ministry representative of the people. Failing this, it would be better to abolish the Ministry and the expensive Legislature temporarily and assuming powers under section 93 [*sic* for 92-A] of the Govt. of India Act [as adapted], but this should only be done as a last resort.
d. overhauling of the officer cadre and appointment of a suitable Director of Civil Supplies.
e. the Premier and Pir Sahib Manki Sharif might be told that by being at loggerheads with each other, they have already caused sufficient harm to their Province and the people. They should learn to submerge their differences in the common cause of Pakistan for which they are both working.
f. re-organization of Muslim League
g. re-organization of the Police, Frontier Constabulary, and the Civil Armed Forces with a view to making them effective instruments of Frontier policy.
h. transferring the responsibilities for the six districts of NWFP at the Centre, from the Ministry of Interior to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, so as to bring the whole Province under the purview of the Governor-General and to ensure uniformity in policy.
i. stationing of a branch of the Centre's Information Department at Peshawar, to counteract the effects of the Afghan and Red Shirts propaganda.

[*Sub-para (j) omitted*]

k. we must find an outlet for the patriotic enthusiasm of the progressive elements in the Province by associating non-official opinion in official committees which should be set up immediately for the following matters:
   i. re-organization of the civil and judicial administration
   ii. re-organization of the Police
   iii. industrial and cultural development
   iv. the *jirga* system
   v. grow more food campaign

These committees need not be confined to the members of the Provincial

Legislative [*sic*] but should be set up by the executive orders of the Cabinet under the guidance of the Centre.

7. I suggest, as an immediate step, [that] Quaid-i-Azam may consider announcing the appointment of Muslim jurists (*Qazis*) in each Political Agency, so that those who are ready to give up the settlement of their case by custom (or *riwaj*) should have the benefit of securing decision in accordance with the law of Islam.

8. In regard to the settled districts, Quaid-i-Azam may consider suggesting to Premier that there should be a weekly recitation of the *Qur'an* in the big mosques in the cities in each district to which all officials, big and small, must go. This will have a good psychological effect.

[1] See Annex I.

Annex I to No. 328

Paul H. Alling to George Marshall

U.S. National Archives 845 F. 00/4-3048

CONFIDENTIAL

AMERICAN EMBASSY,
KARACHI,
30 April 1948

No. 196

SUBJECT: MUSLIM LEAGUE ACTIVITY IN THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE DURING APRIL

Sir,

I have the honor to refer to the Embassy's despatches No. 164[1] and No. 185[2] dated April 13 and April 28, 1948, on the subject of political trends in the North-West Frontier Province, and to report the various steps taken by Muslim League leaders to assuage economic and political discontent in the North-West Frontier Province during the past month.

The month of April has brought forth a concerted drive on the part of the Muslim League to consolidate the party's position in the Frontier Province. Attention has been directed particularly to three basic sources of opposition, the potential political threat of the Khudai Khidmatgars or Congress party, the separatist sentiments of the Pathans, and widespread discontent over shortages and high prices. The energy with which each of these strongholds of disaffection has been attacked would seem to indicate that Muslim League leaders still view their position in the Frontier Province as somewhat insecure.

THE DRIVE AGAINST POLITICAL OPPOSITION

The success which the League met [with] recently in the first session

of the Frontier Assembly[3] since the beginning of the Qaiyum Khan Ministry was not entirely reassuring. Despite the League's wide parliamentary majority, which was unexpected by the League itself, the Opposition still contained the two most respected men on the frontier, Dr. Khan Saheb and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who together commanded a strong if not stronger popular following than the League itself. In recognition of this popularity the League has tried to win over these and other opposition leaders—by persuasion and threats, frequently coupled. Abdul Ghaffar Khan's oath of allegiance to Pakistan on February 28th has not been considered sufficient evidence of loyalty. He and Dr. Khan Saheb have been publicly and privately asked to join the Muslim League. The Frontier Premier, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, has made numerous demands for a final proof of loyalty. Several Central cabinet ministers, including the Prime Minister, the Finance Minister and the Communications Minister, have made fence-mending junkets [*sic*] to the Frontier Province recently. The Governor-General is known to have discussed this step with both opposition leaders on his recent tour to the Province. One confidential source, an advisor on Frontier affairs to the Central Government, states that Dr. Khan Saheb was given to understand that he would become the governor of the Province if he joined the League. (This same source volunteered the opinion that Dr. Khan Saheb is undoubtedly the best man who could be found for the position. No other Pakistani, he considered, has the requisite respect and experience). It is probably indicative of Dr. Khan Saheb's response that the duration of Sir Ambrose Dundas' appointment to the governorship has subsequently been extended to March 1949.

Abdul Ghaffar Khan's reactions to League overtures have been clear-cut. After his long interview with the Governor-General on April 15, the Red Shirt leader stated to the press that he had no quarrel with the Quaid-i-Azam but with "the people in power in the Frontier." He could not join the League, he said, because the Khudai Khidmatgars were the only party in Pakistan capable of selfless service; every other party consisted of self-seekers. Furthermore he believed that "the Kashmir question can yet be solved by love and a friendly approach."

In their speeches in the North-West Frontier Province, League leaders have always stressed the need for one-party unity and deprecated the "mushroom growth of splinter parties." At a recent Peshawar meeting Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Pakistan Communications Minister, expressed the opinion that: "Although we have turned the corner we are not yet out of danger. Our enemies are still at our door, their agents have already started creating unrest and dissatisfaction among the

masses." At the same meeting the Frontier Premier declared that: "We have repeatedly pointed out the necessity of having one and only one political party in Pakistan at this juncture. Those who still insist on continuing their old ways must realize that the government will not tolerate any quislings even if he were a big man like Abdul Ghaffar Khan. In the Frontier there will be only one flag, the flag of Pakistan; all other flags shall be pulled down by force." (The Red Shirts are still flying their own flag, though Abdul Ghaffar Khan has offered to give it up if other parties reciprocate.)

As a practical step towards unity, the Governor-General ordered the expansion of the two-man Frontier cabinet after his recent visit. The move was a response to discontent within the League over the paucity of political appointments. At the same time, it strengthened the cabinet against any possible reorganization of the opposition. As the cabinet now stands, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan holds the following ministries: Law and Order; Political and Police; Public Works; Legislative; Finance; Judicial; Information and Industries. Khan Abbas Khan holds the portfolio of Revenue, Civil Supplies and Agriculture. Mian Jaffar Shah is in charge of Education; Public Health; Jails and Local Self-Government. Mian Jaffar Shah was formerly one of Abdul Ghaffar Khan's principal aides. Last December he led six others out of the Red Shirt party and into the Muslim League. His present elevation obviously is intended to preclude any second change of heart.

The addition of a fourth member to the cabinet has also been considered, the decision reputedly depending "largely on the complexion of cooperation extended by Dr. Khan Saheb's party." Four parliamentary secretaries will also be created, in order to give more "representation" to Assembly members from the southern districts of the Province.

LEAGUE EFFORTS AGAINST FRONTIER SEPARATISM

Officials from the Central Government who have visited the North-West Frontier Province during the past month, including the Governor-General, have played above all else on the theme that "We must stand together," that each Muslim has a duty to support the (Central) state, that provincialism is the deadliest poison to Pakistan. The emphasis on loyalty to the Central Government is clearly an attempt to win attention away from the idea of Pathanistan or special local autonomy, of which nothing has been said. Despite past assurance from high Pakistan officials, no promises have been made during recent speeches to grant the Frontier Province any particular status distinguishing it from the other Pakistan provinces.

It is plain that the Central Government would have more difficulty with the Frontier province than any other if a radical centralization of government is attempted. Separatist feelings are ageless along the Frontier and it is doubtful that a few visits from outsiders will much change the Pathan's outlook. The *Civil and Military Gazette* (Lahore) in March published an article advocating a merger of the Frontier and West Punjab Province[s]. Dr. Khan Saheb publicly condemned the suggestion, or any other whereby the Frontier Province would lose its identity. Ghazi Attaullah Khan, also of the Opposition, on the same occasion defined his idea of Pathanistan as "Pathan province with complete provincial autonomy and defence, communications and foreign affairs resting with the Centre."

LEAGUE ACTION ON THE ECONOMIC FRONT

The most pressing problems to the majority of Frontier residents are shortages and high prices of food and clothing. For a variety of reasons the economic hardships of the Pathans have only increased since the inauguration of Pakistan. A genuine effort to eliminate this source of discontent appears to have begun during the past month, though various acts of the Budget Session of the Assembly were directed to alleviate economic hardships among the agricultural masses. On April 26 it was announced that the Central Government was "resolved to flush the Province with wheat and other foodgrains." In less spectacular language this meant that the Central Government had increased the provincial allocation of foodgrains from 3000 to 5000 tons per month over the next year. At the same time the Center put pressure on the provincial government to eliminate hoarding and black marketing. An ordinance against hoarding foodgrains (over a specified quantity) is expected to be promulgated in the near future. These measures will probably come too late to greatly alleviate the food situation in May. In June the new crops will begin to be harvested and the crisis in food supply should somewhat recede.

Respectfully yours,
PAUL H. ALLING

[1&3]Annex II.
[2]Not traceable.

Annex II to No. 328
Paul H. Alling to George Marshall

US National Archives, 845 F. 00/4-1348

RESTRICTED

AMERICAN EMBASSY,
KARACHI,
13 April 1948

No. 14

POLITICAL ALIGNMENTS IN THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE

I have the honor to refer to this Embassy's report No. 44,[1] dated March 22, 1948, outlining the budget proposed before the N.W.F.P. Legislative Assembly by the Premier, and to report the passage of this budget together with political developments disclosed during the budget session of the Assembly.

On March 29, three days before the beginning of the new fiscal year, the N.W.F.P. Assembly passed the budget for 1948-49. Due to the weakness of the Opposition, the budget as passed closely corresponded to that which had originally been proposed before the Assembly on March 17 by the Premier and Finance Minister, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan.

Interest in the proceedings of the budget session centered largely in the old and colorful feud which continued between the Muslim League and the Khudai Khidmatgars or Red Shirts. At the last elections to the Assembly, early in 1946, the Khudai Khidmatgars, affiliated with the Congress party, had won a majority in the Frontier Assembly. Since the elections sentiment had changed, so the Muslim League claimed, and the July 1947 Referendum on the issue of joining India or Pakistan had lent some color to the contention. In any case after the partition of India the Khan Sahib Ministry publicly displayed its hostility to the new regime and was summarily removed by the Governor [on] August 22, 1947, on grounds of disloyalty. It was replaced by a Muslim League ministry under Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan. This move was justified by Muslim Leaguers as "quite constitutional" in view of the results of the July Referendum.

Considerable doubt remained, nevertheless, as to the parliamentary position of the Muslim League in the Frontier Assembly. The recent budget session of the Assembly was significant, primarily in demonstrating the collapse of the Congress position in the Frontier Province and the undoubted parliamentary majority of the Muslim League there for the time being. Of the 50 elected members of the Assembly, 39 attended, and of these 25 voted with the Muslim League. The Khudai Khidamatgars numbered only 12. The one remaining member, and the only Hindu present, voted as an Independent. In parliamentary maneuvers

the Muslim League majority was decisive. All Opposition motions to deprive the administration of funds for specific purposes were defeated. On each basic political issue that was raised the Premier was ready with a devastating retort or a patronizing assurance. In regard to the republication of the Khudai Khidmatgar paper, *Pakhtoon*, which long has been banned by the Muslim League Ministry, the Premier reassured the Opposition that the government's position could be reconsidered only if a new editor were chosen.

Immediate causes for the recently-tested parliamentary strength of the Muslim League in the Frontier Province were the departure of some Assembly members for the Indian Union and the conversion of a number of other Opposition members to the Muslim League. The factor of conversion is considered particularly indicative of present trends in Frontier politics.

Apart from cases of direct defection, the Opposition has undoubtedly lost much of its general appeal over the last half year. Its main ideals had been freedom (from the British), the unity of India, and a measure of equalitarianism. Freedom had lost its political appeal when it became a reality, though it survived in an attenuated form in the Red Shirt demand for an independent Pathanistan. The attractiveness of Indian unity had progressively waned as communalism waxed—with the spread of communal disturbances early in 1947, the July Referendum and the Partition. It had completely collapsed when the Qaiyum Khan Ministry took office and the advocacy of unity became punishable as treason. To make the old ideal even more embarrassing, if possible, the Government of India carelessly issued a regulation requiring visas for Pathan tribesmen to enter India, a step which was generally headlined in the Pakistan press as "India's decision to treat Pathans as foreigners".

Given the growing realization that Pakistan had come to stay, equalitarianism alone of the main items of the Khudai Khidmatgars retained its significance. The final recognition and acceptance of this fact was embodied in Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's Oath of Allegiance to Pakistan in the Constituent Assembly, February 28, 1948, and in the formation under his leadership of the all Pakistan People's Party on March 5, 1948. The relation of the new party to the Khudai Khidmatgars has yet to be worked out at a convention to be held in May of this year, but it is entirely likely that the old party will prove to be a nucleus of the new.

[*Last two paras omitted*]

Respectfully yours,
PAUL H. ALLING

[1]Not traceable.

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Mohammad Qamaruddin Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. I)-GG/197-8

14 LOTIA BUILDING,
RAMBAGH ROAD,
KARACHI,
[*Undated*] *April 1948*

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I am an old League worker from U.P. and as a refugee have settled down in the *mofussil* of Sind and have been working for the welfare of the refugees. Recently I have toured the countryside and have reached conclusions which I wish to respectfully convey to you. The present Sind ministerial crisis and the quarrel between two sections of the Sind Cabinet are being interpreted by the Sind Muslims as products of the policy of divide and rule followed by the Centre, in the interest of the refugee population, who want more concessions and also cessation [*sic*] of Karachi from the Sind Province. This impression is undoubtedly wrong but all the same it does pervade the mind of almost every Sindhi Muslim. We have no means of removing it except by the Centre using its good offices to compose the differences among the Sind Ministers and thereby provide a practical proof of the fact that we, who have come from outside, are not dividing the Sind Muslims but are for knitting them together even when they fall out among themselves. This will go a long way to disarm the suspicions of the local Muslims in respect of the intentions of the refugees and the Centre.

I, therefore, respectfully urge that you, as the Father of Pakistan, will kindly intervene and put an end to this unfortunate crisis, for with suspicions rankling in the minds of the local population, the establishment of truly harmonious relations between them and the refugees seems difficult. In this connection if Your Excellency grants me a brief interview early, I will be in a position to supplement this with further facts.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
MOHAMMAD QAMARUDDIN KHAN
of Sherpore, UP

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Raj Mohamed to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. V)-GG/2

RASULPORE TARAR,
1 May 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

With my greatest respect, I beg to approach you to apprise you of an earnest desire of an overwhelming majority of the West Punjab Muslims.

The Khan of Mamdot, the most distinguished leader of the Punjab Muslims, took his present post at a time when the Punjab administration had been altogether weakened and the situation had deteriorated to such an extent that its revival appeared well-nigh impossible. The Khan had to do the pioneer work for restoration of law and order under circumstances when every effort seemed to be fruitless and any other person would have miserably failed to achieve the desired result. By his yeoman's service, by his undaunted courage, by his unflinching devotion to duty, and by dint of his integrity and farsightedness, the Khan managed to steer clear of the apparently insuperable difficulties under the most trying circumstances in the history of the province. How well he has succeeded is not hidden from you, and the Punjab Muslims look upon him as the only person gifted by nature to properly guide them at this juncture.

Similar is the case with M. Mumtaz Daultana. He too had rendered meritorious services to the province at a time when the situation, terrible as it was, would have unnerved any other person of lesser qualifications. His qualities of head and heart and his unparalleled energy eminently befit him for his present job. Both have worked as a team, and their united efforts have been crowned with splendid success.

May I, therefore, impress upon you that the earnestness of the Punjab situation demands that they should both conjointly work here for the administration of the Punjab Muslims and the betterment of the province. None of them can be spared for the Centre and in the absence of any of them, the Punjab machinery will come to a standstill with dire consequences, most detrimental to the future of the province. I most respectfully request that both of them should be allowed to remain where they are; the Khan [of Mamdot] as the Premier, and

Mumtaz [Daultana] as Minister under him.

With best respects,

I am,

Yours obediently,
RAJ MOHAMED
Parliamentary Secretary
[*to Minister for Education*]

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Mohammad Sarfaraz Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. I)-GG/185-6

BUDHA GORAYA,
SIALKOT,
1 May 1948

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

It is a matter of great pleasure and gratification to note that you are keeping yourself well-informed of the progress of events in the West Punjab. The Punjab Muslim League Assembly Party has full faith and confidence in its leader, Khan Iftikhar Husain Khan of Mamdot, who is well-known for his tolerance and statesmanship.

In these days of trial and turmoil, it is generally felt that the Khan of Mamdot and Mian Mumtaz Daultana are to cooperate whole-heartedly and act under your supervision and guidance. Once this period is over you may allow them to pursue their individual policies according to their lights. It is, too, a question of life and death for our community, and the secret of the strength of our party lies in the gravity of present situation. Our Ministers must realize that in unity lies the strength of our community.

You may very kindly remember me as a very humble man who offered himself as a soldier in the cause of the community at the time of annual session of the Provincial Muslim League at Sialkot when there was a breakaway from Khizar.[1] My family and myself are proud of that day.

I pray that the Almighty may grant you long life to guard and guide Pakistan.

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMAD SARFARAZ KHAN
MLA

[1] Malik Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana, Premier of the Punjab (Dec. 1942-March 1947).

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Nabi Bux Bhutto to M. A. Jinnah

F. 46 (III)-GG/3

BHUTTO VILLA,
LAWRENCE ROAD,
KARACHI,
1 May 1948

A'la Hazrat Quaid-i-Azam,

I take this opportunity of respectfully putting forward my case for a place in the Sind Cabinet, should such an idea meet with your approval. Last time, when I approached you, you were pleased to refer me to the Assembly Party. This time, I understand, the selection is to be finally made by you. If that is so, I am confident you will be graciously pleased to consider my case also.

I have been in the legislatures of this country since [*sic*] the last sixteen years—first in the Bombay Council, then in the Central Assembly, and now in the Sind Assembly. Educationally I claim to be on a par with many others in the field. I have had considerable administrative experience—having been the President of the Larkana District Board for nearly a decade. It was, by common consent, the most advanced and efficiently run local body in the entire province. I have also been Chairman of the District Board of Education for a long period of time.

I believe this time special emphasis is to be laid on honesty and integrity. That criterion, I venture to say, I can best answer. It is a very delicate point indeed. But what I would respectfully assure you of is that in my case human imagination, even in its worst and wildest moments, will not declare me to be susceptible to any corrupt influences. At least once, I feel I am entitled to have a trial. I am prepared to place my resignation in your hands in advance so that in case I do not justify your confidence and choice, you can at once replace me.

With respectful regards,

Yours obediently,
SARDAR N.B. BHUTTO
MLA

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Amjad Al Zahawi to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 120 (Vol. V)-GG/35

BAGHDAD,
1 May 1948

In response to call for holy war and defence Al'Aqsa Mosque Baghdad religious leaders solicit Your Excellency rescue Palestine with money, arms, men.[1]

AMJAD AL ZAHAWI

[1]For a brief background to the partition of Palestine and the emergence of Israel in 1948, in the face of implacable and violent opposition by the Arabs who had been smarting from a deep sense of betrayal by Britain, see Introduction to Volume VI, xxii-xxiv

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Girja Shanker Bajpai to M. Ikramullah

Telegram, F. 125 (2)-GG/17

CONFIDENTIAL/IMMEDIATE *1 May 1948*

Your telegram No. 1614 of April 30th.[1] Justice [Mohammad] Ismail's appointment.[2] Government of India's concurrence[3] in the appointment was communicated to Pakistan High Commissioner yesterday.

[1]Not traceable.
[2]As Pakistan's High Commissioner in New Delhi.
[3]Not traceable.

335

M. Ikramullah to S. M. Yusuf

F. 125 (21) GG/1

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
AND COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS,
KARACHI,
3 May 1948

My dear Yusuf,

Will you kindly refer to Parep, Cairo's telegram No. 395 dated 2nd

May 1948,[1] in which he has communicated King Ibn Saud's[2] proposal to establish a Legation in Pakistan and has mentioned the name of Syed Abdul Hamid el-Khatib for appointment as Minister.

2. I have consulted the Prime Minister who suggests that the proposal should be accepted.

3. I may further mention that it was our original proposal that our Ambassador to Egypt should also be a Minister to Saudi Arabia and if Quaid-i-Azam approves, I would take further action to have Haji Abdus Sattar Saith appointed as our Minister to Saudi Arabia, in addition to being our Ambassador to Egypt. This is what is being done by other countries in view of the difficulty of accommodation in Jeddah. We will have to keep a Consulate in Jeddah and later on you may have a Charge d'Affaires there. If Quaid-i-Azam approves these proposals,[3] I shall take further action.

Yours sincerely,

M. IKRAMULLAH

[1]F. 125 (21)-GG/2. Not printed.
[2]King Abdul Aziz Ibn Abd al-Rahman of Saudi Arabia was known as Ibn Saud.
[3]S. M. Yusuf conveyed Jinnah's approval to the proposals. See F. 125 (21)-GG/3. Not printed.

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M. A. Jinnah to C. Rajagopalachari

Telegram, F. 65 (6)-GG/1

PERSONAL *4 May 1948*

Governor, West Bengal, Calcutta
Personal for Mr. Rajagopalachari

My warm congratulations on your appointment as Governor-General, Indian Dominion. Under your guidance I hope will come real friendship between the two Dominions. It is no less essential to India than to Pakistan.

M. A. JINNAH

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C. Rajagopalachari to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F.65 (6)-GG/2

MOST IMMEDIATE/PERSONAL

CALCUTTA,
5 May 1948

Personal for Mr. Jinnah

My grateful thanks for your message.[1] I have no doubt in my mind about the essentiality of utmost friendship and mutual help between India and Pakistan. I am glad you insist on it in such clear terms.

All understanding will come out of mutual trust and cooperation. India and Pakistan each needs the other absolutely. Your message has heartened me.

RAJAGOPALACHARI

[1]No. 336.

338

Amir Shah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. V)-GG/235

BICKETGUNJ, MARDAN,
5 May 1948

Quaid-i-Azam,

Reference your telegram of the 29th April 1948,[1] in reply of my telegram of the 25th May 1948[2] [*sic*].

I intended to see and place before you a detailed sketch of the grievances of the *zamindars* over here at Kakul. But, unfortunately, I have been deprived of this opportunity due to the cancellation of your tour of this area.

Herewith is submitted a brief memorandum regarding those grievances for favour of your kind perusal and necessary action. If God wished, and I'm given another chance to see you, I will place before

you a very clear and vivid picture (*Insha Allah*) of the situation in this Province.

I have the honour to be,
Quaid-i-Azam,
Your most obedient servant,
MIRZA AMIR SHAH

[1&2]Not traceable.

Enclosure to No. 338

F. 120 (Vol. V)-GG/236-7

Quaid-i-Azam,

I feel immense pleasure in paying my homage and fidelity personally to the great benefactor of the impoverished and down-trodden Muslim nation of this great subcontinent. It is with this unshakeable faith and determination that the regenerated community's heart goes out in prayer to Almighty for giving you long life and health to witness the completion of the lofty edifice of an Islamic State.

2. I come from *Ilaqa* Yousafzai of the Mardan District to put in the grievances of the petty *zamindars* which had been so prophetically foreshadowed in your famous Presidential Address in the All India [Muslim] League session at Delhi as under:

> I warn the aristrocracy that they should go with the public and that they should not go in to [*sic*] them and if they don't then it is possible that God may forgive them but the people won't.

3. The Mardan District is well-known for its reputed capitalistic class and the tyrannies that they perpetrate on the landless *zamindars* [*sic*] and petty proprietors with the consequence that Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan succeeded in capturing the entire District for the Congress. The Afghans got a rude shock subsequently after experiencing the unhappy drift of the Khan towards Hindu leanings [*sic*] and the Kamalzai bye-election, which was trumpeted by Dr. Khan Sahib to demonstrate the Afghan leanings towards Congress, met his Waterloo when he experienced the biggest defeat of his life and this paved the way for another defeat of the Congress in the recent Referendum.

4. It was anticipated that after the ushering [in] of the new Islamic State the past legacy of jobbery, corruption and nepotism would go, but to the agony of these dumb and mute millions the vice is on [*sic*] the ascendant. The above malpractices have been equally testified by you in the open meetings addressed by you in the recent Frontier tour.

5. This sad state of affairs has unwittingly given another opportunity to the detractors of Pakistan to poison the mind of the unwary public. So it is this background which throbs [*sic*] the heart of a well-wisher of Pakistan to suggest that key positions held by corrupt gazetted officials be replaced and fresh blood from the non-official category be infused so as to inspire confidence. In this respect the newly appointed Custodians of the evacuee property deserve a priority and special attention, for owing to the indiscreet and unpatriotic actions of the said officials the Pakistan Government is incurring permanent loss, besides a bad name to the new set-up.

6. I hope and trust that under the wise and sagacious guidance of the Quaid-i-Azam, the advice tendered would be duly heeded, and thereby facilitating the removal of the misunderstandings created between the public and the government, and open new avenues for the solidarity and healthy growth of an orderly, stable and prosperous government.

I have the honour to be,
Quaid-i-Azam,
Your most obedient servant,
MIRZA AMIR SHAH

339

Maulvi Abdul Haq to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. V)-GG/113

SHARDA MANDAR,
DIANAND SARSWATI ROAD,
KARACHI,
5 May 1948

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Though Your Excellency's Assistant Personal Secretary confirmed on the telephone that your very kind promise to see me and inaugurate the Anjuman Taraqqi-e-Urdu's Centre at Karachi holds good, I fully realise how terribly busy you have been throughout the month of April and are still too engrossed in important state affairs to find time to give me an interview. On the other hand, I feel we should not much delay to start [*sic*] our work in Pakistan.

The inauguration ceremony will hardly take more than an hour; we propose to invite about 500 select friends and sympathisers, serve

them tea, and after a few short speeches request Your Excellency to declare the new Centre opened [*sic*] for Pakistan. Such being the brief programme, may I respectfully suggest to you to consider if an afternoon that suits your convenience may be fixed for the inauguration meeting and invitations are accordingly issued, while the proposed interview may be arranged only if Your Excellency could spare a few minutes for it during the intervening time.

With apologies,

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL HAQ
Honorary Secretary,
Anjuman Taraqqi-e-Urdu

340

Ray & Flora Tweedie to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. V)-GG/168

31 BYRNES STREET,
GRANVILLE,
SYDNEY,
AUSTRALIA,
6 May 1948

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Listening to your very interesting broadcast tonight, I was so impressed that this letter is by way of telling you so.

You have told us a little about Pakistan, what you are doing, your hopes, and some of the unfortunate happenings of not so long ago. I in return will tell you some of the everyday things about us.

We, my wife and I, are 30 years of age. We have two sons, Dennis aged 5, and Kevin aged 3. We live in a small working class suburb of Sydney about 10 miles out. We are not poor people, nor rich. Just ordinary stock. My job is that of surgical dresser, or hospital employee. But for all that, we thought that you would like to hear from somebody from Australia, who heard your recorded message[1] and who really wishes you and your Government good fortune in the task of building up the state of Pakistan.

Up till [*sic*] now, my wife and I haven't been particularly mindful of India, or her doings, but believe me, we will be avid readers of the news concerning that country and in particular, Pakistan, simply because we happened to "tune in" to your speech.

If countries of the world are to live in harmony and prosperity, such messages as yours telling each other that each of us are "just plain human," will go a long long way in achieving that for which so many men and women have died, namely a right to live and call everyman a brother.

Perhaps I haven't been able to express that pet subject of mine as well as a politician, Mr. Jinnah, but nevertheless, my wife and I are quite sincere when we reciprocate your wish that, "Peace be upon you."

This is my first attempt at writing to anyone, outside our small circle of friends, but what we wanted to say to you is that once again we thoroughly enjoyed hearing you speak tonight.

Yours sincerely,
RAY & FLORA TWEEDIE

[1]No. 88.

341

A. Hilaly to A. H. Makhmoor

FOA, P.8/3

6 May 1948

My dear Makhmoor,

I am writing to say that the Quaid-i-Azam has fixed 11 a.m. on Saturday the 8th May 1948, as the time and date of the presentation of credentials by His Royal Highness the Ambassador for Afghanistan. As I mentioned to you a couple of days ago, this date had been fixed by him provisionally but there was uncertainty whether he could stick to it owing to his indisposition. I have just been informed by the Private Secretary that the Quaid-i-Azam has confirmed the arrangement and I am, therefore, writing to inform you about it immediately.

I will be very glad to give you any further information you may require in regard to the details of the ceremony.

Yours sincerely,
A. HILALY

A. H. Makhmoor, Esq.,
First Secretary,
Royal Afghan Embassy,
Hoshang Road, Karachi

342

M. Ikramullah to Alan Lascelles

Telegram, F. 125 (21)-GG/7

IMMEDIATE KARACHI,
6 May 1948

King Ibn Saud desires to appoint Syed Abdul Hamid el-Khatib, a member of the Majlis-el-Shura, as Saudi Arabia Minister to Pakistan. May I request you to obtain His Majesty's informal approval to appointment of el-Khatib.

2. The Government of Pakistan propose that Haji Abdus Sattar Saith, His Majesty's Ambassador for Pakistan in Egypt, may also be appointed as His Majesty's Minister for Pakistan to Saudi Arabia. May I request you to obtain His Majesty's informal approval[1] to this proposal also.

For the King's approval to the proposals, see F. 125 (21)-GG/8. Not printed.

343

Dorothy Higgins to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol.I)-GG/178-9

ADELAIDE ST.,
MAIDA VALE,
WESTERN AUSTRALIA,
7 May 1948

Most honoured Sir,

Forgive me if I have not addressed you correctly. I am just an ordinary Australian citizen, a war widow, fifty-five, living alone, and one of thousands who listened to your radio broadcast[1] last night from Pakistan. I have been listening in to the radio for over fifteen years, and never was I so interested and stirred by a speech. When at the end you said "Peace be upon you", I felt as if a noble and holy man had given me his blessing.

That you may be spared for many years to be an inspiration and guide to your people of Pakistan, is the sincere wish of—

DOROTHY HIGGINS

[1]No. 88.

344

M. Taj-ud-Din to M. A. Jinnah

F. 25 (Part IV)-GG/85

ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA LTD.,
BUNDER ROAD,
KARACHI,
7 May 1948

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Your Excellency will be interested to learn that it has been decided to divide the API organization as it exists today and the business of the Associated Press in Pakistan is now ready to be operated as a separate and independent company. The Associated Press of Pakistan Limited has been registered in Pakistan with Head Office at Karachi and the Pakistan Section of the existing API organization shall be renamed the Associated Press of Pakistan, and for the present and so long as the ownership is in the same hands, the Indian API and the Pakistan APP will exchange news.

But certain problems arise from this division on which Your Excellency's advice and guidance is essential before I can proceed with the task of reconstruction. I shall, therefore, feel exceedingly grateful if Your Excellency could spare a few minutes for me.[1] I expect to be in Karachi till the middle of next week.

Yours sincerely,
M. TAJ-UD-DIN

[1]F. Amin replied saying Jinnah's advice was that he approach the Minister for the Interior in the matter. See F. 25 (Part IV)-GG/86. Not printed.

345

George Cunningham to M. A. Jinnah

F. 888/89-90

7 May 1948

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I feel very guilty for not having sent you a note about the NWFP before this. We got home more than three weeks ago. I...[1] to have been so much occupied with various things, including the purchase of a new house, that I have just felt lazy. I hope the enclosed note may give

you something of what you want, though I am conscious how scrappy it is.

I am feeling very much better, in fact perfectly well, but the doctors here won't let me do much for some weeks until they are more satisfied about my general condition. But I don't feel at all depressed!

...was only in London from Friday to Monday and did not see many people. I had talks with [David Taylor] Monteath[2]..., both of whom confirmed your diagnosis of...the trouble was at Lake Success. So I sent...(who I think passed it on to the P.M.) a note...as strongly as I could on the lines we discussed in Karachi. In about ten days I am going to London and hope to see the P.M. I mean to reinforce verbally what I wrote.

I got some good descriptions of your visit to Peshawar, and I hope you were as satisfied as my correspondents were. I am sorry you had to forego the trip to Parachinar.

We are dreadfully homesick for Peshawar. My wife and I send you and Miss Jinnah all our warmest good wishes.

Yours sincerely,
GEORGE CUNNINGHAM

[1]Words missing here and subsequently in the original.
[2]Permanent Under-Secretary of State for India and Burma, 1942-7.

Enclosure to No. 345

Note by George Cunningham[1]

F. 1174/8-14

7 May 1948

My own opinion is [that] industries will be on a modest scale. Our only raw materials are sugar, hides, wool and fruit, none of them in overwhelming quantities, and apart from them hydro-electric power is the only thing to develop. Our post-war development plan was, in many ways, ill-conceived; it proposed large increases in the personnel of Government departments, technical and otherwise, and I think the result would have been a very top-heavy departmentalism without the foundation of industries to support it.

[*Para 1 partly missing*]

SERVICES

2. The quality of our young EACs [Extra Assistant Commissioners] and analogous officers in other departments is really good. There has

been a great improvement since we began, about 15 years ago, to recruit men directly to these services by competitive examination and selection, and not by the old system of patronage. Our PWD is excellent. So are our young Police Officers.

3. At the top, we still have a few of the old lot, who are not particularly good (I think, for example, Arbab Ahmed Ali Jan is not really up to the work of D.C., Peshawar). But most of them are respected for their character, if not for their ability. I think the charges of corruption, which were fairly widespread last winter, were exaggerated. There was corruption in connection with disposal of refugee property but not much otherwise. Action has, I think, been taken by now against about half a dozen officials. Faction-feeling among Pathans is, I fear, endemic, and this accounts for a good deal of the stories that fly about.

[*Para 3 partly missing*]

POLITICAL PARTIES

4. The anti-Pakistan movement, of which a good deal was heard in 1947 and which was inspired largely by Hindus like Mehr Chand [Khanna],[2] is now negligible. Dr. Khan Sahib says, and believes, that it is impossible for the NWFP ever to join India or to leave Pakistan. I think Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Qazi Ataulla[3] (who will be the seed of trouble if there ever is any) think the same. Nor have I seen any real sign among the tribes (except a very few disgruntled individuals) nor, of course, among the people of the settled districts, of any inclination to join up with Afghanistan.

5. The only sense in which the Pathanistan movement has any reality seems to me to be that there is a definite disinclination of the people (officials and public) to be linked with the Punjab. I think they fear that the Punjab might swamp them.

6. What I have been striving for, for some years past, is to get the good right-wing members of the old Congress Party to join up with all those elements—Khans, professional men, villagers, etc.—who used to oppose Congress and are now united under the Muslim League. Reduced to simple terms, that would nowadays mean a junction of Khan Sahib (who I take as a typical and good example of the old Congress Party man) with Abdul Qaiyum. I believe Khan Sahib himself could be got to do this to-day but for the influence of Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Qazi Ataulla (particularly the latter).

7. I feel that the division of parties in the NWFP, as possibly elsewhere, will gradually move towards a split between left-wing socialists (the poor village artisan, urban work people, and the poorer tenants) against the rest; the rest retaining the name of Muslim League.

[*Para 7 partly missing*]

THE STATES

SWAT

8. Excellently administered, and one of the...strength that we have on the NW Frontier. Jehanzeb, heir-apparent, is a very capable fellow and his son (whom I was trying to get into the Pakistan Military Academy as a cadet) a most promising boy. So Swat ought to be all right for the next 50 years.

9. The Wali has occupied Kalam, against the terms of an agreement made by Government (most inadvisable, I think) in 1928 or thereabouts. Kalam is the upper valley of the Swat River, and is economically linked with Swat, and I think Swat ought to be allowed to have it (we referred the question to [External Affairs Department, Government of India], I think). But Swat ought not to be allowed to extend its territories towards the Indus in any area which might be a threat to the Nawab of Amb.

DIR

10. The Nawab is incalculable. He has never refused to do anything, so far as I can remember, that I have asked him, but he is very suspicious by nature and it will be difficult to get him to play any intelligent part in the general set-up of Pakistan. His son is improving, but still a dull sort of boy. If the boy could be encouraged to leave the State for a bit, it would broaden his mind.

11. The Nawab has always been obstinate in refusing Forest Dept. control of his forests, and in order to prevent wholesale deforestation we have simply had to impose a prohibitive import duty on timber from Dir. An unsatisfactory position, but it is imperative (for our canals etc.) to prevent indiscriminate cutting.

12. The Nawab of Dir and the Wali of Swat are *inveterate* enemies....

[*Portion of Chitral missing*]

AMB

13. The present Nawab is a most friendly, sensible person and a good ruler. He has greatly improved the administration since he succeeded his father 12 years ago. When he says or promises a thing, he sticks to it. He has his enemies and detractors (mostly in Hazara District). But their motives, in my knowledge, are those of petty jealousy.

14. The greater part of his State was technically British India, known as Feudal Tanawal; it was declared an Excluded Area under the 1935 Act. Some of the Nawab's enemies are trying to get this area declared part of the constitutional Province proper. I would strongly resist this.

The State has been a State in the ordinary sense of the word for 100 years and to divest the Nawab of his authority would be unjust to him and would not benefit the people.

15. Phulera is a small part of the State, which was given to a collateral as a *Guzara* two or three generations ago. The Khan of Phulera recently applied for permission to accede, in his own right, to Pakistan. In my opinion, this should certainly not be permitted. Phulera is part of Amb, which has fully acceded to Pakistan.

TRIBAL ALLOWANCES

16. I would not recommend any change in these, either up or down, except possibly to allow some of the upper Mohmands and the Bajaur tribes and Khans small allowances. The total expenditure is under Rs.10 lakh a year, and it is money very well spent. An allowance confers a status on a recipient quite out of proportion to the money value, and this gives Government a hold over him.

KHASSADARS

[Paras 17 & 18 mostly missing]

19. It might however be possible fairly soon, without... the gross number of Khassadars, to transform some of the... into e.g. Khassadar technical units to be drafted off to Bannu or Peshawar for training, Boy Khassadar units to be sent to colleges (i.e. the Khassadari would become a scholarship), Khassadar Zamindari units to work on the land, and thus teach them something more useful than sitting in Khassadar posts.

WAZIRISTAN

20. The Faqir of Ipi seems to be the only likely focus of trouble, and now that regular troops have been withdrawn, he has lost a good deal of his appeal. The solution is to get him to settle down in his old village in the Tochi Valley or somewhere near with a free pardon, the only condition being that he commits no offence against the laws of Pakistan in future.

21. He will probably claim recognition as leader or *Badshah* of Waziristan. Government could not agree to this, simply because the tribes themselves do not recognize him; his following is confined to two or three sections. In the very improbable event of all the Waziristan tribes combining to recognise him as their leader, I would advise that Government should acquiesce in this and say that they will deal with the tribes through him in the same way as they deal with the big tribes in Baluchistan through recognized *Sardars*. If thereafter his influence were for good and for the preservation of peace, so much the better; if it were not, the tribes themselves would soon disown him.

22. The only other situation in Waziristan which causes one anxiety is the position at Razmak. The boundary between Mahsuds and Wazirs— always hotly disputed—lies across the Razmak plateau, and our cantonment is situated just on the Wazir side of the line. It is at present occupied by Wazir Khassadars.

[*Para 22 partly missing*]

SCOUTS AND MILITIAS

23. All these corps are of very high quality, as good as anything in the regular army, and ought to be maintained as they are. The overhead organization is not an expensive one (one Inspector-General and two Staff Officers) and cannot, I think, be reduced. I would try to keep one or two young British officers in each of these corps for a few years to come. All officers live together in the mess, as wives are not allowed in the posts (except in Kurram), and this makes for friendly team-spirit.

24. Khyber, Kurram and Chitral have Militias in the true sense,—local enlistment. The population of each of these areas take a pride in their corps, and want them to be maintained both as a channel for service and as a defence force for their own territories.

25. In Waziristan, our Scouts, though all Pathans, are enlisted from outside Waziristan and are, therefore, still in a sense an army of occupation. But now that the regular army has been withdrawn, the Scouts will quickly get aback to their proper role, as police, of dealing with occasional tribal gangs, and will no longer be looked on as an army threatening the freedom of the tribes as a whole. They will thus secure the cooperation of all the better elements—indeed the great majority—of the tribes.

26. Control of Scouts and Militias should remain with the Governor. Some years ago, the General Staff tried to get them put under the Army, but I resisted this and I am sure I was right. The function of the Army on the NW Frontier is to oppose (if extreme necessity arises) the tribes as a whole; the function of the Scouts is to work daily with the tribes, and to help them control their own individual malefactors.

ENLISTMENT OF TRIBESMEN

27. There may be occasional unfortunate incident...with rifles, etc.) But don't let the Army be 'knocked their length' (as they sometimes have been in the past) an incident or two, and try to get rid of all tribesmen just on that account. We must persevere, and it will turn out all right in the end. The tribesman is real good stuff.

[*Para 27 partly missing*]

28. I have asked Pak Army to take 8500 men from tribal territory,

and suggested a suitable number from each tribe. But I would not feel bound by these fixed quotas. They ought to be observed as a general guide by recruiting officers, who—most important—must work in close cooperation with Political Agents. I would not give any tribe a definite promise that we will take any fixed number of recruits from it.

INTELLIGENCE

29. The dual intelligence system of C.I.D. and D.D.I. [Deputy Director, Intelligence] seems to me a waste of money. It doubles the expensive overhead control. C.I.D. is provincial and D.D.I. central expenditure, but some arrangement for contraction could be arrived at. I think amalgamation of the two would also make for mutual confidence between Centre and Province.

G. CUNNINGHAM

Parts of this document are torn. Only those portions which are intact have been printed.
[2]Minister in Dr Khan Sahib's Cabinet, 1946-47.
[3]Minister in Dr Khan Sahib's Cabinet, 1946-47.

346

A. Hilaly to S. M. Yusuf

F. 125 (11)-GG/19

KARACHI,
7 May 1948

My dear Yusuf,

As you know the Quaid-i-Azam has fixed 11 a. m. tomorrow, the 8th May,[1] as the time and date for the presentation of credentials by His Excellency the Afghan Ambassador. I enclose a translation of the speech[2] the Ambassador proposes to make at the time of his presentation, and a draft reply[3] for Quaid-i-Azam's consideration.

Yours sincerely,
A. HILALY

PS. I also enclose a translation of the Letter of Credence[4] which the Ambassador will present to the Quaid-i-Azam.

[1]No. 341.
[2]Enclosure 1.
[3]See F.125(11)-GG/22-3. Not printed. However, for Jinnah's reply, see Enclosure 2.
[4]Enclosure 3

Enclosure 1 to No. 346
Speech by Shah Wali Khan on Presentation of Credentials
[*Original in Persian*]

F. 125 (11)-GG/21

8 May 1948

Your Excellency,

I have the honour to be the first Ambassador and Envoy Extraordinary of my August Sovereign, His Majesty the King of Afghanistan, to present his credentials to Your Excellency.

Your Excellency, it is natural that there exist fortunately ancient relations of friendship and brotherhood between the people[s] of Afghanistan and Pakistan in all respects. I shall deem myself very fortunate if I succeed in representing the desire for good relations and the sincere regard and feelings which the people and the Government of Afghanistan are fostering towards the people and the Government of the neighbourly and Muslim State of Pakistan, and if with the help and graciousness of Your Excellency I succeed in establishing and strengthening the friendly and neighbourly relations between our two Governments.

I am confident that the qualities of wisdom, broad-mindedness and far-sightedness of Your Excellency who is one of the outstanding personalities of the day, and with the cooperation of the members of the Government of Pakistan all matters concerning the two countries will be settled in a happy way and to the advantage of both the countries.

Your Excellency, I pray that our brotherly and neighbourly State of Pakistan, which has newly come into being and whose birth has caused pleasure to the people and the Government of Afghanistan, may attain greatness and glory day by day, for I believe that the attainment of strength and glory for these two brotherly and neighbourly States is the earnest desire of both the governments.

In the end I again present to Your Excellency my respects and good wishes and pray to Almighty God for the success and cooperation of the two brotherly and neighbourly States.

Enclosure 2 to No. 346
Reply by M. A. Jinnah to Shah Wali Khan's Speech[1]

8 May 1948

Your Royal Highness,

It gives me very great pleasure indeed to welcome you today as the first Ambassador from Afghanistan. The Government and people of

Pakistan greatly appreciate the action of His Majesty the King of Afghanistan in sending to us an Ambassador from the Royal family of Afghanistan. We hope and trust that with a Representative of Your Royal Highness' distinction and experience the age-old links which bind our two peoples will be further strengthened, thus paving the way for a bright and happy future for both our countries.

Your Royal Highness has rightly referred to the natural bonds of friendship and affection which bind the people of our two countries. It could hardly be otherwise as these bonds are based on ties of faith and culture and common ideals. With such powerful bonds already in our favour, we cannot, I feel, fail to bring the people of our two countries closer towards each other and closer than they were before the birth of Pakistan.

As a new-born State, Pakistan desires nothing so ardently as the goodwill of the world. Its people are determined to work with heart and soul in the task of consolidating their new liberty and, while so engaged in this great task, they will be deeply conscious of the help and cooperation extended to them by the other States of the world, particularly at this moment. We are indeed glad that we have amongst us today a distinguished representative of our closest neighbour, and Pakistan, I am sure, very much appreciates the message of good wishes Your Excellency has brought to us.

Your Royal Highness can rest assured that in striving to cement the bonds of friendship that already exist between our two peoples, I and my Government will give you all possible help and cooperation. Coming as you do as a representative of the great Muslim nation, you are most welcome to us and we hope and trust that you will be able to discharge your duties successfully in the light of your good wishes and sentiments for Pakistan.

I hope that Your Royal Highness' stay in Karachi will be very happy and comfortable.

[1]Ministry of Information, *Jinnah, Speeches and Statements,1947-48,* 258-9.

Enclosure 3 to No. 346
Letter of Credence
F. 125 (11)-GG/20
[*Original in Persian*]

Your Exalted and Royal Majesty King George the Sixth of Great Britain!
My honoured and great friend,

Pursuant to the keen desire and firm determination to strengthen

the relations that so happily exist between the Kingdom of Afghanistan and the Dominion of Pakistan, I hereby appoint my reverend uncle, His Royal Highness and Marshal Shah Wali Khan, as my Ambassador Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary in Pakistan. By virtue of his high personal qualities I am confident that His Royal Highness will make the desired efforts towards strengthening our mutual friendly relations and will acquit himself of his duties in a manner which will be in accord with the wishes of Your Majesty. I hope that having honoured him with your blessings and benevolence, you will fully assist him in all that he may represent on my behalf, particularly those relating to the strengthening of relations of friendship and cooperation between our two countries.

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M. A. Jinnah to Aga Khan

Telegram, F. 143-GG/7

IMMEDIATE *8 May 1948*

His Highness Aga Khan, care Coxship, Marseilles

Many thanks your letter.[1] It will receive my attention. This question has been present to our mind for considerable time. I have been thinking for some time whether you would consider Pakistan Ambassadorship in Europe or America. Please reply immediately.[2]

MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH

[1]No. 304.
[2] For Aga Khan's reply, see No. 354.

348

S. M. Yusuf to Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot

Telegram, F. 46 (II)-GG/13

IMMEDIATE *8 May 1948*

Mamdot, Premier, West Punjab, Lahore

Owing to unavoidable circumstances Quaid-i-Azam could not meet you and your colleagues at Abbottabad on 7th as arranged. He has asked Governor to arrive Karachi Monday tenth. Am directed request

you to come with your colleagues to meet him at six o'clock on Monday. Please confirm immediately.[1]

S. M. YUSUF

[1]For his reply, see No. 350.

349

J. Dalmia to M. A. Jinnah

F. 85/68

CAMP SHANTINAGAR,
KARACHI 12,
8 May 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I had a talk with brother over phone regarding registration of Delhi house[1] and he has asked me to request you to be kind enough to write to the authorities in Delhi not to delay the registration of that house any more, as you have furnished all satisfactory explanations. If we receive a copy of your reply, we would follow up the matter in Delhi ourselves.

I would be leaving tomorrow noon by air and if you desire me to meet again, before I leave, I would do so on getting a message.

With best of regards,

Yours sincerely,
J. DALMIA

[1]See No. 234.

350

Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 46(II)-GG/14

MONTGOMERY,
9 May 1948

Your message[1] received today in camp. Touring in connection with rehabilitation of Rajputs from Hissar and Rohtak Districts of East Punjab. Going back to Lahore tomorrow the tenth. Cannot possibly reach

Karachi on the tenth. Shall inform from Lahore after consulting Mumtaz and Shaukat.

MAMDOT

[1]No. 348.

351

S. Ghias Uddin Ahmed to F. Amin

Telegram, F. 46 (II)-GG/15-8

MOST IMMEDIATE

LAHORE,
9 May 1948

I have communicated Quaid-i-Azam's message to His Excellency, Daultana and Shaukat. Could not contact Mamdot who is touring Montgomery [Sahiwal] but message left with his Personal Assistant with instructions for communication to him immediately. His Excellency can see Quaid-i-Azam six p.m. tomorrow[1] and plane standing by for journey to Karachi. Daultana cannot say anything definite unless he hears from Mamdot. Shaukat down with dysentery but willing to come if so desired. Hope to hear from Mamdot by lunch time today when I shall send another telegram to you. Karamat Ali[2] already in Karachi. Please wire most immediate as Karachi telephone line is out of order whether Quaid-i-Azam would like His Excellency to come even if Ministers unable to come tomorrow. His Excellency originally scheduled to go on tour from May eleventh to May twenty-third. Also please intimate[3] if His Excellency, Miss Mudie, Miss Macqueen and MSG [Military Secretary to Governor] will put up at Governor-General's House.

GHIAS
Secretary to Governor, Punjab

[1&3]See No. 352.
[2]Education Minister, West Punjab.

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F. Amin to S. Ghias Uddin Ahmed

Telegram, F. 46(II)-GG/20

9 May 1948

Your telegram of ninth.[1] Quaid-i-Azam in Karachi till fifteenth May.

H.E. need not come alone. Intimate earliest date suitable for all to come and meet him. Quaid-i-Azam would be glad to put up His Excellency, Miss Mudie, Miss Macqueen and MSG.

F. AMIN

[1]No. 351.

353

Mohammad Ismail & Others to Mohamad Ali[1]
(Copy to PS to Governor-General)

F. 120 (Vol. I)-GG/226-7

C/O BLOCK NO. 228,
ST. NO. 3, MARTIN ROAD,
KARACHI,
10 May 1948

Sir,

With due respect and humble submission we, the undersigned *malis* of the Governor-General's House Gardens, Karachi, beg to lay before you the following few lines for justice and sympathetic consideration:

i. That we opted for service in Pakistan from the Governor-General's House, New Delhi, and could manage to reach Karachi with great difficulties. On reaching Karachi, to our misfortune, when we reported ourselves for duty in the Governor-General's House, we were flatly refused to be given any employment. Through our untiring efforts we could, however, get employment there on the condition that we were employed there on temporary basis, which we had to accept for the fact that we were more or less destitutes at that time and as such had no alternative than [*sic*] to accede to this condition. In this connection it is stated that we held permanent posts in the late Viceroy's House, New Delhi.

ii. The fact that we have been serving in the late Viceroy's House, New Delhi, for the past about twenty years continuously, we were made permanent and our service books prepared.
We used to enjoy there all communal, Sunday, and other holidays as permissible and twenty days privilege leave in a year. We were provided with rent-free accommodation fitted with electricity and water.

iii. Since we had chosen to serve the Pakistan Govt., we were relieved

of our duties on the afternoon of 26th Oct. 1947, from the Governor-General's House Gardens, New Delhi, and were given relieving letters, etc. But these had no value when they were shown to the officers concerned of the Governor-General's House, Karachi.

iv. As we have put in a major part of our lives in the late Viceregal Gardens' service, one can apparently apprehend [*sic*] the experience of our work.

v. Besides all mentioned above, now we have been removed from service from 1.5.1948, after having worked for about three or four months, and by way of reason thereof we have been given to understand that as the Quaid-i-Azam does not like us (which we do not believe), therefore, we are removed from service, besides they have so many other *malis* who were recruited locally. Furthermore, they engaged an equal number in our place the following morning.

vi. Under the circumstances stated above, we are afraid that either the Quaid-i-Azam himself takes pleasure in rejecting the poor or, on the other hand, the officers concerned of the Governor-General's House command verdicts [*sic*] and unauthorised powers in the false name of Quaid-i-Azam.

vii. Further, according to the provisions of the Questionnaire, same terms and conditions of service of an optee for Pakistan or others are ensured. We wonder how far the action of the authorities concerned in dispensing with our services from 1.5.48 is in order. The only light in which this violation of rules can be taken seems to aim at utter failure of the officers concerned to heed the government policy.

viii. It would be relevant to mention here another instance of injustice. One Mr. Zia-ud-Din who was a lawn-mower mechanic in the late Viceroy's House, New Delhi, opted for service in the Pakistan Govt. On reporting for duty in Governor-General's House, he was meted out an awfully bad treatment, so much so that he was turned out through police on the orders of the officers of the Governor-General's House. He has been corresponding with the Military Secretary to the Quaid-i-Azam for the past about five months but to no result.

ix. It is surprising to note that injustice and mercilessness have found home in the Governor-General's House particularly. The high-handedness of the officers needs no comments and is condemned by all quarters. We wonder if such activities of officers concerned earn good name for the government.

x. In the end, we most respectfully request the Quaid-i-Azam and the Pakistan Government to examine the case in the light of above facts and do justice. Further, we request that our arrears from 27.10.47 till we joined duty in Pakistan Govt., together with our travelling allowance, may please be paid to us.

2. In case it is not possible to accede to our request that we should be reinstated on the same conditions as we used to enjoy in India, we would be compelled to demand from the Quaid-i-Azam and the Pakistan Government our immediate retransfer to the Indian Government on our former posts, in the Governor-General's House, New Delhi.

3. We have sanguine hope that our request would receive your immediate attention, for which act of kindness we shall remain grateful to you.

Thanking you,

We beg to remain,
Sir,

Your most obedient servants,
MOHAMMAD ISMAIL CHOWDHARY
AND SIX OTHERS

[1]Secretary-General, Government of Pakistan.

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Aga Khan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 143-GG/8

PERSONAL

GENEVA,
11 May 1948

On principle delighted serve[1] but must go Africa from middle July for three months. Also owing my age must have Minister attached to Embassy as England has at important posts [*sic*].

AGA KHAN

[1]See No. 347.

355

F. Amin to M. N. Kotwal

F. 83/67

11 May 1948

Dear Mr. Kotwal,

Thank you for your letter dated the 10th May 1948.[1]

The Quaid-i-Azam informs me that there were three copies of the agreement—one was for the vendor, one for the purchaser, duly signed by both, and the third was with Mr. Daruvalla. He understood from Mr. Daruvalla that he will hand over this copy to you in order that you may proceed with the completion of the sale [of Mohatta building, Karachi.] Maybe, he has forgotten or overlooked this. Will you, therefore, please get in touch with him and ask him for this third copy, failing that please let me know so that I may arrange to send you a copy of the original agreement which is in Quaid-i-Azam's possession.

Yours sincerely,
F. AMIN

M. N. Kotwal, Esq.,
Ministry of Law and Labour,
(Law Division)

[1]F. 83/66, *QAP*. Not printed.

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Majeed Malik to F. Amin

F. 120 (Vol.V)-GG/181

BARCLAY HOTEL,
111 EAST 48TH STREET,
NEW YORK,
12 May 1948

My dear Amin Sahib,

I enclose a booklet *Pakistan* which I hope you will like.[1]

You must forgive its many shortcomings as it was got together in great hurry amidst pressure of other work and without any material aid from reference books or official maps, since hardly any were available.

However, it was great fun tracing some of the maps from atlases and otherwise improvising things.

Ten thousand of these are being distributed throughout the U. S. A.

Sincerely yours,
MAJEED MALIK
Member, Pakistan delegation to the U N

[1]Acknowledged by F. Amin. See F. 120 (Vol.V)-GG/180. Not printed.

357

Iqbal Hussain to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. V)-GG/38

NAPIER ROAD,
KARACHI,
12 May 1948

Your Excellency,

I have been asked by Imams [of] Mosques Association to request you to write Friday *Khutba* on the subject "the Birth of Pakistan," which may reach this office latest by 1st August 1948, as it will be read in different mosques on Friday, the 22nd Oct. 48, (18 *Zilhaj* 1367A.H.).

At present one hundred mosques are the members of this Association and the number of congregation in each mosque varies from one hundred to one thousand, and it is estimated that about sixty thousand people would listen to this *Khutba* every Friday in different mosques of Karachi. By the time we get your *Khutba* we are confident of enrolling about two hundred mosques where 130,000 Muslims would be listening to this *Khutba*. The *Khutba* may be written in any language but it will be read in Urdu and the Association will appreciate if it is written in as simple a form as possible, the duration being fifteen minutes, and the matter written within four foolscap papers.

The *Khutba* will be sent to Radio Stations, Lahore and Peshawar, for broadcast with whom arrangements are being made. All leading papers of Pakistan will be requested to publish it, which will also be published every week for general public. If not available anywhere, it may be had from the Association's office.

In case you approve of above, it is desired that you may kindly inform the Association of your consent for the same within a week from the receipt of this letter, latest by 1st June 48. No reply would

mean that you do not desire to write on this subject.

Your Excellency's loyal subject,
IQBAL HUSSAIN
M. A. (Hons.)
President,
Imams [of] Mosques Association

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S. A. Rafique to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. I)-GG/237

7 BANK OF INDIA BUILDINGS,
BUNDER ROAD, KARACHI 1,
12 May 1948

Sir,

Your courageous steps for purifying Pakistan of all corruption, nepotism and favouritism[1] has resulted in greatly strenghtening the morale of the people, and particularly it has evoked the respectful admiration of the Displaced Lawyers' Association who offer their loyal and faithful cooperation in your great task.

I have the honour to enclose a copy of the resolutions passed at a meeting of the Displaced Lawyers' Association held on the 7th May 1948, under my presidentship.

I trust that the selfless offer by this organisation will find some response from the Government, and the Government will be able to use it to the advantage of Pakistan.[2]

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
S. A. RAFIQUE
President,
Displaced Lawyers' Association

[1]See No. 272.
[2]Acknowledged by F. Amin. See F. 120 (Vol. I)-GG/236. Not printed.

Enclosure to No. 358

F. 120 (Vol. I)-GG/238

RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE DISPLACED LAWYERS' ASSOCIATION

A meeting of the Displaced Lawyers' Association was held on May 7th, 1948, under the presidentship of Syed A. Rafique, M. A. Hons. (Cantab.), Barrister-at-Law, and the following resolutions were passed unanimously:

i. This meeting of the Displaced Lawyers' Association calls upon all its members to take an active part in, and to do their best for, the enrolment of members of the Muslim League before May 21st, the last date of enrolment of members. It urges its members to make every effort to make the new Muslim League the truly representative and democratic organization that it has always been intended to be. It considers it the duty of all Musalmans to join the League in the largest number possible and to fully utilise this opportunity of taking part in the laying down of the future policy of the Government of Pakistan by the League.

ii. This meeting of the Displaced Lawyers' Association congratulates Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, our great and revered leader, on the statesmanlike and truly Islamic steps he has taken in purifying Pakistan of all corruption and nepotism, and assures him that everyone of the displaced lawyers would be willing and happy to offer him his services, and is prepared to undergo any sacrifice for implementing this laudable policy.
This meeting trusts that Providence will spare our leader long enough to accomplish the great task he has before him in basing the future State on pure and humanitarian principles.

iii. This meeting of the Displaced Lawyers' Association congratulates the Prime Minister of Pakistan on the formation of the Joint Refugee Council, and trusts that the policy to be laid down by this Council will not fail to pay due regard to the sacrifices incurred and the difficulties faced by the lawyers in the achievement of Pakistan and will give them their just and proper place in the political and legal life of the new State of Pakistan.
This meeting offers the services of the displaced lawyers in any task that the Joint Refugee Council may need to be performed in the betterment of the conditions of the refugees in general and the lawyers in particular.

iv. This meeting of the Displaced Lawyers' Association offers its congratulations to the present Ministry in Sind on the assumption of its office, and is heartened at the announcement of the

policy and trusts that the policy will be implemented.
This meeting of the Displaced Lawyers' Association offers its loyal cooperation to the Sind Government in carrying out every policy which is based on justice, fairness and a due regard to the interests of the refugees.

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M. A. Jinnah to Alan Lascelles

Telegram, F. 125 (2)-GG/18

IMMEDIATE *13 May 1948*

Reference my telegram dated 25th April[1] and your reply dated 26th April.[2] As continuation of the use of the term Raja before his name is likely to cause confusion in the Persian circles, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Ambassador-designate to Persia, has decided to drop the term and be known as Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan.

[1]Not traceable.
[2]F. 125(2)-GG/16. Not printed.

360

Bachittar Singh Bawa to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol.V)-GG/36-7

BAWA GLASS CO.,
DELHI,
13 May 1948

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Referring to my letter of the 6th October last[1] regarding the restoration of shop and godowns of my Lahore Branch, your Secretary replied that the same has been forwarded to the Custodian of Evacuee Property, Lahore, for necessary action. But to my great surprise, after nine months' continuous efforts, the premises have been allotted to another party, even when my half a dozen very old employees are there from the very beginning. They are Muslims and have been appearing before all officers concerned along with my authority letter to effect restoration. Three lawyers were engaged for this purpose, but according to the report of my man, all of them coerced [*sic*] with interested parties to effect illicit possession.

I really wonder how the affairs are going on at Lahore. My Karachi premises were also sealed but restored to my Muslim employees after ten days, but at Lahore I find reverse of it. I really fail to understand how I can be considered an evacuee at Lahore when I had been and am still doing business at all big ports and cities of the country with Head Office at Delhi. I have got Muslim employees even with all my branches in Indian Union. Rather at Delhi they are in scores. They repose full faith in me. You will be glad to know that mine is the only firm in Chandni Chowk, Delhi, where Muslims are working ceaselessly. With my influence and true love and spirit for them, none dares to look upon [*sic*] them. Naturally, I expect the same treatment in Pakistan.

My Lahore men write that my premises can even now be restored to me should any high official intervene in the matter; hence, on the basis of my personal acquaintance and cordial relations, I am addressing you this letter and fully believe that you will kindly issue the necessary order to institute an urgent enquiry and take necessary action to relieve this hardship.

I do realize that this is a very small job for your status and rank, but I am obliged by the just cause to put the real facts before you so that you may know of the mentality of your officials in West Punjab in such a vivid case of mine.

I trust this will find you and all your family members in the best of their health and cheer and with kind regards.

Yours sincerely,
BACHITTAR SINGH

[1]Not traceable.

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R. G. Casey to M. A. Jinnah

F. 65 (4)-GG/23

125 WILLIAM STREET,
MELBOURNE C.1,
13 May 1948

Your Excellency,

Just a note to say that your broadcast recording was broadcast,[1] with an appropriate introduction and ending by myself, over about

eighty broadcasting stations throughout Australia a few days ago,[2] and it has been exceedingly well received.

I must thank you again for your courtesy in taking the trouble to do this, which I think has been most useful in making large numbers of Australians better informed about Pakistan.

With all good wishes,

I am ,

Yours sincerely,

R.G. CASEY

[1]No. 88.
[2]See No. 340.

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Mohammad Usman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol.I)-GG/274-7

PERSONAL

CUMBERLAND HOTEL,
LONDON,
14 May 1948

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

As one who is still devoted to you and has implicit faith in your guidance, judgement and statesmanship, I am taking the liberty of addressing this letter to you.

It is my misfortune that some time back I gave you a cause of annoyance. I have apologized to you for it. I again seek your forgiveness. I am sure that you will overlook it. For the last month and a half, I have been on a tour of some of the Islamic countries and have lately been to England. The tour has been undertaken with the sole object of studying various currents and cross-currents. I have been able to collect a good deal of material.

Let me assure you that I am one of those who sincerely believe that we had no other alternative but to accept the truncated Pakistan. It is very unfortunate that some Indian loyalist Muslims are busy in carrying on adverse propaganda against Pakistan's future in some of the Islamic countries. It's a great pity that friends of yesterday have become the foes of today.... The Indian Union is spending lot of money in these countries. Syed Hussain,[1] as I heard in Egypt, has been given over four lakh for the purpose of distributing the money to the press. But in spite of all this I feel that general sympathy is with us. I humbly

suggest that we must move our propaganda machinery with full force. Pamphlets on different subjects should be distributed in various languages. A bureau of information for the Middle East be set up in Pakistan which should be responsible for the propaganda in these countries.

Secondly, a complete history of the struggle of the Muslim League culminating in the achievement of Pakistan should be officially published.

Thirdly, an account of the part played by you in the realization of the Muslims' dream of having their own State should be published.

Apart from this, we must do things which go to make a nation great. I have been greatly impressed by the work of various organizations in England. I think we must appoint [*sic*] a social service league. Complete data should be collected by the organization regarding many social and economic problems of the Muslims. Volunteers in every town should be enlisted and trained. Then there is the work of providing various amenities to the people. This could be tackled separately.

The whole system of education needs reorientation. We must give to our coming generation a correct type of education. To my mind the history of a nation is the most important subject. It should be written with the sole object of creating further history. I am sure that all these things are in your mind as well.

Quaid-i-Azam, I sincerely feel that the people are not fully appreciating the great achievement of Pakistan which is entirely due to your personal efforts. I met a number of people in Karachi, officials and non-officials and some former leaders. Most of them passed their time in criticizing things. I sincerely pray for your long life and do hope that within your life time Pakistan will march forward from progress to further progress.

I do hope that on my return I will be given an opportunity of placing some other views before you.

Kindly pay my respects to Miss Jinnah.

With regard,

I am,

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMAD USMAN

[1]Indian Ambassador in Egypt.

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Francis Mudie to M. A. Jinnah

F. 499/11-2

No. 18

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
LAHORE,
14 May 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I saw the Ministers[1] at 12.30 p.m. today and gave them back their resignations and told them that you had done your best to help them, but must now dissociate yourself from their difficulties which they would have to solve themselves. I said that my position was the same as yours. They were rather taken aback and Mumtaz said, "Has the Quaid-i-Azam done this because he wishes me to...?" I interrupted him and told him that you had no wishes to convey to them at all. They then asked me for my advice, if not as a Governor, then as a friend. I told them that I had none to offer. After a few minutes, they went away saying that they would think things over.

The difficulty of dealing with them is that it is so difficult to find out the truth. When they came back after seeing you the first time, when they all agreed to resign and Mumtaz agreed to form a Ministry, they issued a statement to the press that you had directed them to meet the crisis "as a team"! This time in Karachi, Mumtaz was saying that he was absolutely confident of the loyal support of Mamdot, when the day before he had told Qurban Ali, the I.G. of Police, that Mamdot was doing everything possible to obtain the support of MLAs for himself (Mamdot) against him (Mumtaz).

I have no idea what they will do, but things cannot remain for ever in their present state of uncertainty. Naturally, there is great speculation in the public and in the press about what is going to happen.

May I take this opportunity of thanking you and Miss Jinnah for your hospitality in Karachi? I enjoyed my visit in spite of everything.

Yours sincerely,
R. F. MUDIE

[1]Mian Mumtaz Mohammad Khan Daultana, Finance Minister, and Sardar Shaukat Hyat, Revenue Minister, West Punjab.

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Amar Singh to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120-GG/211-2

TAJ MAHAL HOTEL,
BOMBAY,
15 May 1948

Your Excellency,

I met you last time at the Cecil Hotel in the presence of your sister, daughter, and my esteemed friend, Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhury. My contact with you on that day was in connection with things Japanese. Today, when the leader of the Japanese Delegation is just living in front of my room and the two members of the Japanese Delegation are my old friends, I have an urge to write to you.

I have studied Japan for the last 28 years. Many important members of your Government, for example Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, figured prominently in my parties to the eight Japanese Consuls-General in India from 1926 to 1941. How I wish I was by your side at this time as I believe I could have rendered some service to Your Excellency. I come from Rawalpindi but was domiciled in Lahore. I have not registered myself as a refugee, nor have I filed any claim against Pakistan, nor have I any intention in that direction. Two brothers have fought. I would feel humiliated if the elder brother demands compensation from the younger brother when both have erred.

I have matured my business plans with Japan, and I will be very glad if I can be of any service to the merchants of Pakistan while dealing with Japan.

I beg to remain,
Your Excellency,
Your obedient servant,
AMAR SINGH

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Francis Mudie to M. A. Jinnah

F. 499/13-4

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
LAHORE,
15 May 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Further about the Ministerial crisis. Qurban Ali[1] has just been to see me and given me the following account of two meetings which the Ministers held yesterday and at which Qurban was asked to be present. The first was held at 1 p.m., immediately after they left me, and the second at 7 p.m.

2. At the first meeting, the Ministers had apparently no idea what to do. Qurban told them that they could do one of three things. They could make up their minds to carry on and work efficiently in spite of your attitude. This, he pointed out, would be difficult for them and requires a great deal of courage and determination. Also, as soon as your attitude became known, they would be under very heavy attack both from the public and in the press. The second course was for Mamdot to resign and tell the Party that he realised that he had failed and that they should get another leader. The third was to come to me and promise to be good and ask for your forgiveness. The Ministers said they would meet later after they had thought things over.

3. At the second meeting, Mamdot said that he had decided to try to get Din Mohammad[2] and Firoz[3] into the Cabinet. If he could get both, he would carry on. In that case, I understand Mumtaz and Shaukat would remain, though both at first wanted to resign immediately after the meeting.

4. Presumably, Mamdot is trying to get into touch with Din Mohammad and Firoz now. Qurban thinks that the former might possibly come in, but that it is practically certain that the latter won't. If both do not come in, then Mumtaz and Shaukat say that they will come straight to me and ask to resign. Mamdot says that he will tell the Party meeting, which he had summoned for the 20th May, that he cannot carry on and suggest to them that they elect Mumtaz. Shaukat's view apparently is that, even if that happened, he would resign.

5. That was the position last night, but it will probably alter from day to day or even from hour to hour. There is no doubt that, unless circumstances force Mamdot to state publicly before the Party that he

cannot carry on, he will work against Mumtaz. Mumtaz, yesterday, was apparently so frightened that he talked about coming to me and offering to form a Ministry without a party vote in his favour, but the time for that is clearly over.

6. The papers are still very puzzled about the situation. The *Pakistan Times* still accepts the story that, at your first meeting with the Ministers, you directed them to continue to work as a team and thinks that some fresh crisis must have arisen since then. The *Civil & Military Gazette* assumes that I have been directed by you to negotiate to resolve the ministerial tangle and severely cirticises the Ministry for its shortcomings.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
F. R. MUDIE

[1]Inspector-General of Police, Punjab.
[2]Justice Din Mohammad, Judge, Lahore High Court.
[3]Malik Firoz Khan Noon, Member, Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

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Nazar Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 25 (Part IV)-GG/47-8

SHAH JEHAN HOTEL,
EMPRESS MARKET,
KARACHI,
16 May 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

It was in 1922, I believe, [that] I was introduced to your honour in 32 Russell Sq[uare,] London, W.C.I. I heard your lecture on Muslim League. It was in International Students Movement Club. Since then, I am a staunch follower of Muslim League. Five months ago, I came to Karachi; before this time I was proprietor of Mar-Lodge Hotel in Mussoorie and then in Dehra Dun—this business was a board-and-residence business mostly for Br[itish] military families during the War. I lost all this. Now I am here—only thing precious left with me is an antique 7-metal vase, including gold. It has also a pure golden art work, on it. On the diameter, flowers in precious stones are worked on, with different colours; hovering bees over flowers also shown in coloured precious stones. It is a solid piece of art, 2,000 years old, in one piece about one ft. in height and similar diameter.

This was my hobby. I paid 7,000 for it. I cannot afford to present it to you, but I will give you a Greek seal—unique, provided you grant me a hearing and an opportunity to present it to you.[1] This will be without any regard to bargain, whether it is struck or not.

It is my sincere wish—may you live long!

Yours most sincerely,
SAYED NAZAR ALI
Late of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Middle Temple[2]

[1]F. Amin recorded on this letter, "that the Quaid-i-Azam regrets he cannot see him and that GG does not accept any presents".
[2]One of the four Inns of Court in London having the exclusive right to admit people to the English Bar.

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Mohammad Sadiq Munavar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. V)-GG/96-7

BAGHBANPURA,
LAHORE,
17 May 1948

Your most gracious Excellency,

You will please excuse my encroachment upon your valuable time and allow me to suggest a few points for the right administration of the Dominion of Pakistan. No one can doubt your sagacity, the statesman-like integrity and fore-sightedness with which, at the helm of the State, you have steered ashore the boat of the newly constituted Dominion from the tempestuous waters of unfortunate and horrible events that have taken place in the Punjab. Providence has bestowed upon me the capability of foreseeing certain events "that cast their shadows before" by the movement of stars and I will, from time to time, inform you how to meet the obstacles in future that sometimes would beset our path of progress. In the meantime, I give below a few general proposals which should be enforced at once and on these the foundations of the newly born Dominion of Pakistan should be laid and strengthened more and more as the time passes on:

i. *Shari'at* Bill should be promulgated throughout as the law of the nation.
ii. Youth of Pakistan should be given compulsory military training.

iii. At least two lakhs of Muslims should be given air training.
iv. Ordnance factories should be established in Pakistan, which should turn out warships and war material of every kind.
v. Communists and their activities should be kept a vigilant watch over and should not be overlooked at any cost.
vi. Ministry [*sic*] tangle in Punjab should be solved without any further delay.
vii. Refugees should be rehabilitated at once and a committee consisting of five or six members of the public should also be formed to deal with all questions relating to them.
viii. Factories of various kinds should be opened in Pakistan so that people may find service in them. Government should also be one of the partners in them and it should be ruled that all Pakistanis are eligible for membership.
ix. Honest, faithful and efficient persons should be searched out as councillors whose conduct should be above suspicion. Akbar the Great,[1] though illiterate, succeeded in collecting such persons around him and he governed his kingdom successfully, magnificently. If such persons are not forthcoming from the Punjab—Egypt, Persia, Turkey or Arabia will not be wanting in them.

2. I pray in the end that God give you long life to see the fruits of your labour and find that Pakistan is counted as one of the leading States of the Muslim world.

Pakistan Zindabad!

I beg to remain,
Your most gracious Excellency's obedient servant,
MOHAMMAD SADIQ
Astrologer, Numerologist & Palmist

[1]Mughal Emperor of India, 1556-1605.

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Francis Mudie to M. A. Jinnah

F. 499/15

No. 20 LAHORE,
17 May 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I enclose copies of a letter[1] from Shaukat and a letter, with its

enclosure,[2] from Mumtaz. The letters confirm Qurban's reports, which I passed on to you in my last letter,[3] that Shaukat is frightened of holding office in present circumstances in any administration and that Mumtaz was willing to do anything that he is told.

I have merely acknowledged both letters. If you want me to send any reply, I will do so. But in my opinion neither requires any reply at present. It is quite clear that Mamdot's main object is still to remain Premier and that he is not prepared to co-operate by standing down in favour of Mumtaz, if he can manage to avoid that. That has been the whole difficulty all along, and the one about which neither Mamdot nor Mumtaz has come clean. Mamdot has called a meeting of the Party on the 20th (Thursday) and we will see what happens then. Until then, we can, in my opinion, do nothing.

Yesterday's *Civil & Military Gazette* contained a more or less accurate account of what happened at Karachi except for the important particular that, according to it, Mumtaz had agreed to form a Ministry without calling a party meeting. Your refusal to take any further part in the proceedings was attributed to delay in submitting the resignations. Actually, Mumtaz and Shaukat submitted theirs to Mamdot immediately after your meeting. The delay in final submission was caused by Karamat and Mamdot.

Yours sincerely,
R. F. MUDIE

PS. My latest information is that Mamdot has not approached Firoz, as he at one time intended, and that no definite reply has been received from Din Mohammad.

[1]Enclosure 1.
[2]Enclosure 2.
[3]No. 365.

Enclosure 1 to No. 368
Shaukat Hyat to Francis Mudie

F. 499/16

SECRET

LAHORE,
15 May 1948

My dear Your Excellency,

I was shocked to hear that Quaid-i-Azam had decided to return our resignations. This decision, to say the least, puts me in a most awkward

situation and considering all its implications, I hasten to clear my position.

2. In deciding to return our resignations, Quaid-i-Azam, to my mind, may have been influenced by one or more of the following three factors—namely that some of us had not agreed to his suggestion regarding the future line of action, that we were not prompt in submitting our resignations, and that we left Karachi without waiting for the acceptance of our resignations. I am not at all concerned with the first of these factors, for all I could do was to try my best to make my colleagues concerned fall in line with the Governor-General's opinion, and this Your Excellency knows I have been doing and will continue to do till the end. As regards the delay in submission of resignations, I would like to explain that I submitted mine the same day as decided and I was not at all responsible for their belated presentation. Actually I insisted all along that the resignations should be submitted promptly. Therefore, now remains the incident of our departure before the acceptance of our resignations. Your Excellency will doubtless remember that after handing over my resignation I was keen to get back to Lahore to finalise the proposals regarding the new canals and asked the Premier in Quaid-i-Azam's room if there was any further need for me to stay. I was told that I could leave; hence I made arrangements for my departure.

3. I would now like to make it clear to Your Excellency, and through you to Quaid-i-Azam, that there can be no question of my staying in a Cabinet which has not the approval of the Quaid-i-Azam, and that I am not concerned with any scheme which may be there to strengthen or prolong the existence of this or any other Cabinet, unless I am expressly directed to do so by Quaid-i-Azam. Throughout my political career, I have been Quaid's man and shall always consider it an honour to remain such.

Best regards,

Yours sincerely,
SHAUKAT HYAT

Enclosure 2 to No. 368
Mumtaz Daultana to Francis Mudie

F. 449/17

8 DURAND ROAD,
LAHORE,
17 May 1948

My dear Sir Francis,

I wrote the enclosed letter to you on the 14th,[1] immediately after

your interview with the Punjab Ministers. I was going to send the letter to you at once, but before I could send it to you I was informed by the Premier that he intended to make an attempt to consolidate his position and continue in office, and that my apology at this stage would embarrass the effort he was going to make. In view of the somewhat awkward position in which I was placed, I told him that I did not intend to interfere with his plans, but that if within two days he was unable to make up his mind, I would send my unconditional apologies to Quaid-i-Azam without waiting any further.

I met the Premier early this morning and, as usual, he is still undecided. Accordingly, I told him that I can wait no longer, and he told me that he had no objection if I clarified my position now before the Quaid-i-Azam.

I am now sending my original letter to you. It is, I am afraid, somewhat emotional, but it correctly reflects my feelings and my dissatisfaction with my past behaviour, and, therefore, I have not ventured to re-write it.

I do hope, Sir, that not only as the Governor of the Province, but as a friend you will forgive me for the trouble I have caused.

I would repeat that my position is one of unconditional surrender to the wishes, whatever they are at present, of the Quaid-i-Azam.

Yours sincerely,
MUMTAZ DAULTANA

H.E. Sir Francis Mudie, KCSI, CIE, OBE

[1]Annex.

Annex to Enclosure 2 to No. 368
Mumtaz Daultana to Francis Mudie

F. 499/18

8 DURAND ROAD,
LAHORE,
14 May 1948

My dear Sir Francis,

I am picking up courage to make a personal and unusual request to you. I hope and pray that you will not take exception to it.

I am venturing to request you that you may convey to the Quaid-i-Azam my unconditional apology for my behaviour at our last meeting with him in Karachi. I am filled with shame and sorrow that I was the cause of irritation to him. I completely and unreservedly renounce the

position to which I obstinately adhered during our interview and I am bound, now and in the future, as I have always been in the past, to carry out his order without qualification or demur.

I cannot forgive myself that I should, even for a moment, have added to the cares of one who is the Father of our Nation, and to whom we owe our freedom and the prospects of our future. Foolishly, I went on pressing what I considered to be a minor point when I ought to have yielded my judgment to his, which has so often been proved to be unerring.

My greatest regret and fear is that the Quaid-i-Azam may have lost trust in my loyalty. If he has the slightest doubt of it, then I am not a fit person to be entrusted with any responsibility, but I hope that in any case, out of the generosity and forbearance of his spirit, he will forgive me. I am prepared and eager to serve under his command, in any capacity or position, however humble, that he may call upon me to do. I have carried out his commands loyally in the past, and I hope that he will show me indulgence at my solitary trespass.

I believe the Quaid-i-Azam is displeased that I was not in Karachi when he wanted to see us after Nawab Mamdot had submitted his Cabinet's resignation to you on the 12th. For this too, I want to offer my sincere apologies. When I saw Your Excellency on the afternoon of the 11th, I told you that I proposed to leave on the 12th evening, but if I am wanted or my presence is required I will stay on. When I did not hear from you I thought that I was not required to stay. As I had handed over my resignation to Nawab Mamdot on the 11th, I could not imagine that he would delay the matter so long. At the same time, I confess that it would have been more appropriate if I had sought the Quaid-i-Azam's and your permission before leaving. I must, however, assure you that I meant not the slightest disrespect. I would not have laboured this point but the very suspicion that any action of mine can betray the slightest lack of respect or reverence to the Quaid-i-Azam causes me intense pain, and I cannot rest till I have cleared it.

I must apologize to you, Sir, for making bold and requesting you to convey my message to the Quaid-i-Azam. My proper course was to go to Karachi and give my explanation in person, but I fear that I have offended my Leader so much that he may not want to see me. I cannot, with my present feelings, dare to write to him direct.

I cannot offer any excuse for the trouble I am giving you except the depth of my feelings, and a personal appeal to you.

In the end, I would like to say this. No government in the Punjab can function or be accepted by the people unless it is known that the Quaid-i-Azam looks upon it with favour. Whether it is the present

Cabinet or a Cabinet formed by me, or a Cabinet under some one else, it can only properly fulfil its grievous task of facing the present very grave crisis if it has the support and the trust of the Quaid-i-Azam.

With deep apologies,

Yours sincerely,
MUMTAZ DAULTANA

369

S. M. Yusuf to S. Ghias Uddin Ahmed

F. 187 (2)-GG/158

AIR MAIL/REGISTERED *18 May 1948*

No. F. 187/2/G.G.

Sir,

I am directed to refer to your letter No. G.S. 351, dated the 21st April 1948,[1] forwarding the West Punjab Legislative Assembly (Removal of Disqualifications) (Amendment) Bill reserved by H.E. the Governor for the consideration of the Governor-General, and to draw your attention to Sections 75 and 76 of the Government of India Act, 1935, as adapted. You will notice that under Section 76 of the Government of India Act, the Governor-General may either give his assent to the Bill or withhold it provided also that he may direct the Governor to return the Bill to the Legislature together with a message requesting the Legislature to re-consider the Bill or any specified provisions thereof. In this case the Governor-General's powers under Section 76 cannot be invoked. It is for the Governor to deal with the Bill and it is for him to consider whether he should give his assent to it or not. The Governor-General is not required, nor does he wish, to express any opinion as to whether the Bill is *ultra vires* or *intra vires* of the Provincial Legislature, as this is not the function assigned to him by law. The Bill is, therefore, returned.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
S. M. YUSUF

The Secretary to the Governor, West Punjab,
Lahore

[1]See No. F. 187 (2)-GG/142-6. Not printed.

370

M. Yunus to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. V)-GG/26

KHORI GARDEN,
KARACHI,
18 May 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am enclosing a copy of a letter which I have written to Honourable Khwaja Nazimuddin Saheb as there are certain matters in the letter which may be brought to your notice and which may save harassment and persecution of some innocent Muslims.

Yours sincerely,
M. YUNUS

Enclosure to No. 370
M. Yunus to Khwaja Nazimuddin

F. 120 (Vol. V)-GG/27-30

KHORI GARDEN,
KARACHI,
18 May 1948

My dear Khwaja Sahib,

I saw Tho[ma]s Cook today and they told me that they cannot alter the date, so I am flying tomorrow; hence the necessity of this letter.

I am sorry I could not meet you at 3 Reay Road when you did me the honour to take the trouble to come to see me, but in compliance with your desire, when I saw you yesterday at Honourable Mr. Shahabuddin's place, I wrote the letters as desired by you. I had seen only weapon-carriers and jeeps in the Bihar Muslim Technical Institute compound, which were in charge of Superintendent and clerk of the Bihar Muslim Technical Institute, but as you said that some clothes and some other things were also there and I should write about them also. I did so, for whatever things of the Relief Committee be there or anywhere else must be disposed of under your directions. The two men whom I have given letters, besides Qazi Saheb,[1] were not and are not in charge of Relief Committee things which were and are in charge of employees of Relief Committee. I gave them the letter so that, to quote your words, all

facilities and help may be offered if required. Though I was neither in charge of finances nor [of] things of the Committee, I annoyed some people by strongly checking wastes.

If you will dispose of these vehicles they should fetch better price than what was paid for them, as you know that I took personal obligation of Allenbury for the sake of the Relief Committee to get them cheap by about Rs. 500 to Rs. 800 less per vehicle than their usual prices. The only trouble is that people have recklessly used them and in some cases even damaged them. Most of the weapon-carriers and jeeps are at different places, in charge of persons to whom the Committee gave [*sic*]; the list of these must be with the Secretary. I am sorry you blamed me that these vehicles were rotting when I wrote to you several times before suggesting various ways of their disposal, but received no reply from you.

As regards Dr T. M. Khan,[2] you said he had left account in a jumble there. If any account is wanted from him, and if he has not accounted for any money drawn from the Bank, he may be called upon to render accounts and he will, I hope and feel sure, do so.

As regards the cases[3] started by the sanction of Bihar Government against *Patna Times, Dawn* and *Morning News,* a complaint was filed against me three and a half months later after I appeared for the newspapers in support of their transfer applications in the High Court. The reason to implicate me is obviously to prevent my appearance in those cases, and later actually applications were filed by the complainant objecting to my appearance as I was accused in a connected case. At first their case against me was that I cannot escape liability for what was printed in *Patna Times* as I was the alleged proprietor, and things were published with my knowledge, but later the Advocate-General made an open statement in Court that even in *Morning News* and *Dawn* I was instrumental in getting the things published, though I believe you know and as a matter of fact I did not even know any proprietor, Director, Editor or Printer or Publishers of *Dawn* or *Morning News* till after the institution of the cases. I met your brother-in-law Mr. Nooruddin, a Director of *Morning News,* for the first time at your place at Dacca some time after you became Premier of East Bengal. These facts will be borne out by all persons connected with *Dawn* and *Morning News*. I hope no Muslim to escape [*sic*] himself will be a party to put false blame on others to please the complainant and falsely implicate others to please complainant to get out himself [*sic*]. I am told this is what Mr. Jeelany[4] has done.

I regret to say that some Muslims, who were staunch Muslim Leaguers and are now in the Indian Dominion, are so demoralised that they

would go to any extent and do any thing not only to save themselves but even to curry favour with the officials and Govt.

The policy of some Congress leaders and some of the Congress Government officials is that [the] higher the position of a Muslim the more he should be falsely implicated and disgraced, and to secure this object the *modus operandi* is to manufacture a false case and also, if possible, they prefer to utilise certain demoralised and unscrupulous Muslims in the Indian Dominion for the purpose. Truth is bound to triumph in the end.

I do think that the two Governments of Pakistan and Hindustan may consider it desirable to stop harassment in such class of cases and [in] cases under the Press Act alleged to have been committed prior to 15th August 1948.

If these matters are brought to the notice of the Quaid-i-Azam, it is possible [that], as the grand old wise man, he may consider that something may be done in this matter. If you think it desirable you may mention this matter. I do feel somehow this matter may be brought to Quaid-i-Azam's notice, and many persons may be saved harassment and persecution. The complainant in these newspaper cases is bent upon wreaking his vengeance against me and utilise his position to harass me by engineering and starting false cases against me in my old age when my heart is broken, specially after my eldest son's death. In fact he got furious against me due to my cross-examining him vehemently in the *Morning News* case.

As I told you, for reasons of health, I am proceeding to Europe and hope to be well enough to return not before long. As I am not well and I am advised to avoid worries and extremes of climate, I have applied for adjournment in the paper defamation case against me. You want me to see you on Friday, but as I told you I have already arranged for my passage for reasons of health and I could only see you if circumstances permit me, but now I find that the date cannot be altered. I have sought your advice and written to you before to relieve me from the membership of the Committee,[5] and I now formally write to you as President. For reasons of health, I have to be away for some time from Asia (Pakistan and Hindustan). I hereby formally tender my resignation from the Committee. I realise that the Quaid-i-Azam appointed the Committee and he should be informed. I think you may inform him as President unless there is some technical objection to it.

I will try to convey your information if possible to Mr. Sharif[6] that you want him to see you on Friday but I have very little time.

Mr. Sharif's son came to see me this afternoon and I have asked him to ask his father to see you on Friday.

Yours sincerely,
M. YUNUS

[1]Qazi Muhammad Saeed, Secretary, Central ML Bihar Relief Committee.
[2]Treasurer, Central ML Bihar Relief Committee.
[3]See Appendix I. 10 & I. 14, Vol. II, 723 & 727, respectively.
[4]Not identifiable.
[5]He was Vice-President, Central ML Bihar Relief Committee.
[6]S. M. Sharif, Bar-at-Law, General Secretary, Central ML Bihar Relief Committee.

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M. A. Jinnah to Francis Mudie

F. 46 (II)-GG/23

18 May 1948

Dear Sir Francis,

I have received your letters of the 14th,[1] 15th and 17th of May,[2] and I thank you for keeping me in touch. Please continue to do so. The communique issued by me[3] stands and what I told you in Karachi also stands; no change at present. I do not wish to intervene, as I have made it clear, and therefore no reply is to be sent on my behalf to any one by you. You will adhere to your position as a constitutional Governor, as I explained to you in Karachi.

I may mention here that ordinarily and normally the Ministry must be formed from amongst the Members of the Legislature, and Din Mohammad's name should not be accepted by you without consulting me as he is not a member of the Assembly.

I have nothing more to add to my communique, nor have I got to add anything to what I told you in Karachi.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 363.
[2]Not traceable.
[3]Annex.

Annex to No. 371
Press Communique

F. 46 (II)-GG/22

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S HOUSE,
KARACHI,
12 May 1948

WEST PUNJAB MINISTERIAL PROBLEM

After full discussion with His Excellency the Governor, West Punjab, the Premier, and his colleagues, the Governor-General has come to the conclusion that he has not sufficient ground for issuing any particular directions to the Governor at present.

The Governor will, therefore, proceed in the normal course to face the ministerial tangle and take necessary steps in choosing and summoning his Ministers.

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Muhammadi Steamship Co. Ltd. to S. M. Yusuf

F. 120 (Vol. V)-GG/231

KARACHI HOUSE,
McLEOD ROAD,
KARACHI,
19 May 1948

Wa qaalar-kabu fihaa

bismillaahi majraihaa wamursaahaa!

Inna Rabbi la-Ghafu-rur-Rahim![1]

Dear Sir,

Our first ship, S.S. *Point Clear,* has now been registered in Karachi—the first ocean-going vessel to be registered in Pakistan—and will be sailing on her next voyage under Pakistan Flag. With the change of the Flag, the Directors have also decided to rename the vessel as S.S. *Ahmadi*. It is, therefore, the earnest desire of the Directors to request Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah to perform the re-naming ceremony of the vessel on 9th June, 1948, at about 6 p.m. We shall, therefore, thank you if you will be kind enough to request Quaid-i-Azam to give an

opportunity to our Mr. Dawood Habib and the undersigned to wait on His Excellency personally to make the request.

It may not be out of place to mention here that this company is one of the largest public limited companies registered in Pakistan, with a paid-up capital of rupees two crore. We have already purchased four ships of the total of nearly 30,000 tons dead weight, and in addition have taken four ships on charter totalling nearly another 30,000 tons dead weight. Our ships are at the moment engaged in the carriage of grains and merchandise between western and eastern Pakistan and bringing back coal and other commodities from Indian coast to Pakistan. One of our Directors, assisted by our Marine Superintendent, is now in the U.S.A. negotiating for the purchase of some more vessels, particularly suitable passenger type vessels.

We shall anxiously await to receive the commands of Quaid-i-Azam.[2]

We remain,

Yours faithfully,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
Manager
for Muhammadi Steamship Co. Ltd.

[1]Translated into English, it reads "So he said: 'Embark ye on the Ark, in the name of *Allah*, whether it moves or be at rest! For my Lord is, be sure, Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful'!" (S:XI.41)

[2]F. Amin intimated that Jinnah would be pleased to accept the invitation but that the date did not suit him. See F. 120 (Vol. V)-GG/230. Not printed.

373

Abdul Rashid Khan to S. M. Yusuf

F. 120 (Vol. V)-GG/218-9

DACCA,
19 May 1948

Sir,

GOOD MEN

So says the great poet, Saadi,[1] in his famous book, *Gulistan*, "Kings are in greater need of good men than good men are in need of royal favours". Through the guidance of our great architect, the Quaid-i-Azam, the free State of Pakistan, by grace of *Allah*, has been established. As a consequence our need for good men is felt at every moment.

I give below three names who are thoroughly known to me. They

are neither my relations nor I have anything in common with them. Incidentally I know them for several years and in my considered opinion they should be brought to the notice of our great leader, the Quaid-i-Azam.

1. Dr. S. Banker. He was Chief Medical Officer of the B.B. & C.I. Railway—a good surgeon, a good physician, and a thorough gentleman, a Parsee by nationality and a well-to-do man. Long before establishment of Pakistan, we were casually discussing Pakistan. He heard me saying, "We Muslims have no money although we are determined to achieve Pakistan". As he heard this, he solemnly told me, "I am due to retire at the age of 55; I may draw a very good sum of money in the shape of Provident Fund and other dues. If this could be of any assistance to Muslims towards their fund, I am prepared to place it entirely at your disposal". What he said he meant, and I felt as if I had really received it. After retirement from Railway at Bombay, he was appointed as Chief on the Joint Public Service Commission of B.B. &C.I. and G.I.P. Railways at Bombay. It is presumed he may be still in office at Bombay. Such a friend of Pakistan should be in the knowledge of our beloved Quaid-i-Azam.

2. Mirza Abdul Qadir Baig, Advocate, President, Dargah Committee, and President, Muslim League, Ajmer, Rajputana. For the last 30 years he has been serving the Muslims of India. He did good work during the Khilafat Movement in Bombay. After that he settled in Ajmer some time about 1924. He had been selflessly working for the uplift of Muslims in Rajputana. He got the Dargah Bill of 1936 passed and his devotion to the community has been so well-known in Ajmer that we have had no leader of his calibre for centuries in Rajputana. He sacrificed everything as he placed his nation first and then himself and his family. He is a great scholar in Arabic, Persian, English and Urdu, besides [being] a good lawyer. I understand that owing to recent killing of Muslims in Ajmer, he had to give up his residence there. It is said he is somewhere in Pakistan, either in Karachi or in the Punjab. As President of the Muslim League, I feel our Quaid-i-Azam has met him on a number of occasions.

3. Khan Bahadur Abdul Wahid Khan, Government Advocate, Ajmer. He is one of the ablest men Ajmer [has] produced. He had been known to be a champion of truth. When he served the Government, he was loyal to the Govt. and when he represented the Muslims, he never sacrificed their interest for the sake of the foreign government. He had been respected by all communities in Ajmer. Owing to last killing of Muslims in Ajmer, I have been told, he is also in Pakistan, somewhere in Karachi or Lahore. He was the President of the Dargah Committee,

Ajmer and his public life had been an important factor in Rajputana during the last 30 years. He is a trustworthy and reliable lawyer of a scholarly character. I wish our Quaid-i-Azam is informed of him.

My motive is not in the least to ask you to do more than to bring to the notice of our Quaid-i-Azam, names of these three gentlemen and some particulars which I have given about their past. If they could be of any service to the State of Pakistan, I shall be happy, as my motive is only to bring the three good men to the notice of Pakistan's highest authorities.

I may be excused for taking your valuable time in this connection. I felt the urge of doing so and I am not quite sure whether it would be of any value.

Pakistan Zindabad! Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad!

I beg to remain,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
A. R. KHAN
District Mechanical Engineer,
E. B. Railway

[1]See No. 34, note 1.

374

Ghausuddin Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. V)-GG/99-103

[*Original in Urdu*]
[*Extracts*]

HOUSE NO. 893,
SHAHI BAZAR,
KOTRI, DADU DIST.,
19 May 1948

A'ala Hazrat Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

May I presume to invite Your Excellency's attention to the prevailing situation in the country. I am doing what I am, since you, Quaid-i-Azam, are the Founder of Pakistan and *Mujahid-i-Millat-i-Islamia*.

Let me introduce myself. I am an old citizen of Hyderabad, Deccan. I developed an affection for Pakistan after its establishment due, in

some measure, to Hyderabad being ruled by inefficient people which had distressed me a great deal. So, out of sheer love for Pakistan, I migrated here. Within a few days, I got acquainted with the administrative scenario of this country, which saddened my heart since the same Hyderabad situation was prevalent here due to suitable people not being at the helm of affairs. I know you are aware of the flaws that characterize the present system and are endeavouring to remedy them. You realize, too, that speedy remedial measures are imperative in order to prevent the onset of despondency. It is true that, if God wills and the intentions of the rulers are good, everything will be all right in five to ten years, and that Pakistan will become a role model as it were under your leadership. The evils that now prevail are a legacy of the British rule, especially its last thirty years.

You know full well that all evils stem from inefficient leadership at the top; therefore, great care should be taken in selecting incumbents for high offices. At the same time, inexperienced officers should not be appointed to highly sensitive and responsible posts since appointment of persons lacking experience could only cause confusion and chaos in the country. Similarly, officers in higher echelons should routinely be transferred from one province to another. They should not be retained at a particular place for long as keeping them posted at one place for an indefinite period would breed corruption.

If there is paucity of qualified persons in the country, they can be imported from abroad, including Hyderabad, Deccan. To accelerate the pace of industrialization, suitable manpower can be brought from Japan as well.

Pakistan is beset with the refugee problem. The Sind Government did address it but it was too late. A large number of hapless and wretched people who had migrated to Pakistan with high hopes have had to go back in sheer frustration.

To conclude, I apologise for encroaching on your invaluable time.

Your humble servant,
MIR GHAUSUDDIN ALI
ex-Resident of Hyderabad, Deccan

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Mohammad Amin Khoso to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. V)-GG/39

SILVER NEST HOTEL,
NEAR CANT. RAILWAY STATION,
KARACHI,
20 May 1948

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Your Excellency knows me. You are personally and wholly responsible for bringing me to Muslim League from which I was driven out by my friend, Mr. G. M. Sayed.

I happen to be one of those who served H.E. Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah at the most critical period in the life of the Sind Legislative Assembly. Personally I have gained very little from this service. H.E. Sir Ghulam Hussain's statesmanship, coupled with farsightedness of Sir Francis Mudie, had brought Sind under the banner of Muslim League. I think both these gentlemen know me not to be a disruptive element so far as my activities are concerned. If you think it proper, you can order my services for the betterment of my people in Sind and Baluchistan.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMAD AMIN KHOSO
ex- MLA (Sind)

376

A. Khaleeli to S. M. Yusuf

F. 120 (Vol. I)-GG/143

MINISTRY OF COMMERCE, INDUSTRIES AND WORKS,
CHIEF COURT BUILDING,
KARACHI,
20 May 1948

My dear Yusuf,

Please refer to your d.o. letter No. D.1895-GG-48 of the 13th May 1948[1] enclosing a letter of the 6th May[2] from Messrs Ahmed Ebrahim

Brothers of Rangoon asking for permission to set up a textile mill in Karachi.

2. We are not aware as to the source of the informal reply to the effect that the applicant could establish the textile mill anywhere in Pakistan except at Karachi. Our position, however, is that we cannot possibly permit everyone a free hand to start industries where he likes. Whilst it is necessary to give the fullest scope to private enterprise and initiative, it is also necessary to assure ourselves that the evils which flowed in the past from acting on the doctrine of *laissez-faire* do not recur in our country today. A certain amount of regulation and control is essential in the interest not only of the State but of the industrialists themselves. Like other countries, Pakistan has adopted, as a policy, a programme of dispersal of industries the country over. Unless there is balanced development in the various regions of Pakistan, progress cannot be on a uniform basis nor the benefits of industrialisation broadcast.

3. In the programme of Textile Development, 2 lakhs of spindles equivalent to 8 mills of 25,000 spindles each have been earmarked for Sind. Of these, 3 units of mills are to be established at Karachi. There are areas like Hyderabad and Sukkur where industry can and should develop. We cannot possibly over-concentrate our industrial activity at Karachi alone. We are, however, prepared to take special circumstances into consideration and within the general framework of our policy accommodate industrialists where we possibly can do so.

4. Yunus, a representative of the firm of Messrs Ahmed Brothers Limited of Karachi (which is the allied firm of Messrs Ahmed Ebrahim Bros., Rangoon) from whom we just received an application for permission to set up a textile mill at Karachi of 20,000 spindles with necessary knitting machinery and powerlooms, saw Nasrullah, my Deputy Secretary, 2 or 3 days ago and told him that he had applied for and had been allotted a site in the Sind Industrial Trading Estate and that the firm had special difficulties in establishing this mill outside Karachi. In view of the special circumstances urged on us we have agreed to the location of the mill at Karachi as a special case. I am afraid that in future we will have to insist on people interested in establishing the textile industry in Sind going out to Hyderabad and Sukkur where also 2 Industrial Estates are to be established.

Yours sincerely,
A. KHALEELI
[*Joint Secretary*]

[1]F. 120 (Vol. I)-GG/142. Not printed.
[2]Not traceable.

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S. M. Yusuf to M. Ikramullah

F. 216 (V)-GG/12

20 May 1948

My dear Ikramullah,

This is to inform you that the Quaid-i-Azam is leaving for Quetta on the 25th morning. He would like Shah[1] to accompany him to finalise the formation of the Advisory Committee [*sic* for Council] for Baluchistan and other connected matters. It is not possible to indicate at this stage the period for which Shah's presence will be required at Quetta.

Yours sincerely,
S. M. YUSUF

M. Ikramullah, Esq., C.I.E.,
Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
Karachi

[1]Lt. Col. A. S. B. Shah, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

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C. A. G. Savidge to M. A. Jinnah

F. 820/69-70

SECRET

QUETTA,
21 May 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

This is the seventh of my bi-monthly reports.

2. The period which has elapsed since my last report[1] has been generally uneventful. Tranquillity has prevailed throughout the Province and even the seasonal migration of the *Powindah*[2] tribesmen returning from down country to Afghanistan has not been attended by any untoward happenings. It is unfortunate that we are not in a position to meet the usual demands of these Afghan nomads for cloth owing to the acute shortage in Pakistan as they are apt to regard such inability as a reflection on the strength and efficiency of Government as a whole, without appreciating the reasons underlying the shortage. Abdus Samad Achakzai and two prominent members of the Kalat National Party, who were under detention, were released recently

after being severely warned against indulging in further anti-Pakistan activities. Abus Samad's movements have been restricted to his village while security for future good behaviour has been taken from the other two agitators. Political activity in Pakistani Baluchistan has centred mainly on the forthcoming elections of the Muslim League. The mistrust of the League's policy and organisation in Baluchistan by the *Sardars* is still deep-rooted and it is deplorable that the local League leaders have not hesitated to make clear their intention of doing away with the so-called "Sardari System" at the earliest opportunity. Changes there must undoubtedly be in the system which has grown up since many generations, but any attempts to overthrow the system forthwith will, without doubt, result in chaos and disorder throughout this corner of Pakistan. Evolution and not revolution should be the keynote in this difficult and vitally important matter. A clearer and more detailed exposition of Pakistan's policy in respect of the *Sardars* and the existing system of tribal responsibility is very desirable and I would suggest that this should be one of first subjects to which Your Excellency's Advisory Council[3] should be required to give its attention when it is constituted. The recent visit to the Province of Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman, Convenor of the All-Pakistan Muslim League, has had a good effect. He has seen for himself the defects in the present organisation of the local Muslim League and I hope his sound advice to the League office-bearers and members on the true aims of the League and the relation between it and Government will be taken to heart.

BALUCH STATES

3. Reports from Kalat indicate that the Khan and his advisors are initiating a serious campaign to reorganize the State administration and balance the budget. The State will, however, not be in a position to undertake the nation-building projects which are so badly required until ways and means are devised to make the *Sardars* contribute towards the general revenues of the area. An anachronism which permits the "very few" to live on the fat of the land at the expense of the great majority of the people and contribute nothing towards the general advancement of this majority, is indefensible and is a legitimate target of criticism. An incident of some significance occurred the other day when Mir Abdul Karim, brother of His Highness, disappeared from the State and crossed the frontier into Afghanistan accompanied by some fifteen individuals. Nothing of his intention to do so was apparently known to the Khan or the State authorities, and the reason for his action is said to be his dissatisfaction at the failure of the Khan to resist the accession of Makran and Kalat to Pakistan. It is

possible that this discontented *Sardar* will endeavour to carry out anti-Pakistan propaganda in Afghanistan, and action has been taken to keep a close watch on his activities.

4. The reorganisation of the Makran administration is proceeding satisfactorily and the people in the area are now awaiting the return of Nawab Bai Khan who is expected next week. Arrangements have been made to give him a fitting reception on his first local appearance after the accession of his State.

5. Kharan State has applied for a loan to assist in the development of the State and we hope this help, which will have an excellent effect politically, will be forthcoming from the Central Government. Reports from Las Bela show that the administration there is far from satisfactory and I foresee we shall have to take a strong line with the Jam. Our progress in respect of all these States is unfortunately greatly handicapped by the fact that no Political Agent has so far been appointed for the Baluch States. This is a most pressing matter and I hope a decision will be announced soon.

QUETTA WATER SUPPLY

6. With the advent of the summer season, this thorny and vitally important question, which has been under constant consideration for two generations, has once again come to the fore. Quetta Town and Cantonment depend for their existence on the supply of water which originates at Urak in a valley to the immediate north-east of the City. The main bone of contention has been the sharing of the available water between the comparatively small number of *zamindars* in the valley and the residents of the Town and Cantonment. With the establishment of Pakistan, Quetta is likely to assume much greater civil and military importance than formerly, but its development depends fundamentally on securing an adequate and permanent supply of water. This can, I am convinced, only be assured by acquiring all the water rights in the present source of supply after compensating suitably the *zamindars* affected, and to this end the relatively few individuals concerned should not be allowed to stand in the way of the advancement of a large and important section of the community.

QUAID-I-AZAM'S VISIT

7. The news of Your Excellency's intention to visit Baluchistan in the near future and spend some time at Quetta and Ziarat has given much satisfaction and the public are looking forward with great eagerness to giving you a real Baluchistan welcome. In political circles, your visit is linked to the question of the constitution of your Advisory Council and an early decision and announcement on this important

matter are hoped for. Except for Your Excellency's reception on arrival, no programme of public events has been prepared as desired by you, and I have made it known that the biggest service our Province can perform is to allow Your Excellency to have a thorough rest.

Yours sincerely,
C.A.G. SAVIDGE
Agent to the Governor-General and Chief Commissioner, Baluchistan

[1]Not traceable.
[2]Migratory Afghans descending on the sub-continent to seek seasonal work and livelihood.
[3]See No. 81

379

M. Ikramullah to S. M. Yusuf

F. 216 (V)-GG/1

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
AND COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS,
KARACHI,
22 May 1948

My dear Yusuf,

Foreign Minister agrees to Shah accompanying Quaid-i-Azam to Quetta to finalise the formation of Advisory Committee [*sic* for Council] for Baluchistan and other connected matters. As the work here is quite heavy and keeps on accumulating, it is suggested that he should make two or three trips to Quetta instead of staying there continuously for a month or so.

Yours sincerely,
M. IKRAMULLAH

380

S. M. Yusuf to M. Ikramullah

F. 216 (V)-GG/2

24 May 1948

My dear Ikramullah,

I placed your letter dated the 22nd of May[1] before the Quaid-i-Azam and he has directed me to inform you that he does not agree to your proposal that Shah should make two or three trips to Quetta instead of

staying there continuously for a month or so. The Quaid-i-Azam has already informed the Prime Minister and the Secretary-General that he would like to take on Shah as his Political Secretary with immediate effect. If this necessitates the appointment of a new Joint Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, you may take steps to do so.

Yours sincerely,

S. M. YUSUF

M. Ikramullah, Esq., CIE,
Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

[1]No. 379.

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Report on M. A. Jinnah's Reception at Samungli Airfield, Quetta

F. 216 (V)-GG/13-4

QUETTA,
25 May 1948

Over fifty thousand people gathered at Samungli Airfield gave a never-to-be-forgotten enthusiastic welcome to the Quaid-i-Azam when his Dakota flying Governor-General's personal flag touched down at eleven this morning—the exact scheduled time of arrival.

As the Quaid-i-Azam wearing cream silk *achkan* with grey *karakuli* Jinnah cap stepped down from his aircraft, the sun-baked valley and the gaunt bare surrounding hills resounded to the full-throated shouts of the crowd, *Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad*. Even old inhabitants of Quetta declare that there never has been such a gathering at the Airfield before in living memory. From early morning, all roads leading towards the aerodrome were congested with out-going traffic. There seemed a never-ending line of crammed lorries, overloaded cars, filled-to-capacity *tongas* and even cyclists carrying one and often two passengers. No taxi could be had in Quetta today as all taxis had been hired well in advance for today's journey to the Airfield. Young and old, men, women and children all went to Samungli Airfield for today is a national holiday in Quetta and the people are observing the occasion of the first visit of the Quaid-i-Azam after the birth of Pakistan to their town as a festival.

First to greet the Quaid-i-Azam were the Hon'ble the Agent to the

Governor-General and G.O.C. Eighth Div., Major-General Mohammad Akbar Khan. Among those present at the aerodrome to welcome the Quaid-i-Azam were the representatives of the Baluchistan States, Qazi Mohammad Isa, members of the Shahi Jirga, members of the Quetta Muslim League and high-ranking civil and military officers. The Baluch Regiment provided the Guard of Honour with a Band and Colours. The Quaid-i-Azam before taking the Royal Salute stood and waved to the crowd in response to their repeated shouts of *Zindabad*.

While the A.G.G. was introducing the representatives of Baluchistan States, members of the Shahi Jirga and others to the Quaid-i-Azam, Miss Fatima Jinnah met the distinguished ladies of Quetta in a special tent pitched at the edge of the Airfield.

The Quaid-i-Azam and Miss Fatima Jinnah drove to town in an open car. The first few miles of the route were lined by the Pakistan National Guards and the remainder by the military. The sun by now was scorching and hot, but wherever there was a tree or some shade people had clustered together in their anxiety to catch their first glimpse of the Quaid-i-Azam. As the town came nearer, the throng of the people increased and in the town itself both sides of the road were just a mass of humanity—happy and jubilant with faces full of smiles and throats hoarse with shouting.

The school children waving little flags in their small hands, local bands playing undefineable tunes and occasional men here and there beating the *naqqara* added to the gaiety of the atmosphere, while the lines of buntings on the route and the frequent gates of welcome added colour to the magnificient shady avenue of *chinar* trees of which Quetta boasts and through which the Quaid-i-Azam's procession passed.

Long after the Quaid-i-Azam's car had gone into the Residency where he is staying, the crowd lingered in front of the building as if reluctant to end its festive mood for which Quetta had been preparing with undiminishing enthusiasm for days. Its eighty thousand population has swelled up, some say, by at least another fifteen thousand by people from the surrounding regions who have come for this occasion. Old inhabitants of the town say that Quetta has never looked so full before. Till very late last night, a large number of people were still out in the streets, either putting last minute finishing touches to street decorations or just gathered in small groups talking of the morrow.

PRINCIPAL INFORMATION OFFICER

382

A. Floyd Tarr to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (V)-GG/119

SALISBURY PARK,
POONA,
25 May 1948

Dear Sir,

At a recent General Council of our church, attended by delegates from all of the territories in our Southern Asia Division, as well as by representatives from the United States, authorization was given [to] me to convey to you from our members who are citizens of Pakistan an expression of their wholehearted and happy loyalty to you and your Government. The entire Council were unequivocal in their appreciation of the unselfish and inspiring leadership rendered by you and your colleagues in Government, and the many benefits, including those of religious liberty, which we in common with other Christians, and people of all communities, so freely and gratefully enjoy at your hands.

It gives me much pleasure to convey to you this expression of the gratitude and wholehearted loyalty of all Seventh-Day Adventists in Pakistan.

With sincere wishes and continued prayers for your health and personal welfare, I beg to remain,

Yours most respectfully,
A. FLOYD TARR
Secretary,
General Conference of Seventh-Day Adventists
(Southern Asia Division)

PS. A year ago, we asked one of our overseas publishing houses to send you a copy of one of our publications—*Liberty,* which we hope is reaching you regularly each quarter.

A.F.T.

383

S. A. Siddiqui to F. Amin

F. 120 (Vol. I)-GG/270

218 SOMERSET STREET,
KARACHI,
25 May 1948

Dear brother-in-Islam,

Herewith a small present[1] for favour of acceptance by the Quaid-i-Azam.

It is just an attempt to present a rough picture of a subject which had got blurred in our minds under the dazzling light of the European thought. But the European civilization is in ruins today while the two warring ideologies of the world are busy seeking positions for the final show-down. We turn our eyes from the one to the other forgetting that there is a third one—the ideology of Islam—in which lies the salvation of the world as it had been for a millennium. Shall we show light to the others or shall we join them in groping in the dark?

So "Seek help in *Allah* and endure, Lo! the earth is *Allah's*. He giveth it for an inheritance to whom He will and Lo! the sequel is for those who keep their duty (unto Him)".

I request that the book may be placed before the Quaid-i-Azam.

Yours brotherly,
S. A. SIDDIQUI
Deputy Auditor General of Pakistan

[1]A book titled *Public Finance in Islam*. See F. 120 (Vol I)-GG/272. Not printed.

384

Mohammad Hassan to M. Ikramullah

(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 1025/202-4

TOP SECRET

EMBASSY OF PAKISTAN,
TEHRAN,
27 May 1948

Sir,

I have the honour to give below an account of my interview with

His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah of Iran on Monday, 24th of May, 1948. His Majesty was graciously pleased to grant me audience at my request. He was kind enough to receive me in his private palace in ordinary clothes and this time not in formal attire as on the previous occasion. The interview lasted for one hour. I spoke to His Majesty in Persian throughout the course of the interview and he seemed very pleased with the meeting.

2. I took the opportunity of bringing many important subjects to His Majesty's notice. I had taken with me a copy each of the following pamphlets:

i. RSSS in the Punjab
ii. Intelligence reports concerning the tribal repercussions of the events in the Punjab, Kashmir and India
iii. Kashmir before accession
iv. Note on the Sikh Plan
v. The Sikhs in action

His Majesty started off the conversation by asking as to what these pamphlets (which I had in my hand) were about. I handed over the pamphlets to him and he accepted them thankfully and put them away on his personal writing table. He said that the material I had given him when I had met him last (my d.o. letter No. Parep I3(I)/48 of 4th February, 1948, refers)[1] had apprised him of certain very dirty things that the Sikhs had been guilty of. He also promised that in spite of his pre-occupations he would find time to go through these pamphlets, which I gave him now.

3. His Majesty surprised me by asking me about the political activities of Ali Zaheeer's brother, Mr. Sajjad Zaheer. He said to me: "Is Ali Zaheer's brother a Communist". I told His Majesty that indeed Sajjad Zaheer was a Communist and that the whole Zaheer family was a family of eccentrics. Upon this the Shah remarked: "Ali Zaheer[2] does not seem to cut much ice in this country". I was surprised at these remarks of the Shah because it convinced me that he was fully in touch with the press. Incidentally I had published this news about Sajjad Zaheer being a Communist about three months ago in the local press.

4. His Majesty said to me that he had learnt that Pakistan was badly in need of armaments. I replied that although I had not been officially asked by my Government to request the Persian Government for arms, but it was no doubt a fact that we were lamentably handicapped by shortage of arms. His Majesty replied: "The matter is under consideration".

5. The conversation turned upon Afghanistan. His Majesty remarked that Afghanistan was being exceedingly stupid in her foreign policy. I took this opportunity of informing him that Afghanistan, being our

immediately neighbouring Islamic State, was the one country from which we expected the greatest amount of sympathy, but regretfully it turned out to be the one country which had shown the greatest amount of hostility to us ever since the creation of Pakistan. I explained to His Majesty the purpose behind this Pathanistan stunt that Afghanistan had created and also gave him my analysis of the Afghan attitude. He agreed with me entirely.

6. I also discussed the Kashmir and Hyderabad situations with him and mentioned that, although the Security Council had decided to form a mediation commission composed of five nations to deal with the Kashmir issue, yet it had not been ideals of justice and fair play that had swayed all the decisions of the Security Council in this matter, but it was essentially power-politics that had determined the attitude of the big powers in regard to smaller powers. Nobody could have agreed with me over this remark more than did His Majesty since his own country is no less a victim of power-politics than our own. With regard to Hyderabad, I explained the situation to him and laid special emphasis on the unreasonable attitude that India had adopted over both the Hyderabad and the Kashmir issues. I also brought in a reference to Nepal and explained that it was something like the status that that country was enjoying which Hyderabad was bidding for. I also gave a good bit of background of the history of Hyderabad and how the Nizam, even during the British days, had enjoyed a special position of distinction among Indian Princes. I also mentioned that shortly I might have to introduce to His Majesty a delegation that the Nizam was contemplating to send to Iran.

7. I also took this opportunity of showing the press telegram that I had received regarding Master Tara Singh's expression of satisfaction at the establishment of the Jewish State of Israel in Palestine. I informed His Majesty that the Sikhs and also the Hindus, for that matter, were not only opposed to the Muslims of India but were the most inveterate enemies of Islam wherever it existed.

8. The question of consular representation of India and Pakistan in Iran was also discussed. I gave my views to His Majesty that Zahidan had lost all importance so far as India was concerned and that India, in demanding a consulate at that place on the land-frontiers of Iran and Pakistan, could have little other interest except that of setting up a snooping post on that important border. I, of course, said that it was entirely for the Persian Government to decide whether to grant India a consulate at Zahidan or not. I also said that, if India were given a consulate there, Pakistan would be in a position to protect herself against India's mischief, but the Persian Government could at this

stage show their friendly feelings by preventing India from getting a foothold for mischief-mongering at that place. His Majesty promised to look into the matter personally and he made a note of it. I understand India have already been given a consulate at Zahidan but I none the less thought it necessary that our point of view should be brought to the notice of His Majesty. As to what the final outcome of His Majesty personally going into the matter will be, I cannot conjecture at this stage.

9. I asked His Majesty if he had been following the details regarding the three journalists' visit to Pakistan. I knew that each one of them had individually met the Shah, after their return from Pakistan.[3] His Majesty seemed pleased with our initiative in this respect and said: "I am very glad that these three journalists have had the opportunity of visiting Pakistan and of seeing things for themselves. They all seem to have returned very pleased with their visit". I said to the Shah that the Quaid-i-Azam's message sent to him saying that, God forbid, in the hour of Iran's need the 80 million Musalmans of Pakistan would to a man be at the service of Iran, was not meant to be mere baseless sentimentality. I assured His Majesty that the Quaid-i-Azam never said anything which he did not mean. I also said to the Shah that Iran had captured the hearts of the people of Pakistan by extending her moral and material help to Pakistan when our country was in mortal peril of her very existence. I said to him that I like all other Pakistanis had genuine respect for the monarch of Iran. The Shah was very pleased with this expression of respect and gratitude.

10. I told His Majesty that I was shortly going to Karachi for a short visit and asked whether he would like to convey any message to the Quaid-i-Azam. He said to me: "Please convey my best regards to your Quaid-i-Azam and tell him that I reciprocate his feelings of friendship for me and my country. I hope Pakistan will soon overcome her difficulties". His Majesty asked me when we expected our Ambassador to arrive. I said that I knew nothing about his arrival, but expected that he would be here soon. His Majesty said: "We hope you will come back to Iran". I expressed my gratitude for the Shah's remarks and said that for the present I was going to Karachi on a short visit and so far as I was aware I would come back to Iran.

11. The interview went off very well. Throughout the audience His Majesty was very kind and did not treat me as a foreign diplomat at all. He expressed his views most frankly and seemed to appreciate and listen most patiently and sympathetically to all that I had to tell him. I am confident that I left a very good impression on him.

12. After the interview was over, I came out of the palace and met

Mr. Hurmuz Pirnia, one of the courtiers of His Majesty. During the course of the conversation with him, he mentioned that India was not likely to gain much success in this country. He said to me in a most candid manner, "what success can Ali Zaheer achieve in this country? After his arrival we took 48 days before we accepted his credentials, in spite of his persistence to present them as soon as possible". Mr. Hurmuz Pirnia also let drop one or two hints about Afghanistan. One very significant remark he made was: "if Afghanistan thinks they can get away with this tomfoolery that they are practising with regard to the Helmand River, they are very sadly mistaken. Besides other things, we will express our resentment against Afghan policy by keeping away from the Afghan Independence Day celebrations which come off [*sic*] on Thursday, the 27th of May, 1948".

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

M. HASSAN

Major

Charge d'affaires

[1]Not traceable.

[2]Indian Ambassador to Iran.

[3]See No. 255.

385

Christians of Betmenabad to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 120 (V)-GG/117

LYALLPUR,

27 May 1948

We the Christians of Betmenabad 4526-B Dist. Lyallpur [now Faisalabad] heard with great sorrow the assassination of a Christian *sadhu* Nazam Dinat, Lahore. Necessary steps desirable to assure Christians safety and honour by Your Excellency solicited.

SARPANCH

Panchayat Betmenabad

386

S. Ghias Uddin Ahmed to S. M. Yusuf

F. 187 (2)-GG/159-60

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
LAHORE,
28 May 1948

D. O. No. G. S. 512

My dear Yusuf,

Please refer to your letter No. F. 187/2/G.G., dated May 18th, 1948.[1]

His Excellency is advised—(1) that no further action can be taken on this Bill except to deposit it as having made his election between the four courses of action open to him under Section 75 of the Constitution Act—His Excellency became *functus officio*. The returning of the Bill by the Governor-General without any orders under Section 76 of the Constitution Act does not bestow any powers on His Excellency to pass fresh orders, and (2) (H.E. does not fully agree with this) that as far as Chaudhri Muhammad Hassan[2] is concerned, the Bill was quite unnecessary as the Governor-General's Order of March 11th, 1948, making the East Punjab M.L.As. members of the West Punjab Legislative Assembly overrides the relevant provisions of the Constitution Act.

This is for information only.

Yours sincerely,

S. GHIAS UDDIN AHMED

[1]No. 369.

[2]ex-MLA, East Punjab, who had been appointed Chief Liaison Officer, Ministry of Refugees and Rehabilitation, Punjab.

387

Note by Erskine Crum

Mountbatten Papers, F. 84-B

[DELHI,]
28 May 1948

With reference to H. E. interview with Mr. Suhrawardy tomorrow, I expect that the latter will ask for advice as to his future. He has already done so from Sir Terence Shone.[1]

2. I suggest that the correct advice is that Mr. Suhrawardy should lie

low for a bit. He has obviously got himself into the unenviable position of not being trusted by either side.

Continuation of his present activities is not likely to improve relations between India and Pakistan, which is presumably his object. Could he not rest a while, and see how things go? An opportunity may open itself to him in a year or two.

V. F. ERSKINE CRUM
Lieutenant-Colonel
Conference Secretary

P.S. to G[overnor]-G[eneral, India].

[1]High Commissioner for the UK in India.

388

Khudaidad Jalal ud Din to C. A. G. Savidge

F. 263-GG/1

FORT SANDEMAN,
29 May 1948

Sir,

I most respectfully beg to state that I have great great respect for the Quaid-i-Azam and as a token of my sincerity I desire to weigh the Quaid-i-Azam in silver. The silver will be at the disposal of the Quaid-i-Azam. As the ceremony will be in public I am prepared to meet all expenses of a tea party suitable for the occasion. The arrangements can be made officially by your honour and cost obtained from me in advance.

I shall be much grateful if a reply[1] to this could be given to me in time so that I can come from Fort Sandeman where I am now going for the present.

I beg to remain,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
KHUDAIDAD JALAL UD DIN
MANDOKHEL

[1]The request was filed on 15 September after Jinnah's death.

389

Francis Mudie to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 46 (11)-GG/30

MOST IMMEDIATE/CONFIDENTIAL
No. 143/G

LAHORE,
31 May 1948

Have just seen Mamdot (3 groups omitted) informed me that he and Mumtaz agreed this morning that at tomorrow's Party meeting[1] they should lay all facts before Party meeting and that question of Premiership should be referred to you in your (group omitted-capacity?) as Quaid-i-Azam and not as Governor-General. I will wire further developments tomorrow. Addressed Quetta repeated Karachi.

[1]Meeting convened by Mamdot to review the situation. See the *Dawn*, 29 May 1948.

390

S. M. Nural Hasan to S. M. Yusuf

F. 25 (Part IV)-GG/111

BARNES STREET,
KARACHI 3,
Undated [May 1948]

Dear Sir,

We, the members of the Pakistan Students' Union, have decided to celeberate the Muslim World Day.[1]

In connection with this Day, we wish to invite the Quaid-i-Azam to an 'at home' on 11th May 1948,[2] and present an address to him.

I shall be highly obliged if you kindly request the Quaid-i-Azam to accept the invitation of the students.

Yours sincerely,
S. M. NURAL HASAN
President,
Pakistan Students' Union

[1]On 9 May 1948.
[2]F. Amin replied that it would not be possible for Jinnah to attend the function due to his preoccupation. See F. 25 (Part IV)-GG/115. Not printed.

391

President, Quetta Club to M. A. Jinnah

F. 105-GG/6

QUETTA CLUB,
QUETTA,
1 June 1948

The Committee and Members of the Quetta Club hope that Quaid-i-Azam and Miss Jinnah will do them the honour of considering themselves Permanent Honorary Members of the Quetta Club.[1]

[PRESIDENT]

Acceptance of membership conveyed by F. Amin on 3 June. See F 105-GG/7. Not printed.

392

Francis Mudie to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 46 (II)-GG/32

CONFIDENTIAL/MOST IMMEDIATE
144-G

LAHORE,
1 June 1948

For Governor-General, Quetta

In continuation of my telegram of yesterday.[1] Mamdot this morning changed his mind and refused to abide by his agreement with Mumtaz. A resolution on the lines of that indicated yesterday was moved in Party meeting but was withdrawn after Mamdot made a statement on the following lines: "There is no use of abusing two Ministers that have resigned. The question now is if we get five new Ministers we would get the confidence of public. The real question is the Quaid-i-Azam's displeasure. We must consult him in [*sic* for at] all events. No member of the Party would wish to act against his advice. As regards this resolution, I wish to say that I will take no steps without consulting Quaid-i-Azam. First of all, I will tell him what my programme is and who my Ministers are to be and ask for his approval and if he does approve I will start work. In these circumstances, I ask that resolution be withdrawn." When asked how long it would take to get your approval, Mamdot replied as the two Ministers could not carry on Government [*sic*] he would consult you

soon. For information. I will comment later if necessary when things are clearer.[2]

[1]No. 389.
[2]See No. 393.

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Francis Mudie to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 187 (2)-GG/161

CONFIDENTIAL/MOST IMMEDIATE LAHORE,
No. 145-G *2 June 1948*

For Governor-General, Quetta from Governor, West Punjab

This is in connection with my telegram No. 144-G of June Ist.[1] Mamdot saw me this afternoon and proposed names of (1) Abdul Hamid Dasti (2) Mian Nurullah (3) Major Mubarik Ali (4) Chaudhuri Muhammad Hasan for being sworn in as Ministers of his Cabinet. The first three are sitting members of West Punjab Legislative Assembly. The case of the fourth is somewhat peculiar. He became member of East Punjab Legislative Assembly after the partition and accepted an office of profit under Crown on October 1st 1947 and continued to do so after promulgation of your order of March 11th, 1948.[2] A Bill was passed by West Punjab Legislative Assembly to remove his disqualification, which I referred to you for orders. Bill was returned to [*sic* for by] Private Secretary with his letter F. 187/2/GG dated May 18th, 1948.[3] I am advised that I can take no further action but that Chaudhuri Muhammad Hasan may even so be a member of Assembly as your order overrides provisions of Government of India Act. I am, however, referring his case to you in case you may have any instructions to give regarding his appointment as a Minister.

[1]No. 392.
[2]See No. 124, note.
[3]No. 369.

394

M. A. Jinnah to Ambrose Dundas

Telegram, F. 65 (5)-GG/4

CONFIDENTIAL
37-QC

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S CAMP,
QUETTA,
2 June 1948

I was very sorry to hear that Mr. Duncan, our Political Agent in South Waziristan, was shot dead while on duty within his jurisdiction. The loss of this young and popular officer who had devoted himself to the welfare and uplift of the tribes will be mourned by all who knew him throughout the Frontier. Please convey to Mrs. Duncan an expression of my deep sympathy in her very sad bereavement.[1]

[1]Ambrose Dundas informed Jinnah that he had communicated the telegraphic message to Mrs. Duncan who was greatly touched and had asked him to convey her thanks. See F. 65 (5)-GG/3. Not printed.

395

M. A. Khaliq to H. I. Rahimtoola

(Copy to MS to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 2-GG/22-4

HAROON CHAMBERS,
SOUTH NAPIER ROAD,
KARACHI,
2 June 1948

May it please Your Excellency,

Undersigned, M. A. Khaliq, Associate Secretary of the Pakistan Olympic Association, presents compliments and begs to acknowledge receipt of Your Excellency's kind cable reading as under:

> Reference your letter [No.] 50 dated 3rd April. Please forward immediately entry forms of Olympic events intend participate and intimate date of arrival in England.

It is apparent that Your Excellency is taking personal interest in the Pakistan Olympic Contingent to World Olympic Games, London.

The following will be of interest to Your Excellency:

NATIONAL ENTRIES

We are sending to the Organising Committee of the 14th Olympiad, London, under registered cover by air mail, our national entries for the following:

i. Field Hockey ii. Football iii. Cycling iv. Swimming v. Field and Track events vi. Wrestling Weight-lifting and Boxing.

2. The Pakistan Olympic Association concluded recently, in Karachi, the First Pakistan Olympic Games, and our beloved Quaid-i-Azam made the following remarks[1] at the time of the opening ceremony of the Games:

> After these Games you shall go to the World Olympiad at Wembley Stadium, London, representing us as messengers of our goodwill and my best wishes will go with you. Remember, to win is nothing; it is the effort and the spirit behind the effort that count.

3. The Hon'ble Premier, Government of Pakistan, was kind enough to send us his personal message for publication in the souvenir programme, copies of which are being despatched to Your Excellency under a separate cover. This message inter alia states:

> I hope that Pakistan will be able to make a creditable showing in the coming World Olympics also.

4. The Hon'ble Fazlur Rehman in his message stated:

> I sincerely trust that our athletes and sportsmen will be a source of pride and pleasure not only to Pakistan but to the world at large.

5. His Excellency Sir Francis [*sic* for Frederick] Bourne, Governor of East Bengal, in his message said:

> If Pakistan is to take its proper place in world athletics, the foundations must be laid by an association such as that which is organising this first meeting; they have every claim to our sympathy and support.

6. Sir D [ouglas] Gracy, Commander-in-Chief, Pakistan Army, greets our Games with the following message:

> In these difficult days, the true Olympic spirit is of great value to the world, and I am confident that our chosen representatives, both in Pakistan and in England, by reflecting this spirit will be worthy representatives and ambassadors of their great nation.

FINANCES

7. Your Excellency must have seen the amount of propaganda engineered by the Indian Olympic Association in respect of the submission sponsored by the Pakistan Olympic Association. To finance our Pakistan Contingent we had suggested to the Government of Pakistan to grant us permission to print commemorative stamps of the value of Rs. 10,00,000, which issue our President was prepared to underwrite, and pay in advance to the Central Revenues the requisite amount on

the understanding that Government of Pakistan would make a grant- in-aid of rupees five lakh to the Pakistan Olympic Association. This suggestion has not met with any encouragement from the authorities concerned and we are still waiting for necessary guidance from our Government.

8. Afghanistan have sent their contingent at State expense; also have most other countries. India will also send their representatives to the coming Games in London, and we are sure Your Excellency will not like Pakistan to be absent from this assembly of international athletes and players.

PUBLICITY AND PROPAGANDA

9. Some of us, who are sweating in this national cause, are fully alive to the publicity and propaganda value incidental to Pakistan's participating in the World Olympic Games. True, our standards of achievement in track and field events fall far short of world records and we are fully conscious of these shortcomings, but we believe that a new-born State, and the biggest among Muslim countries, should not be allowed to go unrepresented in the 14th Olympiad for political and diplomatic reasons, and we trust that Your Excellency is fully alive to this vital need. Frankly, we have received little or no encouragement from our Government so far and the time at our disposal is very short. We cannot hope to make any headway in private collections because those who have money have answered, at one time or another from the 15th August 1947 till to date, numerous causes [*sic*] for national charity, and even they will not be spurred to action unless Government of Pakistan and Provincial Governments announce their contributions and issue appeals. Your Excellency will agree with us that it is not possible for a private body to raise five lakhs of rupees, which is the estimate of expenditure on the Pakistan Contingent. We have made our submission to our Governments, both Central and Provincial, and we do hope that they will come to our rescue.

10. Your Excellency, we trust, appreciates the vital necessity of this type of non-official propaganda mission and I can assure Your Excellency [that] there are, with the Pakistan Contingent, a goodly [*sic*] number of clever, wide-awake officials who will fill this type of ambassadorial role with credit.

11. Pakistan Olympic Association have also decided to hold the First Pan-Islamic Olympic Games in Karachi in 1950, and the Council very much wished to go to London so as to enable them to contact representatives of other Muslim countries assembled in London during the period July 29th to August 14th, to enable them to chalk out preliminaries and establish cultural contacts.

In view of the above, we trust Your Excellency will be graciously pleased to advise Government of Pakistan about the desirability or otherwise of sending a Pakistan Contingent.

If we fail to get monetary assistance from Government of Pakistan, we are afraid Pakistan will have to remain unrepresented.

I am,
Your Excellency's
most obedient servant,
M. A. KHALIQ
Associate Secretary, Pakistan Olympic Association

[1]See No. 311.

396

M. A. Jinnah to Francis Mudie

Telegram, F. 187 (2)-GG/162

IMMEDIATE

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S CAMP,
QUETTA,
3 June 1948

No. 39-QC

Your telegram June 2nd.[1] My communique[2] issued immediately after my interview with you and your Ministers at Karachi stands. You as Governor of Punjab have to handle the matter in normal way and I made that clear to you at Karachi. You have to act according to provisions of Constitution and do what is within your power. I have noted information given in your telegram.

As regards Chaudhury Muhammad Hasan, I am really surprised when you say that Bill was sent to me for my orders. The Bill was sent with your note asking me to express my opinion whether it was *ultra vires* or not for Punjab Assembly to pass Bill. You never pointed out in your note where I had such a power given to me and I informed you that I cannot consider and decide the question whether Bill was *ultra vires* or not. I am still more surprised when you say that my order overrides provisions of Government of India Act. I have done nothing of the kind. Which provision of Government of India Act has been overridden by my reply stating that I do not find any authority or power vested in me to decide whether Bill is *ultra vires* or not? In these matters, I wish you to be a little more precise and take legal advice properly. I want you still to let me know (1) under what authority or provision of law have I got power to decide whether Bill is *ultra vires* or not of Punjab Assembly and (2) what provisions of Government of

India Act have been overridden by my reply to only point [words missing] me as stated above.

[1]No. 393.
[2]See Annex to No. 371.

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M. A. Jinnah to Francis Mudie

Telegram, F. 187 (2)-GG/163

CONFIDENTIAL/IMMEDIATE

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S CAMP,
QUETTA,
3 June 1948

40-QC

Continuation my telegram No. 39-QC[1] regarding Chaudhury Muhammad Hasan and Bill. The question is whether Governor-General should give his assent to it or withhold it. In your previous communications you were side-tracked by academic question of *ultra vires* and *intra vires*. Please examine whether Punjab Legislative Assembly has power under any of items of the list assigned to Legislature to amend or repeal any provision of Government of India Act as adapted or whether this is beyond its scope and give your reasons for it. Also say whether even Governor-General has power normally to give his assent to such a Bill and to validate it. You must therefore send the Bill back immediately with all your reasons, grounds and opinion whether Governor-General should give assent to the Bill or withhold it.

[1]No. 396.

398

Shah Nawaz Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. V)-GG/289-90

VIRA HOTEL,
88 McLEOD ROAD,
LAHORE,
3 June 1948

Your Excellency,

May I encroach upon a few minutes of your precious time for a

matter that is personal.

I have waited for several months in my eagerness to avoid bothering Your Excellency with a matter which would to you probably be a personal and trifling matter. But during the last month or so, state of affairs has become untenable and I have been asked by several friends of mine to seek your advice in the matter as you are the only person who can give a definite reply to the question, being the architect of Pakistan.

My name is Shah Nawaz Khan, Major-General ex-I.N.A. I returned to my home in Rawalpindi District in November last year for the first time since the formation of Pakistan. Previous to this, I had been for the last eight months in Bihar, working for the relief and rehabilitation of Muslims under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi. I again returned to Delhi in January this year in response to a call from Mahatma Gandhi to work for the resettlement of Muslims and for the evacuation of mosques which had been occupied by the non-Muslims. After finishing my work in Delhi, I again returned to my home, at the end of January this year, and have been in Pakistan since.

Ever since my return I have been constantly shadowed, nay, haunted by the Police and C.I.D. I and my relations are being harassed and persecuted both by the West Punjab Government and Police. In fact life is being made impossible for me here.

Your Excellency! After my release from the Red Fort, I was dragged into politics and I took up a stand which I considered correct according to my honest conviction and in May, 1946, you were good enough to give me an interview, and on the acceptance of Pakistan by all parties, I recognized it as a fact and decided to stay in Pakistan, as an ordinary citizen and, if given an opportunity, to work for strengthening and consolidating it to the best of my ability. However, I appreciate the fact that the Pakistan Government would be justified if it took up an attitude of:

> You did nothing for the creation of Pakistan and now you have no right to expect to be given a chance for its consolidation.

But what I would like to know very frankly from you is whether I can stay in Pakistan as an ordinary citizen who asks for no privileges whatsoever.

I took the decision to remain in Pakistan knowing very well that in India I would be assured of a respectable life and probably a lucrative job. But I have refused to accept this because I was not prepared to give up my home and country for anything. At the time I took this decision, I had no idea that the type of harassment and persecution, to which I would be subjected, would take this extreme form.

I have issued several press statements declaring my loyalty to Pakistan State but the persecution continues.

If you would like to know the nature of my activities and the services

I have rendered to the oppressed Muslims of Bihar and Delhi, I would request you to find out from Mr. Jaffar Imam, President, Bihar Muslim League, and Mr. Zahid Husain who was the Pakistan High Commissioner in India.

I would very much like to meet Your Excellency and explain everything personally provided you can grant me an interview on any date and place convenient to you.

Yours sincerely,
SHAH NAWAZ KHAN
Maj. Gen.

399

Francis Mudie to M. A. Jinnah

F. 46 (II)-GG/34-5

LAHORE,
3 June 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I swore in Nurullah, Mubarik Ali Shah and Abdul Hamid Dasti at 11 a.m. this morning. I am doing nothing about Ch. Muhammad Hasan till I hear from you in reply to my telegram of yesterday's date.[1] So I suppose the ministerial tangle or crisis is now over. The ministerial mess will, however, I am afraid, continue. But some good thing may emerge. We are now, I believe, to have a Refugee Minister, so the problem will not be ignored by the West Punjab Government, as has to all intents and purposes been the case since Iftikhar-ud-Din resigned.

Also, I hope that all that has happened may be of some educational value politically. I enclose a cutting of today's leading article from the *Pakistan Times*.[2]

I enclose another cutting from the *Pakistan Times*[3] of a statement issued by three MLAs. As I suspected, Mamdot's promise at the Party meeting to refer the new Ministry to you was merely a trick to get the resolution withdrawn. Very typical of him.

Yours sincerely,
R. F. MUDIE

[1]No. 393
[2]Enclosure 1.
[3]Enclosure 2.

Enclosure 1 to No. 399

F. 46 (II)-GG/36

LAHORE,
3 June 1948

DEFEAT OR VICTORY[1]

The fragmentary account of the Muslim League Parliamentary Party meeting that has appeared in the press will only confirm the West Punjab public in the opinion they have already formed regarding their Ministers, past and present. What promised to be an epic battle between heroic adversaries turned out to be nothing more than another petty mud-slinging match with both the parties trying to wipe each other's face after every bout. No one could have won or lost this most futile of contests and no one did. The Khan of Mamdot has retained his leadership, it is true, but has he cleared himself of the charges of indecision, incompetence, immobility and unimaginativeness brought against his leadership by his own colleagues? Has he been able to prove that the charges of corruption and nepotism and inefficiency brought against the administration headed by him are either false or at least inapplicable to his particular domain of office? If he has managed to do so we should be very interested to know the details of the miracle. All that we know from his statements is that he has not even attempted to vindicate either his Government or his leadership. He has, on the other hand, admitted the charges but only denied the responsibility. What sort of a victory then has he won? Should we call him victorious merely because he managed to muster more votes behind him than his opponents? He did not attempt to obtain a clear-cut victory even on this low vote-catching plane, let alone the higher plane of moral rectitude, for no vote of confidence or no-confidence was allowed to be exercised. He continues to be the leader because his opponents were equally deficient in moral and physical courage and were reluctant to fight a straight fight. Have the former Revenue and Finance Ministers scored some sort of victory because they managed to extract from the Khan of Mamdot a vague assurance that he would consult the Quaid-i-Azam regarding ministerial affairs and abide by the Quaid-i-Azam's decision? They have certainly done nothing of the kind. They too have not been able to show a clean pair of hands, undefiled by the mess created in our public life by the first Muslim League Ministry in the province. They too have yet to vindicate themselves from the charges brought against the composite West Punjab Ministry by themselves and by their Chief. And they too have failed even to ensnare enough party voters into their net. Neither

faction, therefore, has politically won; they have both morally lost. And what are they fighting over anyhow? Have *Sardars* unvarnished language [*sic*] and continue to practise the obscure, circuitous meandering of intrigue and sophistry? A new set of Ministers is being installed but the public has been given no indication of the device whereby they will set right what is wrong and prove worthier of their office than their predecessors with better and more distinguished records. The public has been given no opportunity to enquire into the newly revealed misdeeds of the old Ministry before they can pronounce on the new one. Both the halves [*sic*] of the previous Ministry have confessed their guilt but have evaded both trial and judgement. And if we acquiesce in this procedure one Cabinet will follow another until all the MLAs have had a ride at the ministerial swing and the people will continue to be befooled by all types of adventurers swearing by the name of the Quaid-i-Azam and loud in the professions of service to the public. No wonder the common man feels helpless and sick at heart and does not know where to look for salvation. But salvation will come, as it always does, as soon as he gets wise to his own strength, his own problems and the way these problems can be solved, and insists that these problems should be solved his way by the people who are capable of doing so.

It appears that the Khan of Mamdot and Mian Mumtaz Daultana had both jointly come to the conclusion that the only proper and patriotic course was to advise the party to appeal to the Quaid-i-Azam for guidance. Accordingly, a resolution was drafted. The Khan of Mamdot, however, went back on this decision on the night of May 31 and he took the party into his confidence to say that although he was personally in favour of the resolution, he found his position embarrassing because some of his supporters were against the resolution, and he had made commitments which he could not renounce.

When the question of bringing forward his resolution was being discussed in the Party meeting, the Khan of Mamdot gave an unequivocal assurance that he would not take a single step without the approval and support of the Quaid-i-Azam, that he would place his policy and the names of his proposed Cabinet before the Quaid-i-Azam, and that he would continue in office only if the Quaid-i-Azam approved. On this assurance, members felt that the Premier had fully associated himself with the purpose of the resolution, and therefore, there was no point in formally moving and passing it. It is an insult to the Party to suggest that a majority of the Party was opposed to the purpose of the resolution.

In view of the confusion caused by the statement of the Secretary to the Premier, we find it necessary to ask the Premier the following straight questions:

1. Is it not true that the Quaid-i-Azam has repeatedly expressed the view that the Khan of Mamdot is not fit to remain the Premier of West Punjab, and that the Quaid-i-Azam has never changed this view?

2. Is it not true that the Khan of Mamdot expressly and solemnly agreed to support a resolution seeking the guidance of the Quaid-i-Azam, and that the Khan of Mamdot expressly admitted this fact in the Party meeting?

3. Is it not true that Khan of Mamdot gave an assurance in the Party meeting that he would take no step without the guidance and consent of the Quaid-i-Azam?

[1]Editorial, the *Pakistan Times*, 3 June 1948.

Enclosure 2 to No. 399

F. 46 (II)-GG/36

MAMDOT ASKED TO CLARIFY HIS POSITION[1]

Shaikh Sadiq Hasan, Sufi Abdul Hamid, and Ch. Fazal Ilahi, MLAs, West Punjab, have issued the following statement to the press:

A misleading statement has been released by the Secretary to the Premier, which seeks to falsify what happened in the meeting of the Muslim League Assembly Party held on June 1 and is an obvious attempt to confuse the people.

It was disclosed in the Party meeting that the Quaid-i-Azam has consistently held the view that the Khan of Mamdot is not a fit person to remain as the Premier of the West Punjab. It appears that this view was expressed by the Quaid-i-Azam on three different occasions in the presence of the entire West Punjab Cabinet, the first occasion being as far back as November 1947, and that on a suggestion by one of his colleagues that he may be given a further chance for a specified period, the Quaid-i-Azam said that it would be futile to try the impossible, and would cause immeasurable harm to the Province. The fact that this was Quaid-i-Azam's view was admitted by the Khan of Mamdot in the Party meeting.

As the Premier himself affirmed, there is no citizen of Pakistan today who would go against the guidance of the Quaid-i-Azam. In view of this, majority of the members of the Party were anxious to seek the advice and guidance of the Quaid-i-Azam and to see that a Government in West Punjab is formed in accordance with it .

[1]The *Pakistan Times*, 3 June 1948.

400

C. A. G. Savidge to M. A. Jinnah

F. 302/155-8

SECRET QUETTA,
3 June 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am enclosing, in original, a representation addressed to Quaid-i-Azam through me by a large number of influential and responsible *Sardars* of Baluchistan complaining about the activities of Qazi Moh[amma]d Isa, President of the Baluchistan Provincial Muslim League. The matter was also discussed with me recently by a deputation of the *Sardars*, headed by Nawab Moh[amma]d Khan Jogezai, who desired to explain their position personally before the representation was forwarded to Quaid-i-Azam.

2. Your Excellency is well aware of the acute differences of opinion which have for long existed between Qazi Moh[amma]d Isa and his followers in the Muslim League on the one side and the majority of the *Sardars* on the other. The cleavage between these two parties has become wider in recent months and, more recently, has centred round a struggle for representation on the Governor-General's Advisory Council which will shortly come into being. I cannot stress too strongly the deplorable effects which this contest for power has had on the general political atmosphere in the Province and the functioning of the administration.

3. At first sight the issue would appear to be the Muslim League versus the *Sardars*. In actual fact, this is far from being the case. To the best of my knowledge, there is no opposition on the part of the *Sardars* to the League as such or to the principles for which it stands. There is, however, deep and intense opposition to the person of Qazi Moh[amma]d Isa and his immediate party, as they are regarded as being determined to destroy the *Sardars* for personal motives, and are invoking the prestige of the League, in general, and the position occupied by Qazi Isa as President of the Provincial Muslim League, in particular, in furtherance of their objectives. It is my considered opinion that the present leaders of the Muslim League in Baluchistan, personified by the office-bearers of the Party, have not the real interests of the League at heart and are actuated by motives of personal aggrandizement. One of the principles of the League as emphasised rightly by the Convenor of the All Pakistan Muslim League, Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman, during his recent tour in Baluchistan, is to cooperate with the administration in the advancement of the country, but

I am sorry to say that this spirit of cooperation has been remarkable by its absence here. During the past two months it has been my constant endeavour to secure the help of the Muslim League and non-officials in important matters concerning the administration of the Province, but while I have received a ready response from non-official quarters other than the League, I have met with nothing but opposition and frustration from the party headed by Qazi Isa. I have discussed the matter on several occasions with him and asked for the assistance of his party in the interests of the people, but such assistance would only be forthcoming if he and his party were given a dominating position in every matter, irrespective of the fact that there are many members of the Muslim League in the ranks of the other non-officials who have been helping willingly.

4. The *Sardars'* distrust of Qazi Isa and his party is based on his anti-*Sardari* views expressed publicly on many occasions, and it is because of this distrust that the *Sardars* have refrained from becoming active members of the League in spite of official exhortations to them to join the League and play a more forceful part in upholding their own particular viewpoint. When Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman was here, I was very impressed with the sound and sincere advice he gave to Qazi Isa and the League members regarding the League policy and the part which the local Leaguers must play. Qazi Isa was also taken to task by Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman for irresponsible and damaging public statements made by him against the *Sardars* during his tour of the Chagai Agency. Unfortunately, all this advice has had little effect.

5. The stage has thus now been reached where matters have come to a head and we have to decide on the position and importance to be assigned to the *Sardars* and the Muslim League in general and to Qazi Isa and his immediate party in particular. As I have said previously, the primary issue is between the *Sardars* and Qazi Isa personally, as is also apparent from the enclosed representation. So far as the administration of the Province is concerned, we cannot do without the full support of the *Sardars* for a long time to come. Anything which will undermine their authority and prestige will be disastrous and will unquestionably lead to disorder. [The *Sardars* are as much instruments through which the administration functions as the official agencies through which the government of the country is carried on, and this system could only be replaced with immense difficulty and cost.] Changes in the system there must certainly be, but the fundamental principles underlying it must be retained if the Administration is to continue to function properly. Within this framework, there is ample room for the Muslim League if the local League members implement the true policy of the League, and I feel it is for the local Leaguers to

adapt themselves by compromise with the *Sardars*. This would not be impossible if the officers of the League would approach the problem in a sincere spirit of serving the best interests of the Province and keeping in view the essential need of carrying on the day-to-day administration of the country through a system which cannot be immediately and radically altered.

6. If what I have said above is accepted, I regard it as important that we should make it quite clear to the *Sardars* that, while they must see the writing on the wall and make up their minds to march with the times, their authority is to be maintained and government will continue to work through them and will expect their loyal and full cooperation.

7. The problem of Qazi Isa still remains. He is a force to be reckoned with to some extent, particularly in Quetta. If he would give up his personal ambitions in the greater interests of the Province and the State, he could be of much use, but I am doubtful if he will really see the position in that light. So long, however, as he continues to follow his present irresponsible and unreasonable attitude, he will be a real danger to the progress of Baluchistan and his activities will undoubtedly disturb the peace and harmony of the Province. I consider the time has come when the folly of his ways should be clearly pointed out to him and he should be told, in unambiguous terms, that he must either cooperate loyally and completely in the advancement of the Province on the lines approved by Government or must stand the consequences of continuing as a destructive and unhelpful opponent of the administration and of the very large and important interests against which he has adopted an uncompromising attitude so far. All efforts to bring him round have so far failed, and in view of the importance of the problem and Your Excellency's personal knowledge of its history, I would suggest that Quaid-i-Azam might send for Qazi Isa and put the position squarely and finally to him.

Yours sincerely,
C. A. G. SAVIDGE

Enclosure to No. 400

Mohammad Khan Jogezai & Others to M. A. Jinnah

F. 302/159-60

[*Undated*] *May 1948*

Your Excellency,

We, the *Sardars, Nawabs* and the Members of the Shahi Jirga, who are the true representatives of our tribes and the servants of the

Pakistani nation and Government, beg to submit that according to Baluch and Pathan traditions, we have been serving our people, and we assure Your Excellency that we, and our tribes, will be always loyal to the Pakistan Government.

When Muslims of India began their struggle for independence under your leadership we and our tribes followed your lead. During this struggle, we played our part at all critical junctures.

In the election of the Constituent Assembly, we defeated the Congress candidate, Abdul Samad Khan, and elected Nawab Moh[amma]d Khan Jogezai and thereby shattered all dreams of the enemies of Islam.

During Referendum in Baluchistan, we voted in favour of Pakistan, unconditionally, and saved Pakistan from the evil designs of the Congress.

These things are enough to prove our loyalty towards Pakistan. But in spite of all this, Qazi Moh[amma]d Isa, formerly President, Baluchistan Muslim League, is trying to create disruption among us and our tribes only to gain his personal ends. He is trying to create misunderstanding between us and the Government. His statement in the bulletin of the weekly *Khurshid* dated 25th May 1948 is a clear proof of what his intentions are. In this special issue, Qazi Isa's statement is far from [the] truth. The fact is that Qazi Isa tried his best to impress upon his self-made Working Committee that they should not join hands with the authorities at Quaid-i-Azam's reception and hold picketings [*sic*] on the public. But some of those present in those meetings opposed this move of Qazi Isa.

In the same statement, Qazi Isa has abused and insulted the *Sardars* of Baluchistan by calling them *Kasalaisane Azali* meaning, "The Born Flatterers and Beggars." This is insult to us, provocation to our tribes.

Qazi Moh[amma]d Isa is doing all this only because he has been disappointed in getting any job in Pakistan though he has not proved himself trustworthy.

Now Qazi Moh[amma]d Isa and some of his followers like Qadir Bux etc. are trying to create disturbance in Baluchistan. If they are not discouraged immediately, there might be some trouble and Qazi Isa will be responsible for this. On our part, we the *Sardars* and *Nawabs* will try our best to keep Baluchistan peaceful, but we express our anxiety about the speeches and writings of Qazi Isa which [might] create trouble at any time. It appears to us that he is playing in the hands of the enemies of Pakistan and causing incitement [*sic*], but we again affirm our faith and loyalty towards Pakistan to the last.

Considering Qazi Isa's recent utterances[1] in Nushki and other places

we make a joint request to Your Excellency that Qazi Isa may kindly be banned from holding any meetings in Baluchistan.

We beg to remain,
Sir,
Your most obedient and loyal servants,
MOHAMMAD KHAN JOGEZAI
AND 38 OTHER *SARDARS*

[1]See Annex.

Annex to Enclosure to No. 400
Statement by Qazi Mohammad Isa, President, Baluchistan Muslim League[1]

F. 302/167-70

[*Original in Urdu*]

QUETTA,
22 May 1948

When the Quaid-i-Azam came on the Sibi occasion,[2] the Baluchistan Muslim League worked for the reception of its beloved Quaid-i-Azam, in an outlying place where no facility was available nor an arrangement to the heart's content, with devotion and evincing labour and sincerity in a manner which not only is well-known to the inhabitants of Baluchistan, but has also astounded the press representatives of the whole world who came there. Drawing up a platoon of Muslim National Guards from the whole province, the arrangement of their lodging and boarding [*sic*], the posting of Muslim National Guards from the airfield to the Residency, decoration of the Sibi town, illumination of the town at night; all this work was done by the Muslim League. The best work of arrangement and decoration of the gates of the whole town was also performed by the hundreds of Baluchistan Muslim League workers.

Besides, the distinguished services of running a special train from Quetta and transporting thousands of Baluchistan Muslims to Sibi were also rendered by the Baluchistan Muslim League. And the Muslims of Baluchistan achieved the distinction of success. The Muslim League has always claimed to be the sole representative party of the Muslim nation. And it is on the basis of this claim that, by the grace of God, we have got Pakistan. If the claim was true for the [sub-]continent of India, it was, and is, assuredly also true for Baluchistan. In spite of all these services and popularity in the public, the local Government and a few of its officers

have, as far as they could, tried to ignore the Muslim League.

The order of arrangement in which the representatives of the Muslim League Party were made to stand at the Sibi airfield, was not in keeping with the position of the Muslim League.

Not to have recognized at the Sibi Darbar the services of the Muslim League, to ignore those who served it, and not to give them any distinctive status, to give seat at the Quaid-i-Azam's table at the Sibi Tea Party to only the "toadies" (whom we have inherited from the late British Government), all these were such acts of the local Government by which it either wanted to create a feeling of awe in the minds of the Baluchistan public or wanted to make them disheartened and disgusted (by implying) that the League has no importance yet. And, if therein is any importance, it is that of the people nominated by the old Government, and till now they are the people who have a prestige.

The common public of Baluchistan was not prepared to accept this before, nor is it prepared to do so now. If the members of the Shahi Jirga are really representatives of their respective tribes, they should have no hesitation in getting elected by the vote of their own tribe.

The right of election should not rest in the hands of the authorities. If these gentlemen cannot make [*sic*] their public and their tribe of their own view, they are not able in any way to represent their tribe. To repeatedly give preference to such an irresponsible party over a party which represents the public, viz. the Muslim League, is to be very hard on the public and to humiliate the public party which we are never prepared to bear.

After the Sibi occasion, the Government happened to have formed two or three such committees which were mostly composed of the members of the [Shahi] Jirga, and my name was also associated, for instance, [with] Educational Advisory Committee for the tribal area. As such, I was compelled to inform the authorities of the time that I was not prepared to accept the membership of a committee on which other members of the Muslim League did not find a place. We are not prepared to serve on any committee on which the Muslim League is not adequately represented. It was on this principle that the Muslim League refused to send a representative on the Rehabilitation Committee.

Besides, time and again I have received the complaints from the reliable workers, office-bearers and the common folk of the Muslim League that the authorities neither take them in their consultations [*sic*] nor attach any importance to their opinion. The authorities also do not give them any preferential treatment in their interviews. Even preference has sometimes been given to the people who are still holding on to their titles over persons who returned their titles for the sake

of the League. And our people are told that the title-holders will receive preference over all others at the time of interview. Till my brethren of Baluchistan have entrusted this service to me I will never be prepared to accept the humiliation of my party and the members in such a manner. Now the news has reached us that the Quaid-i-Azam is arriving at Quetta on the 25th May. This information was conveyed by the Government by telegram to all Jirga members on the 12th May. I was called by the AGG after six days on the 18th May and given this news. I protested at it and related all the above to him and I brought to his notice that if, like the Sibi occasion, we are again ignored, our members, who had expressed their opinion to me previously, would be forced to take severe steps. If local Government, therefore, wants us to participate in the reception, the (Muslim League) party should be given a formal invitation and an appropriate space allocated for its representatives. And, in no way, should irresponsible persons be given preference over them.

After stressing this, I left the AGG, Baluchistan. After two days of this interview, I was extremely surprised when the local Government's printed programme reached me without any invitation. A few hours later, the Personal Assistant to the AGG, Baluchistan, reached me on behalf of Baluchistan Govt. with an invitation addressed to the Chairman, Baluchistan Muslim League, and Members of the Working Committee. It was a great mistake on the part of the Government to have done so in spite of our unambiguous opinion in the matter. All this was placed by me before the Working Committee of the Provincial Muslim League on the 22nd May, at which the unanimous view was that the Party had been greatly insulted and humiliated. The view of the majority was that we should not take part in this reception. After hours of discussion, when I pointed out that if we took this step, the opponents of the League and the enemies of Pakistan would have an opportunity to say that we were boycotting the reception of the Quaid-i-Azam which was far from our mind and at all cost to us we were not prepared to allow such a misunderstanding about the Quaid-i-Azam to be created (even though the local Government might once again cause us humiliation). The members of the Working Committee of the Muslim League finally agreed (to take part in the reception). The following resolution, which has the support of Muslim League Members of the Quetta Municipality, Muslim Students Federation, Muslim Chamber of Commerce, and Baluchistan Labour Federation, was passed by the Working Committee:

RESOLUTION

The Working Committee of Baluchistan Muslim League at its meeting held on the 22nd of May 1948, at 2 Lytton Road, Quetta, and

presided [over] by Qazi Moh[amma]d Isa, passed the following resolution:

The Committee strongly protests against the places allotted to the Provincial Muslim League and its President by the local Government at the official reception of Quaid-i-Azam at the airfields on the 25th of May 1948. As the League is the only Party to represent the overwhelming majority of the people of this Province, it must have precedence over all other sectarian interests. The Committee, therefore, wish to make it clear in most unambiguous language that we will not suffer an irresponsive Government such as ours to belittle the League publicly and thereby undermine its prestige in popular estimation. The Committee further demands a complete reorientation in both the mentality and the psychology of the Provincial officials, if we are to save Pakistan from the dangers from within. Now, at this juncture, to disassociate ourselves from the official arbitrary programme of the local authorities might be misconstrued by some as a boycott of Quaid-i-Azam's reception which is furthest from our mind. The Committee, therefore, resolves to participate in this official programme under protest—a protest directed against the local Government that on no future occasion should it expect the League to acquiesce in such a derogatory position.

[1]See the Supplement to weekly *Khurshid*, Quetta, 25 May 1948.
[2]11-15 February 1948.

401

Jagatjit Singh to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. V)-GG/293-6

CHATEAU KAPURTHALA,
MUSSOORIE (UP),
3 June 1948

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Kindly excuse me for writing to Your Excellency on a personal matter.

2. I was staying in Srinagar during the summer of 1947 and in the month of August last I went to Rawalpindi by road on my way to Delhi. I kept my motor vehicles at Rawalpindi with Northern Motors Ltd. on the 12th of August and left for Delhi from Rawalpindi by train. The vehicles were:

i. Century Buick Car—No. Kapurthala 3
ii. Chevrolet Car—No. Kapurthala 7

iii. Chevrolet Bus—No. Kapurthala 10

3. These vehicles were left at Rawalpindi as I had originally intended to return from Delhi by train to Rawalpindi and to make use of these vehicles on my way back to Srinagar. Due to dislocation of railway traffic, I decided to take a plane from Delhi to Srinagar on the 22nd of August and all my motor vehicles remained with the Northern Motors Ltd., Rawalpindi. My Private Secretary had addressed a letter to Mr. Anwar-ul-Haq, who was working as Deputy Commissioner, Rawalpindi, in those days, and requested him to arrange to send my motor vehicles to Srinagar. The Deputy Commissioner was also given coupons for fifty gallons of petrol together with a sum of Rs. 200 to cover the garage rent and charges of petrol, etc., for the journey. I regret to say that no reply was received from him. On my return to Kapurthala, I wrote several letters to the various officials in the West Punjab but I did not get any satisfactory reply. I then wrote a letter to the Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan, who very kindly acknowledged my letter and wrote to me that he had sent my letter to Mr. Justice A. Rehman, the Custodian of Abandoned Property in West Punjab, as he was the proper person to deal with such matters, and that he had been given powers under an Act of the West Punjab Assembly. I then wrote a letter to Mr. Justice Rehman, dated the 17th March 1948, giving full details of the case. I received a reply from him on 24th March 1948, a copy of which I enclose[1] for Your Excellency's perusal together with a copy of the reply, dated the 25th April 1948,[2] sent to Justice Rehman by my Chief Minister. Justice Rehman's contention was that removal of cars from the West Punjab is permitted only on a reciprocal basis, and that if we could arrange to send cars belonging to Muslims lying in the Kapurthala State, an order could be passed for the removal of my cars from the West Punjab. From the reply given to him by my Chief Minister, it is evident that my Government had agreed to accord their full approval to the return of cars belonging to the Muslims lying in the Kapurthala State on reciprocal basis, and Justice Rehman was asked to send a list of cars belonging to the Muslims lying in my State. My Government had further given an assurance to Justice Rehman that my cars may be sent to the Pakistan Deputy High Commissioner at Jullundur who would hand over the cars to me and who would also be authorised by my Government to take charge of the cars belonging to the Muslims lying in the State. I regret to say that I have not heard anything further from the Custodian, Evacuee Property, West Punjab. As my Government has accorded their full approval on reciprocal basis, I shall be grateful if you will kindly issue necessary instructions to implement the

undertaking given by the Custodian, Evacuee Property, West Punjab.

4. I feel sorry to cause you this inconvenience for a small matter but as I am experiencing great difficulty for want of my cars I thought that with Your Excellency's kind help, the matter would be settled expeditiously.

Hoping to be excused for the trouble.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
JAGATJIT SINGH
Maharaja of Kapurthala

[1]Enclosure 1.
[2]Enclosure 2.

Enclosure 1 to 401
A. Rehman to Jagatjit Singh

F. 120 (Vol. V)-GG/297

No. CEP/111

LAHORE,
24 March 1948

I have received a copy of your letter dated the 21st February 1948,[1] addressed to the Hon'ble the Prime Minister for Pakistan.

Removal of cars from the West Punjab is permitted only on a reciprocal basis and if you can arrange to send cars belonging to Muslims and lying in your State, an order can be passed for the removal of your cars from the West Punjab.

[1]Not traceable.

Enclosure 2 to 401
Chief Minister, Kapurthala State, to A. Rehman

F. 120 (Vol. V)-GG/298

25 April 1948

His Highness the Maharaja has asked me to convey his thanks to you for your letter No. CEP/111 dated 24th March 1948.

2. His Highness' Government accord their full approval to the return of cars belonging to Muslims lying in the Kapurthala State on reciprocal basis. I shall be glad to have a list from you of the cars belonging to Muslims which are lying in the State. In the meantime, I shall be grateful if you will kindly arrange to send His Highness' cars to Kapurthala at a very early date. I may further suggest that you may

kindly send the cars to the Pakistan Deputy High Commissioner at Jullundur who would hand over the cars to His Highness and who would also be authorised by His Highness' Government to take charge of the cars belonging to the Muslims which are lying in the State.

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Shiavax Rustomji to Philip Edwards[1]

F. 216 (V)-GG/25

C/O ALBERT PRESS, QUETTA,
3 June 1948

Dear Sir,

Our Quetta Parsi Anjuman has decided to present, on behalf of the Parsi community of Quetta, an address[2] to His Excellency Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the Governor-General of Pakistan.

We shall be thankful if you will kindly let us know the date and time when His Excellency would be pleased to receive the representatives of our community at the Quetta Residency, if he signifies his willingness to accept the address.

Yours faithfully,
SHIAVAX RUSTOMJI
Joint Honorary Secretary,
Quetta Parsi Anjuman

[1]Political Agent, Quetta and Pishin.
[2]See No. 421.

403

S. Ghias Uddin Ahmed to S. M. Yusuf

F. 66 (2)-GG/4

LAHORE,
No. 6382 *4 June 1948*

Sir,

I am directed to forward herewith the *Sanad* of the title of Khan Sahib, surrendered by Malik Qadir Bakhsh, Pleader, Muzaffargarh, on his relinquishing the title of Khan Sahib conferred upon him on the 1st February, 1937.

2. The Khan Sahib badge surrendered by him has been lost in transit by the postal authorities who are prepared to make good the loss. I am, therefore, to request you to let me know the present price of a Khan Sahib badge complete with case and ribbon. I am also to request you to let me know the "Head" under which the amount, when recovered, should be credited.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
S. GHIAS UDDIN AHMED

404

Francis Mudie to M. A. Jinnah

F. 187 (2)-GG/165

D.O. No. GS.565

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
LAHORE,
5 June 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am replying by telegram to your two telegrams Nos. 39-QC[1] and 40-QC,[2] dated June 3rd, 1948. I am afraid that my telegram No. 145-G, dated June 2nd, 1948,[3] was somewhat confusing as I assumed that your Secretary would put up my Secretary's letter No. G.S. 512, dated May 28th, 1948,[4] which explained the position regarding the Bill as I understand it.

2. In case this letter has not yet reached you I enclose a copy of it and also copies of my Secretary's letter No. G.S. 351, dated April 21st, 1948,[5] with its enclosures and of the telegram I am sending today in case it should arrive mutilated. An authenticated copy of the Bill[6] is also enclosed.

3. My opinion is that the Bill is *ultra vires* [of] the Provincial Legislature and that, if you share that opinion, assent should be withheld. If, however, you are advised that the Bill is *intra vires* I recommend that assent be given to it.

Yours sincerely,
F. R. MUDIE

[1]No. 396.
[2]No. 397.
[3]No. 393.
[4]No. 386.
[5]F. 187 (2)-GG/142-6. Not printed.
[6]Not traceable.

Enclosure to No. 404
Francis Mudie to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 187 (2)-GG/164

IMMEDIATE/CONFIDENTIAL LAHORE,
No. 146-G *5 June 1948*

Your telegram No. 39-QC and 40-QC dated June 3rd,[1] 1948.

Relying on express saving of provisions of 5th Schedule to Constitution Act in West Punjab Legislative Assembly Order 1948, I held view that other provisions of Constitution Act, including Sections 69 and 70, were applicable to that Order, and consequently Chaudhry Moh[amma]d Hasan who held office of profit under Crown on and after the March 11th, 1948, was disqualified for being a member of West Punjab Legislative Assembly, and had incurred penalties by reason sitting in Assembly while subject to disqualification. The Bill removing disqualification was passed on April 5th, and purported to have retrospective effect, which I felt was repugnant to Constitution. Under pre-Adaptation Constitution Act, such repugnancy was provided for in Section 108, and was curable by Governor-General's assent under Section 109. Section 108 has now been omitted, present Constitution Act nowhere provides for such a cure, but to allow power to Provincial Legislatures to act in defiance of Constitution being inconceivable, and feeling that on question whether by legislating retrospectively, any repugnancy to Constitution was involved, different view might be (Grp omitted taken?) by Central Legal Department and perhaps yourself, I reserved Bill for your consideration.

2. No provision of Constitution Act overridden but your Private Secretary's letter No. F. 187/2-GG dated May 18th, 1948[2] [*sic*]. Reference in my telegram 145-G dated June 2nd, 1948[3] is to certain advice received by and mentioned in my Secretary's letter of May 28th, 1948[4] to your Secretary to the effect that by virtue of sub-section (4) of Section 9 read with sub-section (2) of Section 6 of Indian Independence Act, the West Punjab Legislative Assembly Order 1948 has effect as a Law of Dominion Legislature, and is not void or inoperative by reason of repugnancy to Constitution Act being an existing Act of Parliament. These express Provisions of Independence Act are applicable to Constitution Act under sub-section (2) of Section 8 of Independence Act, and consequently the appointment of Chaudhry Moh[amma]d Hasan to be MLA (West Punjab) is not subject to conditions specified in Section 69 of Constitution Act. If this view is correct, this is unnecessary and no difficulty arises, but I do not accept its correctness.

3. Provincial Assembly has power to legislate only in so far as

provision to that effect is made by Constitution Act but it has no power to amend that Act. Even if assent were given to Bill under consideration the courts might, now that section 108 has been omitted, declare the Act to be of no effect. Clause (a) of sub-section (1) of Section 69 of Constitution Act confers legislative power relevant to this case. Entry of Eleventh List II of Seventh Schedule confers power to legislate for selection but this power is subject to the provisions of Government of India Act.

4. Governor-General is still free under Section 76 of Government of India Act to give or withhold assent to bill but presumably assent to any bill *ultra vires* of Provincial Legislature would be withheld. The bill with my opinion is being forwarded to you separately as desired.

[1]No. 396 & 397.
[2]No. 369.
[3]No. 393.
[4]No. 386.

405

Khalilur Rahman to S. M. Yusuf

F. 120 (Vol.V)-GG/184

AKBAR MEDICAL HALL,
PATIYA, CHITTAGONG,
6 June 1948

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose herewith a copy of Flood Control Scheme at Chittagong together with a copy of the resolutions[1] of the Chittagong Welfare Society for your perusal and necessary action.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
K. RAHMAN
President, Chittagong Welfare Society

[1]F. 120 (Vol. V)-GG/187. Not printed.

Enclosure to No. 405

F. 120 (Vol.V)-GG/185-6

FLOOD CONTROL SCHEME

The people of flood-affected areas of Chittagong cannot forget their sufferings and difficulties they had to undergo during the terrible flood of last year. The Government and many organizations, both official and non-official, spent some lakhs of rupees in relief work in these areas, but they could hardly mitigate a little bit of the sufferings of the people.

Flood in Chittagong was not new last year. It has been experienced for some years back and the effect of flood in Chittagong is gradually increasing. It is apprehended this year also that Chittagong may have to meet [with] the same fate of accident as last year, because of the fact that no progressive work or any plan and programme have been started or drawn up by the Government for flood control, though there is a special officer and department established for this purpose. This sort of indifference is making the people disheartened and losing [*sic*] the earnest co-operation from the public. So, in this connection, I like to point out to the Government that the following are the main causes due to which Chittagong is affected with flood:

1. The present port-revetment arrangement on the River Karnafuli.
2. Insufficient drainage on both the railway branch lines of Chittagong—Dohazari and Chittagong—Nazirhat.
3. Almost all rivers, *khals* and streamlets of Chittagong have become comparatively silted up.
4. The Rivers Dhurung and Halda are the main factors to create flood in the northern part of Chittagong.

Now let us discuss in detail how the causes of the flood are created by the above items:

As regards item No. 1. Due to the revetment arrangement of the port, there is no doubt that the port position of the Karnafuli has improved but current of the river upwards Kalurghat becomes always slow and thereby that part of the river becomes silted up and in heavy rains at Rangamati side, cannot accommodate the water-flow which washes away the villages on both sides.

As regards item No. 3. During war-time the hills of Chittagong were not controlled and plants and trees were cut down by the Military from many parts of the hills, so in heavy rains, the hills break down and slide into the rivers, *Khals* and streamlets which have thus become silted up and now cannot accommodate the heavy current, washing away the villages on either sides.

1. Is it not true that the Quaid-i-Azam has repeatedly expressed the view that the Khan of Mamdot is not fit to remain the Premier of West Punjab, and that the Quaid-i-Azam has never changed this view?

2. Is it not true that the Khan of Mamdot expressly and solemnly agreed to support a resolution seeking the guidance of the Quaid-i-Azam, and that the Khan of Mamdot expressly admitted this fact in the Party meeting?

3. Is it not true that Khan of Mamdot gave an assurance in the Party meeting that he would take no step without the guidance and consent of the Quaid-i-Azam?

Editorial, the *Pakistan Times*, 3 June 1948.

Enclosure 2 to No. 399

F. 46 (II)-GG/36

MAMDOT ASKED TO CLARIFY HIS POSITION[1]

Shaikh Sadiq Hasan, Sufi Abdul Hamid, and Ch. Fazal Ilahi, MLAs, West Punjab, have issued the following statement to the press:

A misleading statement has been released by the Secretary to the Premier, which seeks to falsify what happened in the meeting of the Muslim League Assembly Party held on June 1 and is an obvious attempt to confuse the people.

It was disclosed in the Party meeting that the Quaid-i-Azam has consistently held the view that the Khan of Mamdot is not a fit person to remain as the Premier of the West Punjab. It appears that this view was expressed by the Quaid-i-Azam on three different occasions in the presence of the entire West Punjab Cabinet, the first occasion being as far back as November 1947, and that on a suggestion by one of his colleagues that he may be given a further chance for a specified period, the Quaid-i-Azam said that it would be futile to try the impossible, and would cause immeasurable harm to the Province. The fact that this was Quaid-i-Azam's view was admitted by the Khan of Mamdot in the Party meeting.

As the Premier himself affirmed, there is no citizen of Pakistan today who would go against the guidance of the Quaid-i-Azam. In view of this, majority of the members of the Party were anxious to seek the advice and guidance of the Quaid-i-Azam and to see that a Government in West Punjab is formed in accordance with it .

[1]The *Pakistan Times*, 3 June 1948.

400

C. A. G. Savidge to M. A. Jinnah

F. 302/155-8

SECRET QUETTA,
3 June 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am enclosing, in original, a representation addressed to Quaid-i-Azam through me by a large number of influential and responsible *Sardars* of Baluchistan complaining about the activities of Qazi Moh[amma]d Isa, President of the Baluchistan Provincial Muslim League. The matter was also discussed with me recently by a deputation of the *Sardars,* headed by Nawab Moh[amma]d Khan Jogezai, who desired to explain their position personally before the representation was forwarded to Quaid-i-Azam.

2. Your Excellency is well aware of the acute differences of opinion which have for long existed between Qazi Moh[amma]d Isa and his followers in the Muslim League on the one side and the majority of the *Sardars* on the other. The cleavage between these two parties has become wider in recent months and, more recently, has centred round a struggle for representation on the Governor-General's Advisory Council which will shortly come into being. I cannot stress too strongly the deplorable effects which this contest for power has had on the general political atmosphere in the Province and the functioning of the administration.

3. At first sight the issue would appear to be the Muslim League versus the *Sardars*. In actual fact, this is far from being the case. To the best of my knowledge, there is no opposition on the part of the *Sardars* to the League as such or to the principles for which it stands. There is, however, deep and intense opposition to the person of Qazi Moh[amma]d Isa and his immediate party, as they are regarded as being determined to destroy the *Sardars* for personal motives, and are invoking the prestige of the League, in general, and the position occupied by Qazi Isa as President of the Provincial Muslim League, in particular, in furtherance of their objectives. It is my considered opinion that the present leaders of the Muslim League in Baluchistan, personified by the office-bearers of the Party, have not the real interests of the League at heart and are actuated by motives of personal aggrandizement. One of the principles of the League as emphasised rightly by the Convenor of the All Pakistan Muslim League, Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman, during his recent tour in Baluchistan, is to cooperate with the administration in the advancement of the country, but

I am sorry to say that this spirit of cooperation has been remarkable by its absence here. During the past two months it has been my constant endeavour to secure the help of the Muslim League and non-officials in important matters concerning the administration of the Province, but while I have received a ready response from non-official quarters other than the League, I have met with nothing but opposition and frustration from the party headed by Qazi Isa. I have discussed the matter on several occasions with him and asked for the assistance of his party in the interests of the people, but such assistance would only be forthcoming if he and his party were given a dominating position in every matter, irrespective of the fact that there are many members of the Muslim League in the ranks of the other non-officials who have been helping willingly.

4. The *Sardars'* distrust of Qazi Isa and his party is based on his anti-*Sardari* views expressed publicly on many occasions, and it is because of this distrust that the *Sardars* have refrained from becoming active members of the League in spite of official exhortations to them to join the League and play a more forceful part in upholding their own particular viewpoint. When Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman was here, I was very impressed with the sound and sincere advice he gave to Qazi Isa and the League members regarding the League policy and the part which the local Leaguers must play. Qazi Isa was also taken to task by Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman for irresponsible and damaging public statements made by him against the *Sardars* during his tour of the Chagai Agency. Unfortunately, all this advice has had little effect.

5. The stage has thus now been reached where matters have come to a head and we have to decide on the position and importance to be assigned to the *Sardars* and the Muslim League in general and to Qazi Isa and his immediate party in particular. As I have said previously, the primary issue is between the *Sardars* and Qazi Isa personally, as is also apparent from the enclosed representation. So far as the administration of the Province is concerned, we cannot do without the full support of the *Sardars* for a long time to come. Anything which will undermine their authority and prestige will be disastrous and will unquestionably lead to disorder. [The *Sardars* are as much instruments through which the administration functions as the official agencies through which the government of the country is carried on, and this system could only be replaced with immense difficulty and cost.] Changes in the system there must certainly be, but the fundamental principles underlying it must be retained if the Administration is to continue to function properly. Within this framework, there is ample room for the Muslim League if the local League members implement the true policy of the League, and I feel it is for the local Leaguers to

adapt themselves by compromise with the *Sardars*. This would not be impossible if the officers of the League would approach the problem in a sincere spirit of serving the best interests of the Province and keeping in view the essential need of carrying on the day-to-day administration of the country through a system which cannot be immediately and radically altered.

6. If what I have said above is accepted, I regard it as important that we should make it quite clear to the *Sardars* that, while they must see the writing on the wall and make up their minds to march with the times, their authority is to be maintained and government will continue to work through them and will expect their loyal and full cooperation.

7. The problem of Qazi Isa still remains. He is a force to be reckoned with to some extent, particularly in Quetta. If he would give up his personal ambitions in the greater interests of the Province and the State, he could be of much use, but I am doubtful if he will really see the position in that light. So long, however, as he continues to follow his present irresponsible and unreasonable attitude, he will be a real danger to the progress of Baluchistan and his activities will undoubtedly disturb the peace and harmony of the Province. I consider the time has come when the folly of his ways should be clearly pointed out to him and he should be told, in unambiguous terms, that he must either cooperate loyally and completely in the advancement of the Province on the lines approved by Government or must stand the consequences of continuing as a destructive and unhelpful opponent of the administration and of the very large and important interests against which he has adopted an uncompromising attitude so far. All efforts to bring him round have so far failed, and in view of the importance of the problem and Your Excellency's personal knowledge of its history, I would suggest that Quaid-i-Azam might send for Qazi Isa and put the position squarely and finally to him.

Yours sincerely,
C. A. G. SAVIDGE

Enclosure to No. 400
Mohammad Khan Jogezai & Others to M. A. Jinnah

F. 302/159-60

[Undated] May 1948

Your Excellency,

We, the *Sardars, Nawabs* and the Members of the Shahi Jirga, who are the true representatives of our tribes and the servants of the

Pakistani nation and Government, beg to submit that according to Baluch and Pathan traditions, we have been serving our people, and we assure Your Excellency that we, and our tribes, will be always loyal to the Pakistan Government.

When Muslims of India began their struggle for independence under your leadership we and our tribes followed your lead. During this struggle, we played our part at all critical junctures.

In the election of the Constituent Assembly, we defeated the Congress candidate, Abdul Samad Khan, and elected Nawab Moh[amma]d Khan Jogezai and thereby shattered all dreams of the enemies of Islam.

During Referendum in Baluchistan, we voted in favour of Pakistan, unconditionally, and saved Pakistan from the evil designs of the Congress.

These things are enough to prove our loyalty towards Pakistan. But in spite of all this, Qazi Moh[amma]d Isa, formerly President, Baluchistan Muslim League, is trying to create disruption among us and our tribes only to gain his personal ends. He is trying to create misunderstanding between us and the Government. His statement in the bulletin of the weekly *Khurshid* dated 25th May 1948 is a clear proof of what his intentions are. In this special issue, Qazi Isa's statement is far from [the] truth. The fact is that Qazi Isa tried his best to impress upon his self-made Working Committee that they should not join hands with the authorities at Quaid-i-Azam's reception and hold picketings [*sic*] on the public. But some of those present in those meetings opposed this move of Qazi Isa.

In the same statement, Qazi Isa has abused and insulted the *Sardars* of Baluchistan by calling them *Kasalaisane Azali* meaning, "The Born Flatterers and Beggars." This is insult to us, provocation to our tribes.

Qazi Moh[amma]d Isa is doing all this only because he has been disappointed in getting any job in Pakistan though he has not proved himself trustworthy.

Now Qazi Moh[amma]d Isa and some of his followers like Qadir Bux etc. are trying to create disturbance in Baluchistan. If they are not discouraged immediately, there might be some trouble and Qazi Isa will be responsible for this. On our part, we the *Sardars* and *Nawabs* will try our best to keep Baluchistan peaceful, but we express our anxiety about the speeches and writings of Qazi Isa which [might] create trouble at any time. It appears to us that he is playing in the hands of the enemies of Pakistan and causing incitement [*sic*], but we again affirm our faith and loyalty towards Pakistan to the last.

Considering Qazi Isa's recent utterances[1] in Nushki and other places

we make a joint request to Your Excellency that Qazi Isa may kindly be banned from holding any meetings in Baluchistan.

We beg to remain,
Sir,
Your most obedient and loyal servants,
MOHAMMAD KHAN JOGEZAI
AND 38 OTHER *SARDARS*

See Annex.

Annex to Enclosure to No. 400
Statement by Qazi Mohammad Isa, President, Baluchistan Muslim League[1]

F. 302/167-70

[*Original in Urdu*]

QUETTA,
22 May 1948

When the Quaid-i-Azam came on the Sibi occasion,[2] the Baluchistan Muslim League worked for the reception of its beloved Quaid-i-Azam, in an outlying place where no facility was available nor an arrangement to the heart's content, with devotion and evincing labour and sincerity in a manner which not only is well-known to the inhabitants of Baluchistan, but has also astounded the press representatives of the whole world who came there. Drawing up a platoon of Muslim National Guards from the whole province, the arrangement of their lodging and boarding [*sic*], the posting of Muslim National Guards from the airfield to the Residency, decoration of the Sibi town, illumination of the town at night; all this work was done by the Muslim League. The best work of arrangement and decoration of the gates of the whole town was also performed by the hundreds of Baluchistan Muslim League workers.

Besides, the distinguished services of running a special train from Quetta and transporting thousands of Baluchistan Muslims to Sibi were also rendered by the Baluchistan Muslim League. And the Muslims of Baluchistan achieved the distinction of success. The Muslim League has always claimed to be the sole representative party of the Muslim nation. And it is on the basis of this claim that, by the grace of God, we have got Pakistan. If the claim was true for the [sub-]continent of India, it was, and is, assuredly also true for Baluchistan. In spite of all these services and popularity in the public, the local Government and a few of its officers

have, as far as they could, tried to ignore the Muslim League.

The order of arrangement in which the representatives of the Muslim League Party were made to stand at the Sibi airfield, was not in keeping with the position of the Muslim League.

Not to have recognized at the Sibi Darbar the services of the Muslim League, to ignore those who served it, and not to give them any distinctive status, to give seat at the Quaid-i-Azam's table at the Sibi Tea Party to only the "toadies" (whom we have inherited from the late British Government), all these were such acts of the local Government by which it either wanted to create a feeling of awe in the minds of the Baluchistan public or wanted to make them disheartened and disgusted (by implying) that the League has no importance yet. And, if therein is any importance, it is that of the people nominated by the old Government, and till now they are the people who have a prestige.

The common public of Baluchistan was not prepared to accept this before, nor is it prepared to do so now. If the members of the Shahi Jirga are really representatives of their respective tribes, they should have no hesitation in getting elected by the vote of their own tribe.

The right of election should not rest in the hands of the authorities. If these gentlemen cannot make [*sic*] their public and their tribe of their own view, they are not able in any way to represent their tribe. To repeatedly give preference to such an irresponsible party over a party which represents the public, viz. the Muslim League, is to be very hard on the public and to humiliate the public party which we are never prepared to bear.

After the Sibi occasion, the Government happened to have formed two or three such committees which were mostly composed of the members of the [Shahi] Jirga, and my name was also associated, for instance, [with] Educational Advisory Committee for the tribal area. As such, I was compelled to inform the authorities of the time that I was not prepared to accept the membership of a committee on which other members of the Muslim League did not find a place. We are not prepared to serve on any committee on which the Muslim League is not adequately represented. It was on this principle that the Muslim League refused to send a representative on the Rehabilitation Committee.

Besides, time and again I have received the complaints from the reliable workers, office-bearers and the common folk of the Muslim League that the authorities neither take them in their consultations [*sic*] nor attach any importance to their opinion. The authorities also do not give them any preferential treatment in their interviews. Even preference has sometimes been given to the people who are still holding on to their titles over persons who returned their titles for the sake

of the League. And our people are told that the title-holders will receive preference over all others at the time of interview. Till my brethren of Baluchistan have entrusted this service to me I will never be prepared to accept the humiliation of my party and the members in such a manner. Now the news has reached us that the Quaid-i-Azam is arriving at Quetta on the 25th May. This information was conveyed by the Government by telegram to all Jirga members on the 12th May. I was called by the AGG after six days on the 18th May and given this news. I protested at it and related all the above to him and I brought to his notice that if, like the Sibi occasion, we are again ignored, our members, who had expressed their opinion to me previously, would be forced to take severe steps. If local Government, therefore, wants us to participate in the reception, the (Muslim League) party should be given a formal invitation and an appropriate space allocated for its representatives. And, in no way, should irresponsible persons be given preference over them.

After stressing this, I left the AGG, Baluchistan. After two days of this interview, I was extremely surprised when the local Government's printed programme reached me without any invitation. A few hours later, the Personal Assistant to the AGG, Baluchistan, reached me on behalf of Baluchistan Govt. with an invitation addressed to the Chairman, Baluchistan Muslim League, and Members of the Working Committee. It was a great mistake on the part of the Government to have done so in spite of our unambiguous opinion in the matter. All this was placed by me before the Working Committee of the Provincial Muslim League on the 22nd May, at which the unanimous view was that the Party had been greatly insulted and humiliated. The view of the majority was that we should not take part in this reception. After hours of discussion, when I pointed out that if we took this step, the opponents of the League and the enemies of Pakistan would have an opportunity to say that we were boycotting the reception of the Quaid-i-Azam which was far from our mind and at all cost to us we were not prepared to allow such a misunderstanding about the Quaid-i-Azam to be created (even though the local Government might once again cause us humiliation). The members of the Working Committee of the Muslim League finally agreed (to take part in the reception). The following resolution, which has the support of Muslim League Members of the Quetta Municipality, Muslim Students Federation, Muslim Chamber of Commerce, and Baluchistan Labour Federation, was passed by the Working Committee:

RESOLUTION

The Working Committee of Baluchistan Muslim League at its meeting held on the 22nd of May 1948, at 2 Lytton Road, Quetta, and

presided [over] by Qazi Moh[amma]d Isa, passed the following resolution:

> The Committee strongly protests against the places allotted to the Provincial Muslim League and its President by the local Government at the official reception of Quaid-i-Azam at the airfields on the 25th of May 1948. As the League is the only Party to represent the overwhelming majority of the people of this Province, it must have precedence over all other sectarian interests. The Committee, therefore, wish to make it clear in most unambiguous language that we will not suffer an irresponsive Government such as ours to belittle the League publicly and thereby undermine its prestige in popular estimation. The Committee further demands a complete reorientation in both the mentality and the psychology of the Provincial officials, if we are to save Pakistan from the dangers from within. Now, at this juncture, to disassociate ourselves from the official arbitrary programme of the local authorities might be misconstrued by some as a boycott of Quaid-i-Azam's reception which is furthest from our mind. The Committee, therefore, resolves to participate in this official programme under protest—a protest directed against the local Government that on no future occasion should it expect the League to acquiesce in such a derogatory position.

[1]See the Supplement to weekly *Khurshid*, Quetta, 25 May 1948.
[2]11-15 February 1948.

401

Jagatjit Singh to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. V)-GG/293-6

CHATEAU KAPURTHALA,
MUSSOORIE (UP),
3 June 1948

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Kindly excuse me for writing to Your Excellency on a personal matter.

2. I was staying in Srinagar during the summer of 1947 and in the month of August last I went to Rawalpindi by road on my way to Delhi. I kept my motor vehicles at Rawalpindi with Northern Motors Ltd. on the 12th of August and left for Delhi from Rawalpindi by train. The vehicles were:

i. Century Buick Car—No. Kapurthala 3
ii. Chevrolet Car—No. Kapurthala 7

iii. Chevrolet Bus—No. Kapurthala 10

3. These vehicles were left at Rawalpindi as I had originally intended to return from Delhi by train to Rawalpindi and to make use of these vehicles on my way back to Srinagar. Due to dislocation of railway traffic, I decided to take a plane from Delhi to Srinagar on the 22nd of August and all my motor vehicles remained with the Northern Motors Ltd., Rawalpindi. My Private Secretary had addressed a letter to Mr. Anwar-ul-Haq, who was working as Deputy Commissioner, Rawalpindi, in those days, and requested him to arrange to send my motor vehicles to Srinagar. The Deputy Commissioner was also given coupons for fifty gallons of petrol together with a sum of Rs. 200 to cover the garage rent and charges of petrol, etc., for the journey. I regret to say that no reply was received from him. On my return to Kapurthala, I wrote several letters to the various officials in the West Punjab but I did not get any satisfactory reply. I then wrote a letter to the Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan, who very kindly acknowledged my letter and wrote to me that he had sent my letter to Mr. Justice A. Rehman, the Custodian of Abandoned Property in West Punjab, as he was the proper person to deal with such matters, and that he had been given powers under an Act of the West Punjab Assembly. I then wrote a letter to Mr. Justice Rehman, dated the 17th March 1948, giving full details of the case. I received a reply from him on 24th March 1948, a copy of which I enclose[1] for Your Excellency's perusal together with a copy of the reply, dated the 25th April 1948,[2] sent to Justice Rehman by my Chief Minister. Justice Rehman's contention was that removal of cars from the West Punjab is permitted only on a reciprocal basis, and that if we could arrange to send cars belonging to Muslims lying in the Kapurthala State, an order could be passed for the removal of my cars from the West Punjab. From the reply given to him by my Chief Minister, it is evident that my Government had agreed to accord their full approval to the return of cars belonging to the Muslims lying in the Kapurthala State on reciprocal basis, and Justice Rehman was asked to send a list of cars belonging to the Muslims lying in my State. My Government had further given an assurance to Justice Rehman that my cars may be sent to the Pakistan Deputy High Commissioner at Jullundur who would hand over the cars to me and who would also be authorised by my Government to take charge of the cars belonging to the Muslims lying in the State. I regret to say that I have not heard anything further from the Custodian, Evacuee Property, West Punjab. As my Government has accorded their full approval on reciprocal basis, I shall be grateful if you will kindly issue necessary instructions to implement the

undertaking given by the Custodian, Evacuee Property, West Punjab.

4. I feel sorry to cause you this inconvenience for a small matter but as I am experiencing great difficulty for want of my cars I thought that with Your Excellency's kind help, the matter would be settled expeditiously.

Hoping to be excused for the trouble.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
JAGATJIT SINGH
Maharaja of Kapurthala

[1]Enclosure 1.
[2]Enclosure 2.

Enclosure 1 to 401
A. Rehman to Jagatjit Singh

F. 120 (Vol. V)-GG/297

No. CEP/111

LAHORE,
24 March 1948

I have received a copy of your letter dated the 21st February 1948,[1] addressed to the Hon'ble the Prime Minister for Pakistan.

Removal of cars from the West Punjab is permitted only on a reciprocal basis and if you can arrange to send cars belonging to Muslims and lying in your State, an order can be passed for the removal of your cars from the West Punjab.

[1]Not traceable.

Enclosure 2 to 401
Chief Minister, Kapurthala State, to A. Rehman

F. 120 (Vol. V)-GG/298

25 April 1948

His Highness the Maharaja has asked me to convey his thanks to you for your letter No. CEP/111 dated 24th March 1948.

2. His Highness' Government accord their full approval to the return of cars belonging to Muslims lying in the Kapurthala State on reciprocal basis. I shall be glad to have a list from you of the cars belonging to Muslims which are lying in the State. In the meantime, I shall be grateful if you will kindly arrange to send His Highness' cars to Kapurthala at a very early date. I may further suggest that you may

kindly send the cars to the Pakistan Deputy High Commissioner at Jullundur who would hand over the cars to His Highness and who would also be authorised by His Highness' Government to take charge of the cars belonging to the Muslims which are lying in the State.

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Shiavax Rustomji to Philip Edwards[1]

F. 216 (V)-GG/25

C/O ALBERT PRESS, QUETTA,
3 June 1948

Dear Sir,

Our Quetta Parsi Anjuman has decided to present, on behalf of the Parsi community of Quetta, an address[2] to His Excellency Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the Governor-General of Pakistan.

We shall be thankful if you will kindly let us know the date and time when His Excellency would be pleased to receive the representatives of our community at the Quetta Residency, if he signifies his willingness to accept the address.

Yours faithfully,
SHIAVAX RUSTOMJI
Joint Honorary Secretary,
Quetta Parsi Anjuman

[1]Political Agent, Quetta and Pishin.
[2]See No. 421.

403

S. Ghias Uddin Ahmed to S. M. Yusuf

F. 66 (2)-GG/4

LAHORE,
No. 6382 *4 June 1948*

Sir,

I am directed to forward herewith the *Sanad* of the title of Khan Sahib, surrendered by Malik Qadir Bakhsh, Pleader, Muzaffargarh, on his relinquishing the title of Khan Sahib conferred upon him on the 1st February, 1937.

2. The Khan Sahib badge surrendered by him has been lost in transit by the postal authorities who are prepared to make good the loss. I am, therefore, to request you to let me know the present price of a Khan Sahib badge complete with case and ribbon. I am also to request you to let me know the "Head" under which the amount, when recovered, should be credited.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
S. GHIAS UDDIN AHMED

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Francis Mudie to M. A. Jinnah

F. 187 (2)-GG/165

D.O. No. GS.565

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
LAHORE,
5 June 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am replying by telegram to your two telegrams Nos. 39-QC[1] and 40-QC,[2] dated June 3rd, 1948. I am afraid that my telegram No. 145-G, dated June 2nd, 1948,[3] was somewhat confusing as I assumed that your Secretary would put up my Secretary's letter No. G.S. 512, dated May 28th, 1948,[4] which explained the position regarding the Bill as I understand it.

2. In case this letter has not yet reached you I enclose a copy of it and also copies of my Secretary's letter No. G.S. 351, dated April 21st, 1948,[5] with its enclosures and of the telegram I am sending today in case it should arrive mutilated. An authenticated copy of the Bill[6] is also enclosed.

3. My opinion is that the Bill is *ultra vires* [of] the Provincial Legislature and that, if you share that opinion, assent should be withheld. If, however, you are advised that the Bill is *intra vires* I recommend that assent be given to it.

Yours sincerely,
F. R. MUDIE

[1]No. 396.
[2]No. 397.
[3]No. 393.
[4]No. 386.
[5]F. 187 (2)-GG/142-6. Not printed.
[6]Not traceable.

Enclosure to No. 404
Francis Mudie to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 187 (2)-GG/164

IMMEDIATE/CONFIDENTIAL LAHORE,
No. 146-G *5 June 1948*

Your telegram No. 39-QC and 40-QC dated June 3rd,[1] 1948.

Relying on express saving of provisions of 5th Schedule to Constitution Act in West Punjab Legislative Assembly Order 1948, I held view that other provisions of Constitution Act, including Sections 69 and 70, were applicable to that Order, and consequently Chaudhry Moh[amma]d Hasan who held office of profit under Crown on and after the March 11th, 1948, was disqualified for being a member of West Punjab Legislative Assembly, and had incurred penalties by reason sitting in Assembly while subject to disqualification. The Bill removing disqualification was passed on April 5th, and purported to have retrospective effect, which I felt was repugnant to Constitution. Under pre-Adaptation Constitution Act, such repugnancy was provided for in Section 108, and was curable by Governor-General's assent under Section 109. Section 108 has now been omitted, present Constitution Act nowhere provides for such a cure, but to allow power to Provincial Legislatures to act in defiance of Constitution being inconceivable, and feeling that on question whether by legislating retrospectively, any repugnancy to Constitution was involved, different view might be (Grp omitted taken?) by Central Legal Department and perhaps yourself, I reserved Bill for your consideration.

2. No provision of Constitution Act overridden but your Private Secretary's letter No. F. 187/2-GG dated May 18th, 1948[2] [*sic*]. Reference in my telegram 145-G dated June 2nd, 1948[3] is to certain advice received by and mentioned in my Secretary's letter of May 28th, 1948[4] to your Secretary to the effect that by virtue of sub-section (4) of Section 9 read with sub-section (2) of Section 6 of Indian Independence Act, the West Punjab Legislative Assembly Order 1948 has effect as a Law of Dominion Legislature, and is not void or inoperative by reason of repugnancy to Constitution Act being an existing Act of Parliament. These express Provisions of Independence Act are applicable to Constitution Act under sub-section (2) of Section 8 of Independence Act, and consequently the appointment of Chaudhry Moh[amma]d Hasan to be MLA (West Punjab) is not subject to conditions specified in Section 69 of Constitution Act. If this view is correct, this is unnecessary and no difficulty arises, but I do not accept its correctness.

3. Provincial Assembly has power to legislate only in so far as

provision to that effect is made by Constitution Act but it has no power to amend that Act. Even if assent were given to Bill under consideration the courts might, now that section 108 has been omitted, declare the Act to be of no effect. Clause (a) of sub-section (1) of Section 69 of Constitution Act confers legislative power relevant to this case. Entry of Eleventh List II of Seventh Schedule confers power to legislate for selection but this power is subject to the provisions of Government of India Act.

4. Governor-General is still free under Section 76 of Government of India Act to give or withhold assent to bill but presumably assent to any bill *ultra vires* of Provincial Legislature would be withheld. The bill with my opinion is being forwarded to you separately as desired.

[1]No. 396 & 397.
[2]No. 369.
[3]No. 393.
[4]No. 386.

405

Khalilur Rahman to S. M. Yusuf

F. 120 (Vol.V)-GG/184

AKBAR MEDICAL HALL,
PATIYA, CHITTAGONG,
6 June 1948

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose herewith a copy of Flood Control Scheme at Chittagong together with a copy of the resolutions[1] of the Chittagong Welfare Society for your perusal and necessary action.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

K. RAHMAN
President, Chittagong Welfare Society

F. 120 (Vol. V)-GG/187. Not printed.

Enclosure to No. 405

F. 120 (Vol.V)-GG/185-6

FLOOD CONTROL SCHEME

The people of flood-affected areas of Chittagong cannot forget their sufferings and difficulties they had to undergo during the terrible flood of last year. The Government and many organizations, both official and non-official, spent some lakhs of rupees in relief work in these areas, but they could hardly mitigate a little bit of the sufferings of the people.

Flood in Chittagong was not new last year. It has been experienced for some years back and the effect of flood in Chittagong is gradually increasing. It is apprehended this year also that Chittagong may have to meet [with] the same fate of accident as last year, because of the fact that no progressive work or any plan and programme have been started or drawn up by the Government for flood control, though there is a special officer and department established for this purpose. This sort of indifference is making the people disheartened and losing [*sic*] the earnest co-operation from the public. So, in this connection, I like to point out to the Government that the following are the main causes due to which Chittagong is affected with flood:

1. The present port-revetment arrangement on the River Karnafuli.
2. Insufficient drainage on both the railway branch lines of Chittagong—Dohazari and Chittagong—Nazirhat.
3. Almost all rivers, *khals* and streamlets of Chittagong have become comparatively silted up.
4. The Rivers Dhurung and Halda are the main factors to create flood in the northern part of Chittagong.

Now let us discuss in detail how the causes of the flood are created by the above items:

As regards item No. 1. Due to the revetment arrangement of the port, there is no doubt that the port position of the Karnafuli has improved but current of the river upwards Kalurghat becomes always slow and thereby that part of the river becomes silted up and in heavy rains at Rangamati side, cannot accommodate the water-flow which washes away the villages on both sides.

As regards item No. 3. During war-time the hills of Chittagong were not controlled and plants and trees were cut down by the Military from many parts of the hills, so in heavy rains, the hills break down and slide into the rivers, *Khals* and streamlets which have thus become silted up and now cannot accommodate the heavy current, washing away the villages on either sides.

will not take more than 15 minutes.

I beg to remain,
Your Excellency's most obedient servant,
MIRZA BASHIR AHMAD
M. A.

PS. Lest similarity of names may cause confusion, I must make it clear that I am the younger brother of Hazrat Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad, Head of the Ahmadiyya Community, who is now-a-days at Quetta.

[1]F. Amin acknowledged the letter on 19 June 1948. See F. 120, (Vol. V)-GG/30. Not printed.

421

Address of Welcome to M. A. Jinnah by Quetta Parsi Anjuman

F. 888/96

QUETTA,
13 June 1948

May it please Quaid-i-Azam!

On behalf of the Quetta Parsi Anjuman, it is our pleasant duty to extend to you a hearty welcome on this, your first visit to our city since the State of Pakistan came into being. Between your last visit to Quetta and this one, a series of momentous events have led to the creation of the world's fifth largest State, and to you, its architect and guiding spirit, we express not only our loyalty but extend our promise to strive for the ideals of greatness and equity for which Pakistan stands. The Parsis have settled in Quetta for about 70 years, which is a short period if considered in a historical perspective, but we safely feel that our association with Quetta and Baluchistan, despite its short chronological nature, has been one which has very closely tied us to the past and with the development and welfare of this city and province. For the future, it is not only our hope but our determination to associate ourselves even more closely with the progress and growth of this Province, and we look forward, under your kind guidance, to an era in which we hope to play the fullest part in all activities, social, economic and constructive administration [*sic*], which help to consolidate and improve peaceful progress of our Province in the State of Pakistan.

In our Province, we feel that there is a great scope for producing

and offering material which is not only valuable to Baluchistan but to the whole of Pakistan. Apart from material articles and wealth, there is a greater treasure to offer, and that is the goodwill of the people of Baluchistan whose feelings are entirely to support and keep up the State of Pakistan with its banner flying in constant victory. The Parsis of Baluchistan, though in a very small minority, have fully joined in this spirit of goodwill towards Pakistan and [are] now determined to serve it to the best of their abilities. With the new order of things, we foresee a great future for Baluchistan, and in its immense untapped wealth there lies a great potentiality for the future greatness of Pakistan.

It is in this spirit, Quaid-i-Azam, that we bring to your notice two important factors, which we trust will receive your sympathetic consideration and urgent attention of Pakistan authorities. The first of these is the problem of the shortage of water. Though we are prepared to undergo the small domestic hardship that this shortage might entail, we feel it our duty to bring to your notice the fact that no industrial development or other progressive economic activity will be possible on an appreciable and large scale unless the water problem of Baluchistan, and Quetta in particular, is satisfactorily solved. It is hardly necessary to recall the immense prosperity that accrued to our neighbouring Province of Sind as a result of the Sukkur Barrage and irrigation schemes. Though we are not in a position to expect or to demand such an elaborate and expensive scheme for Baluchistan, we feel that the attention of the Central authorities of Pakistan should be drawn now to this problem, and schemes, on however a modest scale, are very necessary to remove the hardship of the people and to help the prosperity of the Province, which eventually will mean the prosperity of the State.

The second important and urgent factor which we urge is the great need of communications. Quetta stands isolated and its economic growth, through and with other parts of Baluchistan, suffers considerably without roads and transport facilities. If this Province is to develop and eventually play its part in helping Pakistan to become self-sufficient economically, with several raw materials which are available in the Province, it is essential for the Central authorities of Pakistan, of which you are the accepted and recognised head, to come to Baluchistan's aid and make a progressive scheme for roads and transport all throughout the Province.

We, the Parsis of Baluchistan, once again offer you our loyalty and our cooperation in the administration and welfare of this Province and the State of Pakistan. We are grateful to you and your noble sister, whose activities in the welfare of the Province are too well known, for

giving your valuable time and this opportunity to meet you and greet you both. May you both live long with peace and happiness, is our prayer to Ahura Mazda, our God and Creator.

We beg to subscribe ourselves,

Yours,
K. A. MARKER
President, Quetta Parsi Anjuman ,
AND FIVE OTHERS

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Reply[1] by M. A. Jinnah to the Address Presented by the Quetta Parsi Anjuman

QUETTA,
13 June 1948

Gentlemen,

I am very pleased indeed to meet you all and have an opportunity of hearing your well-considered views about Baluchistan, and I have no doubt in your sincerity and loyalty to Pakistan. Your community is really very well organized and I am happy—and I always say so—that it is better equipped than any other community that I know of in the sub-continent. You, therefore, although small in number, can make very great contribution to the welfare and progress of Pakistan and particularly Baluchistan.

Now coming nearer to Baluchistan, I know that people have not yet fully realized what present Constitution is—that is true of even well-informed and well-educated people. The establishment of Pakistan was a cataclysmic change and thus came so suddenly that people have not yet fully realized what it is. I dwelt on this point in my Sibi speech[2] and may I, therefore, request you to read that speech if you can get a copy of it. I cannot go into all the details but I think as citizens you ought to know what is the real position.

Under the present Constitution, it is the Governor-General who is vested with all authority—executive, administrative and legislative—in Baluchistan. I am, therefore, directly responsible for all executive, administrative and legislative measures that may be necessary to be adopted in Baluchistan. Rightly or wrongly, the burden is placed on my shoulders. Now, you must have realized that Baluchistan has been the most neglected part of this sub-continent all these years. In some respects it was criminal negligence on the part of those who were

responsible for the welfare of Baluchistan. You have got a deep-rooted, ancient century-old system which is in vogue here and your administration has been stagnant for nearly a century. This is a problem that I am faced with as the executive head of Baluchistan. Now you cannot change these things overnight but we can make wonderful progress and advancement if we all work together sincerely, honestly and selflessly and as servants of Baluchistan.

In the very nature of things it will take eighteen months to two years before the new Constitution of Pakistan is ready, but we cannot wait until that work is completed and, therefore, I have made a small beginning but a very important one after consulting various interests in Baluchistan, namely I have decided to set up Governor-General's Advisory Council. I am at it and perhaps very shortly the constitution, rules and procedure of that body will be announced.

That is, of course, a small beginning as I have said but a very important one and if, as they say, small things lead to very great things and if you handle it and manage it properly, I am sure it will result in a great progress and development of Baluchistan.

But as I have said it will depend on how the people of Baluchistan will handle the Governor-General's Advisory Council. This Council will enable people to associate themselves, no doubt as an Advisory Body, with administration—its executive and legislative side. That is the first step that I have taken because I cannot wait until we have a final Constitution of Pakistan ready.

As regards your points regarding shortage of water supply and communications, they are already under examination, and with the help of our people and with their cooperation and advice we may be able to make some headway in both these matters.

As regard potentialities of Baluchistan you are right. I have a great deal of information about it. That question is under our examination and I think there is a great future for Baluchistan's development, of its mineral wealth, agricultural resources, water supply, communications, etc.

Finally, Gentlemen, I am sure, though small in number you may be in Baluchistan and in Pakistan as a whole, you will not lag behind in making your full contribution as true selfless Pakistanis.

Although you have not struck any note of your needs and requirement as a community but you know that it is the policy of my Government and myself that every member of every community, irrespective of caste, colour, creed or race, shall be fully protected with regard to his life, property and honour, and that there should be peace in Pakistan and law and order should be maintained at any cost.

I reiterate that you, like any other minorities, will be treated as

equal citizens with all your rights and obligations so long as you are loyal to Pakistan. I am glad, and it is very refreshing that you have not gone on with the same old rut and the hackneyed phrases which are echoed in various quarters about the grievances and requests of minorities, but I must tell you that these assurances have been given and they are going to be implemented.

Minority communities must not by mere words but by actions show this that they are truly loyal and [that] they must make majority community feel that they are true citizens of Pakistan. Then you will help me and you will facilitate my task in carrying out the policy which we have laid down. You know you must dispel suspicions and distrust. It is now up to minorities to show by actions and deeds that they are true Pakistanis and to dispel suspicion and distrust that has been created by deplorable and disgraceful events that have taken place.

In the end I thank you, and I am very pleased to meet you all. Let us put our heads together and work together and make Pakistan what it really and truly deserves to be.

[1]The *Dawn*, 15 June 1948.
[2]No. 79.

423

A. S. B. Shah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 302/174

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S SECRETARIAT,
[QUETTA,]
14 June 1948

The Quetta Municipality and Shahi Jirga have sent their nominations for Quaid-i-Azam's consideration. A reply from President of the Muslim League is still awaited.[1] I understand this will be given on the 15th instant on Qazi Isa's return from Karachi.

2. In their first meeting, on the 10th instant, the Shahi Jirga unanimously agreed that Nawab Mohammad Khan Jogezai should select seven names for submission to Quaid-i-Azam. In this connection, a gist of Nawab Mohammad Khan's communication to Quaid-i-Azam is given below:

> Quaid-i-Azam!
> On the 10th of June, the Shahi Jirga unanimously authorised me to select seven names for submission to you. In the choice of the seven

names given below, I was guided by the following criterion—loyalty, honesty and competence of the individual member:

a. Sardar Bahadur Doda Khan, *Sarbarah,* Mari
b. K. B. Vadera Noor Mohammad Khan Cola, MBE, Nasirabad
c. Sardar Mohammad Hashim Khan Looni, Loralai
d. Sardar Haji Dost Moh[amma]d Khan, Zagar Maingal
e. Sardar Ghulam Moh[amma]d Khan Tarin, Pishin
f. K. B. Arbab Moh[amma]d Umar Khan, MBE, Kansi
g. Nawab Mohammad Khan Jogezai

3. When the Muslim League names have been received, I shall submit them to Quaid-i-Azam separately.

A. S. B. SHAH
[*Political*] *Secretary to the* G[*overnor*]-G[*eneral*]

See No. 409.

424

Abdul Qadir & Others to M. A. Jinnah

F. 820/72-3

QUETTA,
14 June 1948

May it please our most beloved Quaid-i-Azam!

Your Excellency's petitioners—the Councillors and Members of the Working Committee of the Provincial Muslim League, Baluchistan—most humbly and with all due respects assigned to your exalted person and office, beg leave to submit as under:

That the petitioners understand from a reliable source that in pursuance of Your Excellency's timely announcement at the recent Shahi Darbar at Sibi, in February 1948,[1] with regard to the formation of an Advisory Committee [*sic* for Council] for Baluchistan, the Shahi Jirga and the Quetta Municipality have been asked to submit a panel of names from among their members for selection and appointment to the said committee. We believe that a communication on this subject has also been received by the President of the Provincial Muslim League. Quite in accord with the tenets of all democratic institutions, we were under the impression that this important matter of a far-reaching character will normally be placed by the President before the Working Committee of the Provincial League and, if need be, even before the Council, but to our utter disappointment and dismay this has not been

done so far, nor there is any likelihood of it. We have great apprehensions that the matter will remain confined to the inner circle of Qazi Moh[amma]d Isa and things will be done in a very undemocratic way behind closed doors. Your Excellency's humble petitioners have absolutely no intention to indulge in any sort of controversy over this matter as they fully realize that such a move will be very inadvisable in view of Your Excellency's pre-occupation with other matters of equal importance to the State. What Your Excellency's humble petitioners wish to place on record is their disapproval of this attitude of Qazi Mohammad Isa—the President of the Provincial Muslim League—and that if the machination of a group of Qazi Sahib's satellites eventually become successful in the submission of a few names, it should not be construed by Your Excellency, or be allowed to be construed so by the officers of the Local Administration, to be a selection focussing the majority view, or that it is in any way the result of regular and formal deliberations and approval of the Working Committee or the Council of the Provincial Muslim League. We hasten to dissociate ourselves from any panel of names which may emanate from the President of the Provincial Muslim League, until and unless it is in a democratic way, having the confidence and backing of the governing body of an organisation like the Provincial League. Since the whole of Baluchistan is eagerly watching the ways and means which are applied for implementing this very gracious step on behalf of Your Excellency, hence our anxiety to bring it to your kind notice. The Baluchistanis firmly believe that the selection of members of this Advisory Committee in a democratic way will surely go to ameliorate the backwardness of our Province or otherwise the whole thing will end in a smoke.

With all humility, we beg to remain and resign [*sic*] to be,

Your Excellency's most obedient servants

and ardent supporters of Pakistan,

ABDUL QADIR AND NINE OTHERS

[1]See No. 79.

425

Address[1] by M. A. Jinnah to the Officers of the Staff College

[QUETTA,]
14 June 1948

I thank you, gentlemen, for the honour you have done me and

Miss Fatima Jinnah by inviting us to meet you all. You, along with other Forces of Pakistan, are the custodians of the life, property and honour of the people of Pakistan. The Defence Forces are the most vital of all Pakistan Services and correspondingly a very heavy responsibility and burden lies on your shoulders.

I have no doubt in my mind, from what I have seen and from what I have gathered, that the spirit of the Army is splendid, the morale is very high, and what is very encouraging is that every officer and soldier, no matter what the race or community to which he belongs, is working as a true Pakistani.

If you all continue in that spirit and work as comrades, as true Pakistanis, selflessly, Pakistan has nothing to fear.

One thing more. I am persuaded to say this because during my talks with one or two very high-ranking officers I discovered that they did not know the implications of the oath taken by the troops of Pakistan. Of course, an oath is only a matter of form; what is more important is the true spirit and the heart.

But it is an important form and I would like to take the opportunity of refreshing your memory by reading the prescribed oath to you:

> I solemnly affirm, in the presence of Almighty God, that I owe allegiance to the Constitution and the Dominion of Pakistan [mark the words Constitution and Government [*sic*] of the Dominion of Pakistan] and that I will as in duty bound honestly and faithfully serve in the Dominion of Pakistan Forces and go within the terms of my enrolment wherever I may be ordered by air, land or sea and that I will observe and obey all commands of any officer set over me...

As I have said just now, the spirit is what really matters. I should like you to study the Constitution which is in force in Pakistan at present and understand its true constitutional and legal implications when you say that you will be faithful to the Constitution of the Dominion.

I want you to remember, and if you have time enough you should study the Government of India Act, as adapted for use in Pakistan, who is the Governor-General and, therefore, any command or orders that may come to you cannot come without the sanction of the Executive Head. This is the legal position.

Finally, gentlemen, let me thank you for the honour that you have done me by inviting me. I will be glad to meet the officers informally, as suggested by the General Officer Commanding in his speech, and such a meeting can be arranged at a time convenient to us both. I have

every desire to keep in close contact when I have a little more time from the various problems that are facing us in Pakistan, which is for the moment in a state of national emergency, and when things settle down—and I hope it will be very soon—then I shall find more time to establish greater and greater contact with the Defence Forces.—API.

[1]Yusufi, *Speeches of Quaid-i-Azam*, IV, 2780-82.

426

S. M. Yusuf to Major Hashmi

Telegram, F. 25 (Part IV)-GG/195

No. 120-GGC *15 June 1948*

Major Hashmi, Minister-in-Waiting, Sadiqgarh Palace, Bahawalpur

Your telegram of tenth.[1] Quaid-i-Azam leaving for Ziarat seventeenth for ten days. Any day next week suits Quaid-i-Azam. On arrival Quetta contact AGG at Residency, who will provide necessary facilities for your transport to Ziarat. Intimate AGG definite date arrival.

S. M. YUSUF

[1]No. 413.

427

S. Rehman to F. Amin

F. 216 (V)-GG/58

ORDNANCE DEPOT, QUETTA,
15 June 1948

SUBJECT: QUETTA SUB-AREA SPORTS MEET

Reference conversation between you and Quetta Sub-Area Commander.

Will you be kind enough to confirm if the Quaid-i-Azam will be pleased to attend the Sub-Area Sports Meet on 28th June '48. It is hoped that the Quaid-i-Azam will condescend to stay at the Sports Ground for about 45 minutes.[1] The exact time will be notified to you later on.[2]

2. We shall be grateful if Miss Fatima Jinnah will also grace the occasion by her presence.

S. REHMAN
Lieut. Col.
President,
Quetta Sub-Area Sports Committee

[1]F. Amin confirmed that Jinnah and Miss Fatima Jinnah would attend. See F. 216 (V)-GG/56. Not printed.
[2]The programme for Sports Meet was sent on 19 June. See F. 216 (V)-GG/60. Not printed.

428

Frank Clune[1] to M. A. Jinnah

F. 200-GG/28

AIR MAIL

15 PRINCES AVENUE, VAUCLUSE,
SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA,
15 June 1948

Your Excellency,

You may remember that, in January 1944, I had the pleasure and privilege of an interview with you at your house in Bombay. I was then collecting material for my book, *Song of India,* which has subsequently been published both in Sydney and Bombay.

About one month ago, I happened to hear a splendid speech by yourself, broadcast over Australian Radio Stations,[2] with the apparent purpose of creating goodwill between Australia and Pakistan. I must say, Sir, that this was one of the most eloquent orations that I have ever heard on the radio. I heard many favourable comments by influential Australians, and one of my friends said, "Mr. Jinnah is surely the Demosthenes of the modern world!"

I have sent by ship-mail copies of my two books,[3] *Song of India* and *High Ho to London*. The former contains my interview with you in 1944, and the latter an account of my recent trip through the lands now included in Pakistan. As I sent these books one month ago, I hope they will have reached you by now, and that you will find time, from your arduous official duties, to read them.

I would like to inform Your Excellency, unofficially, that a leading member of the Australian Government will be passing through Karachi about 29th June next. This is Senator John Armstrong, Minister of Supply and Munitions, who is in charge of the Guided Missiles Project

(known as the Rocket Range) in the deserts of Central Australia.

Senator Armstrong told me that he is to leave Sydney by flying boat on 25th June next, which means that he would be spending the night at Karachi on 29th June. He is on his way to London to make arrangements for the forthcoming visit of Their Majesties, the King and Queen, to Australia next year.

If Your Excellency would do something to greet Senator Armstrong at Karachi, I feel sure it would help to establish the mutual goodwill between Australia and Pakistan, to which you referred in your recent broadcast.

With respects and best wishes,

Pakistan Zindabad!

I remain,
Yours faithfully,
FRANK CLUNE

[1]An Australian writer.
[2]See No. 88.
[3]On 23 June 1948, Jinnah acknowledged the letter saying he had not received the books. See F. 200-GG/29. Not printed.

429

Address of Welcome to M. A. Jinnah by Quetta Municipality

F. 216 (V)-GG/30

QUETTA,
15 June 1948

May it please Quaid-i-Azam!

We, the members of the Municipality of Quetta, respectfully offer you our most cordial welcome on your first visit to this town—as the Founder and Governor-General of Pakistan.

Quaid-i-Azam's services to the Muslim world in general, and Pakistan in particular, are too well-known to warrant repetition. We have no words to express the feelings of love, regard and gratitude that the people of Baluchistan in general and of this town in particular have in their hearts for your august personality. Your policy of affording the fullest security to the life and property of every community in Pakistan, no matter whether major or minor, has added to the glory of your name.

The progress and prosperity, enjoyed by this Municipality for several decades, was severely retarded by the great earthquake of May

1935, when the town was razed to the ground. Hardly had the people commenced reconstruction, when a further setback took place on account of the War. We hope, however, better times are in store, and that it will not be long before building material will become [*sic*] available again.

Despite these serious disadvantages, our finances are steadily improving. Municipal receipts (just before the earthquake) were Rs. 6,71,698. During 1946-47 they rose to Rs. 14,35,457, but unfortunately on account of the economic dislocation following on the August disturbances in Quetta, they dropped to Rs. 9,44,450 during the last financial year.

We have rebuilt the Municipal fruit, vegetable, mutton, and cloth markets—which are on earthquake-resisting principles. Not only that, but we also own an efficient Fire Brigade now. Our conservancy transport has been completely mechanised. Our latest achievement is the new Town Hall. By way of grant of educational institutions, we are spending 10 per cent of our income each year.

This Municipality was a nominated body until the year 1946, when due to your kind efforts its constitution was revised and an element of 10 elected members was introduced in the Committee, bringing the total strength to 19, out of which 9 members were nominated by the Resident. As a result of the departure of non-Muslims after the disturbances of August last, our present strength stands at 7 elected and 7 nominated members.

There is a matter of grave importance which we are anxious to bring to Quaid-i-Azam's sympathetic notice. It is the problem of the water supply for the Quetta City and Cantonment area. Frequently has it been a source of anxiety. Once again it is assuming serious proportions. The supply is inadequate to meet the normal demand of the garrison as well as of the whole town and is a serious hindrance to the development and expansion of Quetta. We earnestly hope it will be possible to find a satisfactory solution of this important matter, on which depends Quetta's very existence.

As a token of our sincerity and gratitude, we beg you to accept a small purse of Rs. 30,000 as our humble contribution to the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund.

And lastly, we pray that Quaid-i-Azam may live long to guide Pakistan and its people to the great goal set before us.

Pakistan Zindabad!

We beg to subscribe ourselves,

Yours,

P. EDWARDS

Lt. Col.

Chairman,

AND THIRTEEN MEMBERS OF QUETTA MUNICIPALITY

430

Reply by M. A. Jinnah to the Civic Address Presented by the Quetta Municipality

F. 216 (V)-GG/34-7

[QUETTA,]
15 June 1948

I thank you for your address[1] of welcome and for the kind words and good wishes you have expressed for me and Miss Fatima Jinnah, and I greatly appreciate your handsome and generous contribution to the Relief Fund and the noble cause which it represents. Though, luckily, Baluchistan was spared the tragedy which the Punjab went through on the establishment of Pakistan, and on account of its situation does not face the refugee problem in the same way as other parts of Pakistan do, the welfare of refugees and all who suffered because Pakistan was achieved is the responsibility of us all. The relief and rehabilitation of these stricken people is a matter of great importance and urgency for Pakistan, for until they become useful members of the society, the progress of Pakistan will not be fully accelerated. Every effort made in this direction, therefore, is most welcome as it will advance the cause of progress and welfare of Pakistan.

Quetta has been for many years an important town and cantonment; with the establishment of Pakistan, its importance has increased and will increase further. Its situation and healthy climate entitle it to special attention, and I am therefore really glad that despite the havoc wrought by the earthquake of 1935 and the disabilities created by the War later, and the dislocation caused by the movement of population more recently, it gives the appearance of an orderly and busy town. The credit for this goes to a large extent to the Quetta Municipality and the City Fathers here. The town apparently has been well-planned and whatever permanent buildings have been put up look neat and elegant. I share your hopes that better times are ahead, and not very long hence the temporary structures which constitute most of the town at present will be replaced by permanent earthquake-proof buildings. While the Municipality should play its part, private enterprise is necessary, so that Quetta may be as great a civil station as a cantonment, and the more you improve it the more attractive it will become. For a large part of Western Pakistan it will be the natural summer resort and draw larger and larger number of visitors, which will not only be an additional source of revenue but will bring and establish contact with other parts

of Western Pakistan. This ought to be kept in view. The difficulty regarding water supply and other problems should be tackled with boldness and imagination, and I am sure Government will give you willing help whenever it is needed.

While, however, one must love one's town and work for its welfare—indeed because of it—one must love better one's country and work more devotedly for it. Local attachments have their value, but what is the value and strength of a 'part' except within the 'whole'. Yet this is a truth people seem so easily to forget and begin to prize local, sectional or provincial interests above, and regardless of, the national interests. It naturally pains me to find the curse of provincialism holding sway over any section of Pakistanis. Pakistan must be rid of this evil. It is a relic of the old administration when you clung to provincial autonomy and local liberty of action to avoid control—which meant British control. But with your own Central Government and its power, it is a folly to continue to think in the same terms, especially at a time when your State is so new and faces such tremendous problems, internal and external. At this juncture any subordination of the larger interests of the State to the provincial or local or personal interests would be suicidal.

Baluchistan is the land of brave independent people, and to you, therefore, national freedom, honour and strength should have a special meaning. These whisperings of *mulki* and non-*mulki* are neither profitable for the land nor worthy of it. We are now all Pakistanis—not Baluchs, Pathans, Sindhis, Bengalis, Punjabis and so on—and as Pakistanis we must feel, behave and act, and we should be proud to be known as Pakistanis and nothing else. I ask you to always pause and consider before taking any step whether it is conditioned by your personal or local likes and dislikes or is determined by considerations of the good of the State. If each individual thus begins scrutinising himself and forces—for initially it will require a certain amount of force—upon himself the principle of honesty, to others as well as to himself, regardless of fear or favour, I see a very bright future ahead. If the individuals, both officials and non-officials, play their part thus and work in this spirit, the Government, the Nation and the State will immediately bear their stamp, and Pakistan will emerge triumphantly as one of the greatest nations of the world.

As you all know, I am specially interested in Baluchistan because it is my special responsibility. I want to see it play as full a part in the affairs of Pakistan as any other province, but it will take time to remove the symptoms of long neglect. In order that this time may not be a minute longer than necessary, I earnestly request you to co-operate

with me, to give me your selfless support, and not to make my task difficult. Representative government and representative institutions are no doubt good and desirable, but when people want to reduce them merely to channels of personal aggrandisement, they not only lose their value but earn a bad name. Let us avoid that, and it is possible only if, as I have said, we subject our actions to perpetual scrutiny and test them with the touchstone not of personal or sectional interests but of the good of the State.

I thank you once again for your generous contribution, your courtesy and for the honour you have done me by presenting this civic address and giving me an opportunity to say a few words.

No. 429.

431

Qazi M. Isa to A. S. B. Shah

F. 302/173

KANDAHARI BAZAR, QUETTA,
15 June 1948

My dear Shah Sahib,

In continuation of my letter No. ML/133 of the 7th,[1] I beg to submit that, as the Quaid-i-Azam is aware, at present there is no duly constituted Provincial Muslim League after the dissolution of the organisation at Karachi on the 26th of Feb[ruary] 48.[2] For carrying on the day-to-day work as the organiser of the Province, I consult the colleagues of my old Working Committee and I have discussed with them the contents of your DO No. 36-CQ/48 of the 4th instant.[3] I am most anxious in my personal capacity to give my humble assistance to the Quaid-i-Azam in forming the Governor-General's Advisory Committee [*sic*] in the light of the views which my colleagues have expressed. It is, however, necessary for me to make certain submissions to the Quaid-i-Azam, for which purpose I request him to grant me a brief interview.

Yours sincerely,
Q. M. ISA

[1]No. 409.
[2&3]Not traceable.

432

A. S. B. Shah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 302/174-5

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S SECRETARIAT,
[QUETTA,]
16 June 1948

The final report of Qazi Mohammad Isa has been received[1] and is placed below. Before handing his written reply, Qazi Isa came to see me personally and suggested that if the League Party gives seven names, Quaid-i-Azam might consider confining his selection of Muslim League representatives to those names only. I made it plain to him that this was contrary to the procedure laid down by the Quaid-i-Azam which was explained in my letter of the 4th June.[2] He should therefore make up his mind whether or not he is going to cooperate with Quaid-i-Azam in the procedure to be followed in the nomination by him of members of the Advisory Council.

2. Qazi Isa then asked if Quaid-i-Azam would see him for a few minutes before he submits the names of the League nominees. I explained that it would be difficult for the Quaid-i-Azam to follow in the case of the League an arrangement different to that followed in the case of other organisations. Since Quaid-i-Azam had not seen the Presidents of the Shahi Jirga and the Quetta Municipality, he might consider it inadvisable to see the President of the Muslim League.

3. When handing over his letter Qazi Isa said that in the case of the Muslim League the matter rested entirely with the Quaid-i-Azam. Since the Provincial Muslim League has been dissolved, the Quaid-i-Azam might himself nominate on the Advisory Council any member of the Muslim League he liked.

A. S. B. SHAH
[*Political*] *Secretary to the Governor-General*

[1]Presumably refers to No. 431.
[2]Not traceable

433

A. S. B. Shah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 302/176-80

SECRET *16 June 1948*

A NOTE ON THE MUSLIM LEAGUE IN BALUCHISTAN

The affairs of the Baluchistan Muslim League are unfortunately passing through an unhappy phase. Lack of wise and disinterested leadership is impeding its progress and standing in its way of making that wide-spread appeal which alone can bring about unity and progress in the Province. The Muslim League in Baluchistan was started some years ago by the Quaid-i-Azam with the object of seizing power from the British Government and making the people Pakistan-minded. It was then the policy of the League to criticise the administrative machinery of this Province and advocate the introduction of liberal reforms. Under the guidance of the Quaid-i-Azam, the League made rapid progress and succeeded in creating amongst the people a strong yearning for freedom and devotion to the ideals of Islam, so much so that at the time of the referendum there was a unanimous demand for the joining of Baluchistan with Pakistan.

2. It was expected that with the advent of Pakistan the League would gain in membership and strength and become so broad-based as to enable those elements and interests which had so far remained outside the League, but which still comprised some of the most important components in the polity of Baluchistan, to come within its fold. That these hopes have not been completely fulfilled is due to the circumstances which I have attempted to explain in the following paragraphs.

3. During the last 80 years, the people of Baluchistan have remained educationally, socially and economically very backward. The tribal system, which the British perpetuated, divested the Province of all those ideas which help to create amongst the people consciousness of civil liberties, political freedom and a higher standard of living. Under this system, the entire work of law and order, judicial administration, and security of frontiers was left in the hands of the *Sardars*, in return for loyalty and devotion to the cause of the British Government. It is not surprising therefore that the official hierarchy and the *Sardars* still regard the Muslim League as dangerous to the stability of the administration and the established order in the Province.

4. The *Sardars* are apprehensive of the possible encroachment by the

forces of liberty and freedom upon their rights and privileges and have therefore aligned themselves against the League. They are powerful enough to create trouble for the administration throughout the Province. They have the money, they have the influence, and they know that for a long time to come, the Government cannot do without their services, nor can it make any drastic changes in the *Sardari* and the *Jirga* system. They are also shrewd enough to understand that such a change cannot be brought about in a day. It would mean, for one thing, establishing all over the Province regular courts of law, creating a large police force and a vast cadre of revenue officials. They are, therefore, satisfied that the existing order will remain at least until a new constitution is framed, changing the complexion of the present administration.

5. With the possible exception of the Mari and Bugti *Sardars*, to whom the message of Pakistan has not yet been fully conveyed—thanks to the ineptitude of the local Political Agent—,the *Sardars*, as a body, are all devoted to Pakistan. But they are afraid of joining the Muslim League lest those in authority in the Provincial Muslim League take a narrow and ill-advised or even hostile view of the *Sardars'* position and force them to sign their own death warrant. The rank and file of the League at present include the bulk of the poorer tribesmen as well as elements not on friendly terms with the *Sardars*. The *Sardars* feel that by joining such a body they would be doing no good either to themselves or to the League. Uneducated and unversed as they are in politics, the versatile and energetic personality of Qazi Isa frightens them. They seem to be living constantly in fear of what this England-returned Barrister might do next.

6. On the Muslim League side, Qazi Isa seems anxious to block the way of the natural leaders of the people wishing to enter the League, lest they may make his own position insecure. He has now embarked upon a policy of vilification of the *Sardars* and is carrying on propaganda with the sole object of belittling them in the public eye. Such a campaign, if allowed to go on unchecked, will not only weaken the administration but also create the danger of a class war in Baluchistan. The cry of some Muslim League leaders that the *Sardars* should be elected by the tribes and not nominated by Government, can hardly be considered as falling within the sphere of practical politics, having regard to the fact that the people are not yet ready for running peaceful elections or representative institutions. The claim of the League to make the people conscious of their political rights cannot be denied but it must go slow and take care that the foundations of the administration are not endangered, nor is the peace of the Province disturbed

by any hasty and ill-advised step.

7. To Qazi Isa, cooperation with Government or *Sardars* is now a counsel of despair. He realises that his political career is doomed to failure. In fairness to him, it must be said that although the inspiration and guidance always came from the Quaid-i-Azam, he was the sole builder of Muslim League in Baluchistan. But the price the Province has had to pay for his leadership is proving very costly. Nevertheless, on the 15th August when power was transferred to Pakistan, Qazi Isa's stock stood very high. The *Sardars* and the officials looked up to him for favours. Even now, he has sufficient hold over his followers to create a dangerous rift between the Government and that section of the population which follows him blindly.

8. If Qazi Isa is removed from the League, it would be difficult to find another man to organize the party so efficiently and energetically, and yet he has been guilty of many rash acts. His domestic life has been open to public criticism. But for the credulous and weak nature of the people of Baluchistan, Qazi Isa would have been hard put to it to make them accept his leadership. The last Sibi Darbar was his final undoing, and the *Sardars* and the people were quick to spot the Quaid-i-Azam's displeasure of Qazi Isa. Since then, the *Sardars'* attitude towards the Muslim League has stiffened. The officials have again become luke-warmish in their attitude towards the League. My impression is that Qazi Isa will be only too ready to quit Baluchistan and its politics if he can find a plausible excuse for doing so.

9. To cope with the situation described above, the following remedial measures suggest themselves:

a. In the interest of the peace and progress of the Province, Qazi Isa should be eliminated from the politics of Baluchistan. This can be done either by the Quaid-i-Azam, condemning him publicly and thus breaking him completely and for ever, or he should be dealt with under the law and put behind the bars. But if he is prepared to give an honest undertaking that he will never re-enter politics of this Province, he might be given some suitable post outside Pakistan.

b. In any case when Qazi Isa goes out, we must find another leader to take his place and thus save the League from disintegration.

c. The *Sardars* should be encouraged to join the League. Only by this way can they assimilate the ideas of liberalism and democracy.

d. Suitable directions might be issued by the League High Command to the Provincial League that for some time to come, in Baluchistan the Provincial League should turn its energies towards the social

and economic development of the Province, leaving the political evolution of the people in the hands of the Governor-General.

A. S. B. SHAH

434

M. N. Kotwal to M. A. Jinnah

F. 83/68-9

IMMEDIATE

MINISTRY OF LAW AND LABOUR,
KARACHI,
16 June 1948

RE: SALE OF PROPERTY BEARING NEW SURVEY NO. 4, SURVEY SHEET SR 2, KNOWN AS MOHATTA BUILDING

Sir,

I have since taken inspection of the documents of title relating to the above-mentioned property and the title is clear.

2. You are aware that the ground floor of the said property is in the occupation of the Chartered Bank, under a lease which will expire on 31.8.1950, the monthly rent being Rs. 820, and the important covenants being as set out in the Annexure A[1] hereto.

3. On account of the facts mentioned in the Annexure B the said lease will, however, stand extended up to 31.8.1960.

4. The present Manager of the Chartered Bank, Mr. Anderson, is about to leave for England and his departure has been delayed in view of the instructions received by him from the Head Office to settle the matter of the lease in respect of the ground floor of the said property in the occupation of the Bank, before he leaves for England, since he is posted with all the necessary facts in this connection.

5. Accordingly, he has asked me to request you to be so good as to pass a writing in terms of the Annexure B [Enclosure] hereto, and to forward the same at your very early convenience.

6. I may remind you in this connection that the agreement for sale on this point provides as under:

> The balance of the purchase money shall be paid.... on the Vendor making out a clear, valid, subsisting and marketable title.... and handing over possession of the said premises hereby agreed to be sold unto the Purchaser and/or his nominee or nominees, by attornment from the tenants, who are mostly monthly tenants, save and except the Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China, who hold the premises in their occupation under a lease in force up to the year 1950. If there is

any commitment by the Vendor to give to the aforesaid Chartered Bank an extension of the term up to the year 1960, the Purchaser will try to fulfil such commitment.

7. In law, however, a covenant for renewal of the term of the lease runs with the land with the result that it is enforceable against the Purchaser from the Lessor and I trust you will have no objection to the Bank continuing to remain in occupation up to the period ending 31-8-1960. You will please, therefore, get a letter prepared in terms of the Annexure B hereto and forward the same to me duly signed by you at your very early convenience.

With respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. N. KOTWAL

[1]F. 83/70, *QAP*. Not printed.

Enclosure to No. 434

F. 83/71-2

Dear Sir,

With reference to the plot of land with buildings standing thereon known as Mohatta Building bearing new survey No. 4, Survey sheet SR 2 situated in the Serai Quarter of the City of Karachi which I have contracted to purchase from Mr. Shivratan Mohatta, the owner thereof, I hereby confirm as under:

1. By the sale deed dated 10-7-1945 made between the Bank as the Vendors of the one part and Rao Bahadur Shivratan Mohatta and Mr.Brijratan Shivratan Mohatta as the Vendees of the other part, the Bank conveyed to the said Vendees an amalgamated plot of land with buildings standing thereon containing by admeasurements 3,432 square yards or thereabouts bearing new survey No. 11/2 survey sheet SR 2 situated in the Serai Quarter of the City of Karachi.

2. Under the said sale deed the said Vendees entered into a covenant to erect a modern building on the said property and to demise the same unto the Bank subject to the terms and conditions of the lease to be executed for the pupose as set out in the said sale deed.

3. The aforesaid sale deed further provided that in case the said Vendees failed to commence the construction work on the said property on or before the 31st August 1952, it would be open to the Bank to require the said Vendees to reconvey the said property to the Bank on return to the said Vendees by the Bank of the sum of Rs. 3,12,586-8-0 paid by the said Vendees as the price of the said property.

4. The aforesaid sale deed further provided that in case the buildings to

be constructed by the said Vendees on the said property were not ready for occupation by the Bank by 15th of August, 1950, the lease held by the Bank from one of the said Vendees, namely Mr. Shivratan Mohatta, in respect of the premises in the occupation of the Bank at present situated in Mohatta Building and evidenced by the deed of lease dated 28-7-1944 shall stand renewed for a further period of 10 years expiring on 31st August 1960; the Bank, however, having the option to terminate the renewed lease by giving three months notice in writing in that behalf.

5. The said plot of land was thereafter sub-divided into 4 survey numbers, namely survey Nos. 11/2/1, 11/2/2, 11/2/3 and 11/2/4 survey sheet SR 2 and in terms of the indenture of modification dated 10-6-1946 made between the Bank of the one part and the said Vendees of the other part it was provided that the aforesaid provision for the construction of a modern building for the Bank shall be restricted in its operation only to the sub-division of the said plot at present bearing new survey No. 11/2/1 containing by admeasurement, 1675.7 sq. yds. or thereabouts and further that the covenant to re-convey as aforesaid shall be similarly restricted to the said sub-division bearing survey No. 11/2/1 on payment of Rs. 1,52,623 (one lakh fifty two thousand six hundred twenty three only) to the said Vendees by the Bank.

6. In view of the facts set out above, I hereby confirm that in case the said Vendees fail to construct and make ready for occupation by the Bank the required premises by 15th August, 1950, I will fulfil the commitment aforesaid in terms of which the present lease of the Bank premises which is to expire on 31-8-1950 shall stand extended up to 31-8-1960; provided always that the Bank will carry out the covenants binding upon it under the said lease deed dated 28-7-1944.

The Manager,
The Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China,
Karachi

435

Report on M. A. Jinnah's Health[1]

F. 120 (Vol.V)-GG/41

QUETTA,
16 June 1948

QUAID-I-AZAM'S HEALTH IMPROVES

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah's health has considerably improved

since his arrival here on June [May] 25. He has gained in weight and he looked very cheerful when he addressed the citizens of Quetta on the lawns of the Town Hall yesterday.

The Quaid-i-Azam is proceeding to Ziarat and it is hoped his stay there will have still more beneficial effect on his health.

[1]The *Dawn*, 17 June 1948.

436

M. A. Jinnah to Liaquat Ali Khan

Telegram, F. 120 (Vol.V)-GG/302

QUETTA,
16 June 1948

Extremely sorry hear you are indisposed. Please wire. Anxious hoping nothing serious.[1]

M. A. JINNAH

[1]See No. 437.

437

Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 120 (Vol.V)-GG/304

KARACHI,
17 June 1948

Grateful your kind telegram.[1] Nothing serious. Exhaustion due overwork. Doctors advise rest. Following doctors' instructions. Hope to be all right soon.

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

[1]No. 436.

438

Sakhi Mahmood Shah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 25 (Part IV)-GG/160-1

SUBHANALLAH HOTEL, BUNDER ROAD,
KARACHI,
17 June 1948

Sir,

Respectfully, I beg to state as under:

I used to reside at the *Mazar Sharif* of Haji Malang in the Bombay Presidency. When Hindu-Muslim trouble started at Calcutta and Bombay, I came to Bombay and sent some specially educated men to *Azad Qabail*, their spiritual adviser, and the general public to impress that the English rule was coming to an end and that Hindus and Muslims now want to establish their rule; that the Hindus at Calcutta and Bombay have assassinated even the newly born Muslim children; that they should not be deluded with the obnoxious propaganda of Hindus and their Muslim hirelings; that they should be ready to give every sacrifice in the cause of Pakistan, failing which dishonour, disrespect, humiliation and slavery of Hindus are staring them in the face; that on the doomsday they will be placed with Hindus. The holy *Qur'an* is very explicit on the point that if any Muslim takes sides with any Hindu, he is not a Muslim, and on the Day of Judgment he will be thrown in the hell to live with his Hindu friends and the true Muslims will get a place in heaven. He who lives with Muslims in the world will also live with Muslims in the world to come and heaven will be his ultimate goal.

2. I respectfully submit that my men, so sent, duly delivered the message and brought duly signed and sealed acknowledgments from the *Peers* of *Sarhad*. My men also did a lot in connection with the Sarhad Referendum and also played an active part in holy war of Kashmir. I was so far busy in helping the Nizam of Hyderabad but now I have come to Karachi shortly [*sic*].

I, therefore, request you to be kind enough to grant me and a few men of mine an audience so that I may be able to make a clean breast of certain facts and suggestions which may prove helpful to the country. I shall be

further thankful if you will kindly fix a time and date[1] for the purpose.

Thanking you in anticipation,

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Yours faithfully,

PIR GHAZI SYED SAKHI MAHMOOD SHAH QADRI

of Azad Qabail

[1]F. Amin replied that Jinnah was out of town, and no interview was, therefore, possible. See F. 25 (Part II)-GG/162. Not printed.

439

Note by A. S. B. Shah

F. 888/98

TOP SECRET GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S SECRETARIAT

18 June 1948

The Quaid-i-Azam has given the following instructions to A. G. G. verbally in regard to Qazi Moh[amma]d Isa.

2. The anti-administration and anti-*Sardar* activities of Qazi Isa at the present moment, either by passing off as the President of the Provincial Muslim League (now on his own admission a defunct body) or by taking advantage of his past high position in the League, are hampering and obstructing the Governor-General in his efforts to handle the general situation in Baluchistan and the system of Shahi Jirga as it is existing today. If he continues to act in the manner in which he is going on now, there is an apprehension that it might lead to bloodshed. The Governor-General has, therefore, decided that Qazi Isa must be asked[1] to stop all this disruptionist propaganda against the *Sardars,* and if he persists in this line, the Government will have to take such steps as they consider appropriate for the preservation of peace and maintenance of law and order in Baluchistan.

Submitted for the confirmation of Quaid-i-Azam.

A. S. B. SHAH

[1]Savidge asked Qazi Isa to desist from his disruptive activities. See No. 444.

440

Minutes of the Cabinet Meeting

F. 23/CF-19

SECRET
Copy No. 13
Case No. 366/51/48

[KARACHI,]
18 June 1948

PROPOSAL THAT THE 1ST [OF] JULY 1948 SHOULD BE DECLARED AS PUBLIC HOLIDAY

PRESENT

Prime Minister
Minister for Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations
Minister for Communications and Law and Labour
Minister for Refugees and Rehabilitation
Minister for Education and Industries and Commerce and Works
Minister for Food, Agriculture and Health
Minister for Interior, Information and Broadcasting
Governor, State Bank of Pakistan
Secretary to the Cabinet
Deputy Secretary to the Cabinet

MINUTES

The Governor of the State Bank said that the treasuries and branches of the Imperial Bank would have to notify the Reserve Bank of their balances. The Reserve Bank on its part would have to transfer a number of accounts to the State Bank of Pakistan and also advise the Bank of England of our sterling accounts position. For these reasons together with the fact that the opening of our State Bank would be a unique occasion, it was proposed to observe the 1st of July 1948 as a holiday.

DECISION

The Cabinet agreed that a public holiday should be observed on the 1st of July 1948, on which date the State Bank of Pakistan will take over from the Reserve Bank of India.

441

Amir Hasan Siddiqi to S. M. Yusuf

F. 220 (II)-GG/17-8

CLAYTON ROAD, KARACHI,
18 June 1948

SUB: PERMISSION TO ASSOCIATE QUAID-I-AZAM'S NAME WITH THE NEW ISLAMIA COLLEGE, KARACHI

Dear Sir,

I understand that the Education Department of Pakistan have advised[1] the Quaid-i-Azam not to allow the permission of his name to be associated with the new Islamia College started at Karachi for financial considerations. In this connection, I would like to mention a few facts and would request you kindly to place them before the Quaid-i-Azam for his favourable consideration while deciding finally with regard to this matter:

1. That this college has been started with a view to produce the right type of citizens in order to strengthen Pakistan.
2. That this will be the only institution which will counteract the evil spirit of provincialism which is so rampant in all other educational institutions of this province.
3. That this college is filling up the gap left open by the closing down of the Arts Section of the local D. J. Sind College by the Sind Government, and will have a greater response by the public.
4. That this college has been started by the prominent financiers who, being inspired by the association of Quaid-i-Azam's name will, in no time, build up an ample reserve fund which will ensure its success and permanence.
5. That, at this stage, when the public has come to know that it is being named after the Quaid-i-Azam, if the permission is not granted, it will have a detrimental effect upon the institution.
6. That the success of this institution now depends entirely upon the grant of the permission to the association of Quaid-i-Azam's name with this institution; and as such I do hope that the Quaid-i-Azam would very kindly accede to our request and would not disappoint us.[2] I would further request the Quaid-i-Azam to kindly send us a message to be read on the occasion of the inauguration ceremony to

be performed within the next few days by the Hon'ble Minister of Education, Pakistan.

Yours truly,
A. H. SIDDIQI
Dr.
General Secretary,
Islamic Education Society

[1]See No. F. 220 (Part.II)-GG/15. Not printed.
[2]Jinnah did not agree to his name being associated with the Institution See No. 442.

442

S. M. Yusuf to Amir Hasan Siddiqi

Telegram, F. 220 (II)-GG/16

19 June 1948

Quaid-i-Azam thanks you for all information regarding proposed Islamia College[1] but regrets he is not at present satisfied to enable him to allow his name to be associated with it. Until Islamic Education Society is in position to put their scheme on proper, sound and sure basis you can very well understand that he cannot agree to this as it might be misunderstood.

S. M. YUSUF

[1]See No. 441.

443

Muhammad Husain & Others to M. A. Jinnah

F. 25 (Part IV)-GG/164-70

WOMEN'S HOME,
FEMALE JAIL, LAHORE,
19 June 1948

Most respected Quaid-i-Azam,

It is with the greatest diffidence and after the most earnest heart-searching that we have decided to address you. We know that your shoulders alone bear today the grave burdens of our new-born State. We did not wish to disturb you at a time when such vital and fateful matters are occupying your mind, because we realise that, in the largest measure,

the destiny of our nation depends on your perception, your tenacity of purpose and your guidance; and the greatest loyalty today is to afford you that peace of mind and that full assurance of our devotion and unflinching unity behind you which will enable you to lead us to victory as surely as you have led us to our freedom. But it is this very devotion to you, which symbolizes for us our love and consecration to Pakistan, that compels us to appeal to you.

It is, we know, fully realized by all that Punjab is the corner-stone of Pakistan. Upon the strength and tenacity of the Punjab, on its progress, and on the manner in which it is governed and ordered, will depend the future prospects of our entire State. In fact we make bold to say that if Punjab goes under, Pakistan cannot survive, but if by God's grace it prospers and fructifies, no power on earth can prejudice Pakistan's future greatness.

Punjab today is sorely beset [*sic*]. It is being governed by people who have neither ability nor intelligence, nor the vision and imagination required to surmount the very great problems which face us. Our administration has all but broken down. It is overlaid with corruption and favouritism and inefficiency. The entire machinery of Government is being abused and perverted to keep a group of ineffective persons in power. Meanwhile, there is mounting discontent, distrust and disgust amongst the people. Disruptive elements are finding a fertile field for their mischief at a time when unity, discipline and faith alone can sustain our new-born freedom and save us from ruination.

We are moving inexorably towards disaster. If immediate and drastic steps are not taken, the whole fabric of Government will collapse, and bring down Pakistan with it, for we fear that not even the most tenacious people in the world can bear up against such inefficiency, such incompetence and such criminal lack of seriousness as surrounds us today.

Quaid-i-Azam, our hearts are heavy with forebodings for the future. Under your leadership we have all fought for freedom and Pakistan. We cannot today remain idle spectators and watch those who would undermine its foundations.

We turn to you, Quaid-i-Azam, because we have never turned to anyone else. And because we know that in you alone every single citizen of Pakistan reposes unquestioned confidence. Again and again, you have smoothed the path for us so that the nation may turn the corner.

Things in the Punjab have come to a pass when you, who has made Pakistan, can no longer remain indifferent to them. Your life-work is at stake.

We know that you have already laid your finger unerringly on the root cause of our troubles. You were aware, before us, of the ineffectiveness of

our leadership. We know that you made an effort to change the set-up so that a more efficient administration may become possible. But it appears that either Khan of Mamdot or Mian Mumtaz Daultana or both failed to carry out your instructions. In disgust you have decided to wash your hands of the whole affair. But surely, Quaid-i-Azam, if one or two persons have behaved in a shameful or a treacherous manner, this must not be allowed to jeopardise the future of an entire people. We hold no brief either for Mamdot or for Daultana. We only know that he who dares to disobey you betrays the nation and should suffer the penalties of a traitor. But the treachery or the greed or the cowardice of an individual must not deprive the people of the Punjab of the only leadership in which they have confidence and the only guidance which they can trust. By all means, punish Mamdot or Daultana, and the entire province will be executors of the punishment, but do not punish the people.

We know, Sir, that the immediate responsibility of the affairs of the Punjab falls upon its MLAs. We can also assure you that if an effort was made, the present Ministry can easily be overthrown by a vote of no confidence. But this would inevitably lead to disruption in a party which had held together through so many trials in the past; it would create an atmosphere of mutual distrust and suspicion, and it would subject any future administration that we may form to the necessity of employing the same disgraceful tactics of power politics, corruption, and individual aggrandisement, which are the besetting sins of the Mamdot Ministry. Today we require a firm, honest and ruthless administration which will root out the evils of the past with an iron hand and give a new hope to the people and a new strength to the Province to face its unprecedented problems. Such an administration can only be based either directly on you or on those of whom you publicly approve and explicitly call upon to take office.

We would not have troubled you, Quaid-i-Azam, if we were not honestly and utterly convinced that you alone can save Punjab. The people of Punjab love you and trust you. Today, with expectant eyes they look up to you. If you fail them today, it will be as if destiny has deserted them. And pardon us, Quaid-i-Azam, but history will not forgive and Pakistan will not survive such a failure. We fear that if the present state of affairs is allowed to go unchecked for another month or two, then not even the sternest measure will be able to repair the damage. The cancer will have eaten far too deep into the fabric of our polity.

Therefore, Quaid-i-Azam, we beg you to intervene; every Punjabi will stand by you if you decide to take over the administration. And every Punjabi will unconditionally support a Ministry which is formed

under your guidance.

It is not possible for us to acquaint you with the situation as fully as it is necessary in a memorandum of this nature. But we will have failed in our duty to the people whom we have the privilege to represent and to you whom we revere and honour as the Father of our Nation, if we do not make an attempt to place the full facts before you. Therefore, we must humbly request you to permit us the honour of an interview with you. We are fully conscious, Sir, of your pre-occupations and of the impropriety of our request, but we feel that the present desperate situation will admit of no other solution. All of us shall eagerly await your instructions, and we dare to hope that you will not disappoint your workers who in the past have never wavered at your command and who in the future are pledged to you in devoted loyalty. We can come to Karachi at a day's notice.

With kindest regards,

Yours most obediently,
MUHAMMAD HUSAIN
KHAIR MEHDI
FAZAL ELAHI
SALAHUDDIN
[SOOFI] ABDUL HAMID KHAN
MLAs

444

C. A. G. Savidge to M. A. Jinnah

F. 820/81

SECRET

QUETTA,
[? 20] June 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

In accordance with Quaid-i-Azam's instructions,[1] I sent for Qazi Muhammad Isa on the evening of the 19th. I informed him that Government viewed with displeasure the attitude and activities which he had been adopting recently in Baluchistan in the name of the Muslim League. The propaganda he had indulged in and his pronouncements and activities were calculated to bring about a serious clash between the various classes in the Province, and if persisted in, might easily lead to bloodshed. Instead of co-operating with Government in the difficult task of bringing together the various interests in Baluchistan with the object of securing the orderly advancement of the Province,

he had indulged in objectionable and revolutionary activities which hindered seriously the attainment of the ends which Government has before it. I pointed out to him the various directions in which he had pursued the activities and warned him that if he did not put an end to them, Government would be compelled in the interest of maintaining peace in the Province to take steps to curb his activities.

2. He replied at some length disclaiming any intention of provoking trouble and saying that he was merely pursuing the objective of reforming the state of affairs in Baluchistan. I pointed out to him that we were all anxious to introduce reforms, but the process of so doing must be an evolutionary and not a revolutionary one. In the end, he promised to refrain from anything which would cause trouble to Government and said he would consult me before taking any steps in the pursuance of his political views. I hope he keeps to his word. I have issued instructions to maintain a close watch on his activities and for a record to be kept of any talk or speeches he may indulge in.

3. He appeared to me to be considerebly shaken by Government's attitude towards him, and I think he would very much like to get out of the mess in which he finds himself, if it could be accomplished without his having to commit what he terms "political suicide". He said that the question of his participation in the forthcoming League elections was one for the Party to decide and he was going to abide by any instructions he may receive from that quarter.

Yours sincerely,

C. A. G. SAVIDGE

[1]No. 439.

445

Qazi M. Isa to M. A. Jinnah

F. 614/7-10

PRIVATE/CONFIDENTIAL

2 LYTTON ROAD, QUETTA,
21 June 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Once again I am taking the liberty of writing a personal letter to you and I do earnestly hope you would forgive me for encroaching on your most valuable time. This is the only means left to me to place my whole case before you because I do not want my Quaid-i-Azam to be

angry with me. I have already suffered terribly through this and I cannot bear it any more.

When you entrusted me with the task of establishing and organising the League in this Province, it was no easy task. To wake up the people from the centuries-old slumber was not an easy thing; yet with the help of God and under your kind and benevolent guidance the League succeeded in not only establishing itself but it became a power to reckon with. The League in fact revolutionised the mentality of the down-trodden people and the Provincial League is the living testimony to that. I had to fight against old ideologies, old vested interests and the British Govt. Some of the officers with whom I had to deal were like Col. Hay[1] and Sir Geoffrey Prior.[2] I still remember the way you slashed Col. Hay and thus provided a speedy exit for him. I was looked upon as the driving force behind the League, so they all put their heads together to smash me first. They could not achieve this through any external forces, so they picked on a man from our own party in the beginning.

In 1943 when, for the first time, you honoured this Province with your presence, Nawab Mohammad Khan Jogezai was the President of Zhob District Muslim League—his own district and in fact he was the President right from 1939 and I wanted to utilise [words illegible] first and I wanted to give them a chance but he just sat on the League and nor liked [*sic*] any one else to work in that area. I invited him then to come to Quetta and pay you respects but he did not have the courage to meet you and, in fact, he never met you while you were in Quetta and that was the limit. After that I took Zhob under my personal care and worked for the League through other workers; the result is that we have the best League in Zhob now and the Nawab was left without any following. Now if he has any grouse against me there is this reason for it.

As mentioned above, Col. Hay, in order to disrupt our Party, picked on Mir Jafar Khan Jamali. In those war days, when no one could bring out a paper, he was given permission to start a newspaper which contained nothing but abuses for me. He was given vast tracts of land in Nasirabad Tehsil. In conspiracy with the Khan of Kalat, he wanted to start a Baluch League which, thank God, we succeeded in smashing. Then on the question of leased areas, Jamali signed for Kalat along with Jogezai and the four Baluch Shahi Jirga Members from Nushki. These facts you can very well verify. Yet he was the friend of the League and I its enemy. Jamali would not allow any League worker to go to his area and he said that Nasirabad was Kalat State and League had no right to establish a branch there. One Gul Mohammad took

upon himself the task of organising the League there, and Jamali had him murdered and there was an investigation. I would request you to kindly send for the police enquiry papers; this case should have gone before [*sic*] judicial trial but somehow or the other he was permitted to settle the matter with the relations of the deceased, and he had to pay a good deal of money to the relations. He backed the Khaksars against me and scandalised me about the Anjuman-i-Islamia money. You are in a position, Sir, to send for the papers of those who approached you in 1945 about the money, and what pained me most then was that my Quaid-i-Azam giving [*sic*] so much importance to the demands of those well-wishers of Islam, and I am still paying for that. Those very gentlemen are kicked from the Anjuman because they could not succeed in misleading the people for [*sic*] any longer time and my fears expressed then have come out true; they have squandered the money and have kept no account of that. There are some so-called Baluchi papers in Karachi which are still vilifying Pakistan; they were never the friends of the League and those papers were fully used by Jamali by paying them against me. Even my so-called friend, the Khan of Kalat, did his utmost in destroying the League; he used to import *Maulvis* from outside, placed a truck at their disposal and made them tour the Province simply to weaken the League, because the Khan was convinced that the League was the only Party which he could not put in his pocket; he had already succeeded in putting the Congress Party in his pocket, which subsequent events proved beyond any shadow of doubt.

Then the Referendum came and when we learnt that only the[Shahi] Jirga members were to participate in the voting, I became mortally afraid; there was no other way out and we had to act with lightning speed, and to the best of my knowledge and with the best of intentions, we started coaxing them, humouring them, and in some cases we had to even bully and threaten them. Just before the Referendum, Jogezai had signed the Congress manifesto. We went round his people and told them that the Nawab was about to sell them to the Hindus. His people rose against him and placed an ultimatum before him that if he did such a thing, they would shoot him and that he must remember that he was not the real Nawab of the tribe, the real Nawab being one Sardar Baz Khan. This threat worked. The same tactics were used in the case of Sardar Sanjarani who had sided with Kalat; we put up his people against him and told him that he too was not the real Sardar, the real Sardar being one Sher Mohammed Khan who since 1922 had revolted against the Britishers and had gone to Afghanistan. All this and then thousands of armed men outside the Quetta Town Hall, where the voting took place for the last time, told their members

that if they voted against Pakistan, they were under oath to kill them on the spot. The result was as we had desired. Quaid-i-Azam, you may condemn these methods but there was no other way left for us and we had staked our all. Now how can these people forget what we did to them. Still I am very glad and I feel that I have accomplished my mission when I see these very Sardars professing their loyalty to you and Pakistan; had we not done our work you would have not seen them so prostrate. I look upon this as the greatest victory of the League.

Immediately after your Sibi Darbar speech,[3] I contacted Nawab Jogezai and the members of the Shahi Jirga and conveyed them the message that let us sit and settle our differences if there are any. They refused both [*sic*] to meet us or even to give us a chance to meet them.

More than the Jirga members I blame some of the officials who are unnecessarily backing them up against the League and the Jirga members through their effrontery towards the League feel that they are pleasing their local officials and hence this tug of war.... Quaid-i-Azam, we are your soldiers; use us on any front you like and we would go without even any hope of reward. We have pledged our lives to be loyal to you, but we implore you to save us from others trying to disgrace and belittle us. We are yours because of our love for you; the Sardars are yours because they are paid to remain loyal and that is the only difference between us.

It pained me very much when I learnt just the other day from Col. [A.S.B.] Shah that you were also annoyed with me for my wrong handling of the situation in the Frontier Province when I was sent as an Organiser there. You know it very well, Sir, that in 1945 when you were at Mastung and the Central Parliamentary Committee announced the formation of three committees for the Frontier election purposes, I strongly protested against that arrangement and I told you that this would never work in the Frontier, and you advised me to contact Liaquat Ali Khan which I did, but he preferred not to disturb the arrangements. I again protested to Liaquat Ali Khan for having Qaiyum Khan in selecting the League candidates, who was then in league with the Pir of Manki Sharif. I knew that the Pir had no influence there and the seats given under the advice of the Pir would be lost, but mine was a cry in the wilderness. And what I had feared came out true. I am really surprised, Sir, how am I to be blamed for the Frontier case. I still maintain that the only way of forming the League there is to put my programme into operation there, otherwise that province would never have a League and the local politics would go from bad to worse. My Quaid-i-Azam, in spite of all this, I may have committed some mistakes but I can say with a clear conscience and on my honour, never an intentional one and never with any ulterior motive.

Last time when I went to Karachi, I made it a point to meet Shah Wali[4] at a party. I discussed the attitude of Afghanistan. He told me that what the Afghan papers wrote was not the official view, whereupon I told him that he must make a declaration to clear the atmosphere, and I feel it was the result of that talk that he made a speech at Karachi, but unfortunately his speech was repudiated by the Kabul Radio.

I am bubbling with the desire to serve you and my Pakistan and it pains me very much that those who have contributed nothing towards the achievement of this State come forward and give me a lecture on loyalty to Pakistan. Sir, Col. Shah even told me that there was a time when you actually contemplated sending me up for Wavell's expanded Executive Council; it is my bad luck that I became a victim of circumstances, but at least I am glad that even under the circumstances when you were so angry with me, my steps never faltered and I remained your loyal follower and I shall remain so till the end of my life, no matter what happens. Surely if this story is right, then you must have looked upon me as one capable of undertaking such a responsibility. Since then I must have gained more experience and along with that I have been through the mill also; you have a more experienced and comparatively more seasoned Isa. Give me the most difficult work, give me an opportunity to prove it to you how a loyal follower should work, I will neither spare myself nor my life. Surely, I have been amply punished. You have forgiven greater sinners, nay, even the known enemies of League and Pakistan.

Your repentant child has suffered more than he could endure, won't you forgive him? To be so near you and so far away is a thing which I cannot bear.

You always knew that I believed in dictatorship; well I still believe in it; the word dictator may have an unpleasant taste, but what Pakistan needs is a strong man at the helm of affairs and we are gratetul to God that our destinies are in your hands and there lies our salvation. We need a strong Centre; please create one for us. There is trouble in Sind but our Sind representative would not utter a word about it; there is trouble in the Frontier but our Frontier man at the Centre would not say a word about it, with the result that the whole burden is placed on your shoulders. Please spare yourself for bigger issues which are facing this new State of ours.

May you live long to steer the ship of our destiny in these troubled waters!

Yours as always,
Q.M. ISA

[1]Agent to the Governor-General and Chief Commissioner, Baluchistan, 1943-46.
[2]Agent to the Governor-General and Chief Commissioner, Baluchistan, 1946-47.
[3]No. 79.
[4]Shah Wali Khan, Ambassador for Afghanistan in Pakistan.

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Notice by the Deputy Collector's Office, Karachi

F. 790/12

21 June 1948

RENT OF BUILDING SITE FOR 1947-1948

Bill No. 57

Respected Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

Take notice that the ground rent of plot No. 4/4-1A for the year 1947-1948 amounts to Rupees 16-15-0 and local cess thereon Rupee 1-9-0 [plus] Rupee 1-1-0, total Rupees 19-9-0, which you are hereby required to pay into this office or to the *Tapadar* before 5-7-48, failing which you will be proceeded against according to law.

Notice delivered this day of 21-6-48.

[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
Tapadar,
City Deputy Collector's Office

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King Abdul Aziz to M. A. Jinnah

F. 125 (21)-GG/12
[*Translation*]

RIYADH,
22 June 1949

In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful

Compliments,

It gives us great pleasure indeed to seize this opportunity of exchanging diplomatic representations between our country and the country of

Pakistan which is so dear to us. It also gives us pleasure to take the opportunity of reciprocating friendship between us through our trusted Syed Abdul Hamid el-Khatib whom we have appointed Charge d'Affaires of our Legation in your country—Pakistan.

He will convey to Your Excellency our personal greetings. We trust that you will bestow your attention and confidence on him so that he may be able to make stronger the already firm and natural friendly relations between our countries. Our trust in Syed Abdul Hamid el-Khatib will prove to you the suitability for which we selected him to represent our Government in your country. It will also show the worth which I hope will place him in your good books.

We pray God to enable us to do what is good for the Muslim nation as a whole.

Your well-wisher,
[ABDUL AZIZ BIN ABDUR RAHMAN AL-FAISAL AL-SAUD]

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Allah Nawaz Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. V)-GG/202

ALLAH NAWAZ CASTLE,
DERA ISMAIL KHAN,
24 June 1948

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

In the *Dawn* of 17th June 1948,[1] there appeared a happy news from Quetta regarding your noble self's improved health. God Almighty be praised for granting you good health and we all earnestly pray to God to keep you fit and strong to serve Islam and Muslims, which indeed had been the cherished mission of your noble life. It gives us a sense of great relief and satisfaction to see our beloved leader in perfect health and good spirits. Frontier and Baluchistan are the only two Provinces in Pakistan which badly need your guidance, sympathy and help in every way. We most sincerely and heartily pray that God Almighty may grant you a very long life to see Pakistan in a state of complete glory, greatness and prosperity. Sir, you alone are the only hope of us all, and in your life and leadership we can see hope, progress, light and peace. We of the younger generation, by the grace of God, can assure you, Sir, that under your wise, able and noble leadership we will try to follow the principles laid down by you, i.e. the new State of Pakistan to be free from jobbery, corruption,

nepotism and selfishness. *Insha Allah,* we will adhere to these principles most rightly not only in our national life but also in the international field as well [*sic*]. If it happens that one cannot stick to both one's friends and principle, one must stick to principle because principles do not change, but friends, even if they appear for the moment to be unreasonable, may change and become reasonable. Opportunism, appeasement, self-regarding policies, power politics, all lead to the grave of our hopes. I must repeat my prayers again and say that God Almighty may grant you long life coupled with spiritual, mental, and physical strength to guide and lead us in our most difficult times now and many more years after, *Insha Allah.* It is indeed God's great kindness to have improved your health so quickly for the service of the poor and helpless millions of Muslims who look to your noble self for sympathy, generosity, grace and kindness. Kindly convey my respectful *salaams,* greetings and good wishes to Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah, who is a kind friend of my aunt, the dowager Begum of Mamdot. The Begum Sahiba is staying in Karachi for the summer and must have paid her respects to her.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Yours respectfully,
ALLAH NAWAZ KHAN
Bar-at-Law
Speaker, NWFP Legislative Assembly

[1]No. 435.

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Mohammad Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 120 (Vol. V)-GG/150-1

NO. 2 PIPALS, LAHORE,
24 June 1948

May it please Your Excellency,

With profound respect I beg to submit, on behalf of Mrs. Ahsan and myself, as follows:

2. We feel that the Muslim refugee students have been most severely affected and, in spite of commendable efforts by the West Punjab Govt., may not be able to overcome financial difficulties without other aid. In view of their plight, we have decided to give Rs. 25 each, i.e. Rs. 50 in all per month, towards four scholarships in the following

amounts:

I. Mrs. Rashida Ahsan (Divisional Organiser, Muslim League, Rawalpindi

a. Scholarship for a girl student in the Matric classes (with Arabic combination) Rs. 10

b. Scholarship for a girl student in the college (with Arabic combination) or Maulvi Fazil class Rs. 15

II. Mohammad Ahsan

a. Scholarship for a boy student in the Matric classes (with Science combination) Rs. 10

b. Scholarship for a boy student in the college (with Science combination) Rs. 15

3. These scholarships are named as follows:

a. the two scholarships given at I (a) & (b) to be named as Miss Fatima Jinnah Scholarship

b. The scholarships mentioned at II (a) & (b) to be named as Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Scholarship and Allama Iqbal Scholarship, respectively.

4. We promise to continue these monthly payments for the whole life. The selection of deserving refugee students, to be made after every two years, will vest in a board to be nominated by the Premier, West Punjab. The first selection, however, of a refugee boy student for the college has been made by me. He is Syed Mohammad Abbas Zaidi, son of K.B. Syed Mohammad Ismail (late Police Commissioner, Kalighat, Calcutta), whom I contacted through Nasim Anwar Beg, Member, Committee of Action, P.M.S. Federation, and Member, Administrative Council of Relief Work. The boy will receive education at Peshawer under the direct supervision of Professor Anwar Beg, Islamia College, Peshawar. He is an Art student to join first year, but in view of his pathetic and heart-rending stories and his high family I have selected him. The other and future selections will have to be made by the Premier.

5. In view of our resources and financial liabilities and responsibilities, we have decided to get this amount deducted from my pay regularly by the Accountant-General. These scholarship amounts will be paid by me from the month of March 48 when we took this decision.

6. We hope and earnestly appeal to all well-to-do brethren in Islam to rise to the occasion to contribute liberally towards the cause of refugee education and uplift.

Submitted for Your Excellency's information and blessings. It is hoped that Your Excellency will give your kind approval of the names given the scholarships as above.[1] On receipt of the kind approval, I shall inform the Premier and the Accountant-General and at once pay

up arrears from March 48 (inclusive) onwards.

With our profound respects and affections for your sister and Your Excellency, I close with "God Save Quaid-i-Azam and *Pakistan Zindabad*".

I beg to remain,
Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
MOHAMMAD AHSAN
E.A.C. (Special)

[1]F. Amin replied that Jinnah did not approve of his name being associated with any scheme of scholarships instituted by an individual. See F. 120 (Vol. V)-GG/149. Not printed.

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F. Amin to Shaukat Hyat

F. 25 (Part IV)-GG/10

IMMEDIATE

THE RESIDENCY, QUETTA,
27 June 1948

Dear Sardar Sahib,

Thank you for your letter dated the 18th June[1] asking for an interview. I am desired by the Quaid-i-Azam to say that he regrets he cannot give an interview as his programme for 4 days at Karachi is already full. I am further to say that you can well imagine that a lot of his time is taken up by interviews when he has to handle some very important problems for which he requires every minute of his time. He has therefore definitely decided not to give an interview to any one unless the purpose is specifically stated. If you would specify the purpose for which you wish to see him, and if on receipt of that he feels that he should give you an interview, you will be informed accordingly.

Your letter[2] from Lahore was received by me and I placed it before the Quaid-i-Azam. I sent you an acknowledgment[3] for that at your Lahore address.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
F. AMIN

[1]See F. 25 (Part IV)-GG/9. Not printed.
[2]Not traceable.
[3]See F. 120 (Vol. V)-GG/239. Not printed.

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Altaf Husain to F. Amin

F. 289/4

ZIARAT,
27 June 1948

Dear Mr. Amin,

Quaid-i-Azam lent me this copy of *The Economist*. I am returning it herewith. Please pass it on to him.

Yours sincerely,
ALTAF HUSAIN

Enclosure to No. 451

F. 289/23-4

PAKISTAN'S PROSPECTS[1]

Eight months is a short time in the life of a nation, but it is long enough to show that Pakistan has come to stay.[2] In little more than a decade, the idea of separate statehood for the predominantly Muslim portions of India (old-style) grew from an almost casual suggestion to be the passionately held ideal of the vast majority of Muslims in the country; and led irresistibly to the partition of the country last August. The realisation of this idea needed energies and talents other than those required to play the game of Indian power politics. The surprising thing to most observers is that these were available.

2. It would have been task enough for Pakistan to have organised itself with every other factor favourable. But it had to cope straightaway with a succession of appalling problems—mass migrations, the complete dislocation of economic life over large areas of north-western Pakistan, a serious dispute with India over Kashmir. Yet Pakistan survived, and is today firmly established.

3. The first reason for this is the Governor-General. Mr. Jinnah does not pretend to be a constitutional Governor-General in the sense understood in the older Dominions. He plays an important part in the formation of policy and sometimes in the minutiae of administration. His tours to the provinces, in particular his recent visit to the North-West Frontier Province, have been outstandingly successful in assisting the cohesion

of the various parts of the State. Few would have believed it possible that such practical statesmanship would have been shown by this elderly, ascetic and aloof politcian, who now finds himself in power for the first time in his life.

4. Next in importance in keeping Pakistan united, and making its leaders determined to succeed, has been the attitude of India, as seen from Karachi. From that angle there has been a series of acts—the massacre of Muslims in Delhi in early September, the sufferings of Muslims in the East Punjab, the aggression against Junagadh, followed at once for contrary reasons by the occupation of Kashmir, an unofficial trade embargo on exports from Bombay to Karachi, and so on. No doubt Delhi had good reasons for doing all this and could produce a lengthy charge-sheet against Pakistan. But the important point is that Pakistan did not think so; and this proof of what a Hindu-dominated government meant in practice in its relations with the new Muslim state, as well as India's treatment of Muslims left in India, had a marked effect in maintaining the authority of the Pakistan Government.

GROWING SELF-CONFIDNECE

5. This was most evident in the Kashmir issue. It was obvious that once the principle of partition had been accepted as the solution of the Indian problem, and had been rightly applied to provinces like Bengal and the Punjab, it should also be applied to a large state like Kashmir, where there is an even more clearly defined line of demarcation between majority and minority community. The lamentably prolonged deliberations of UNO over this issue gave Pakistan its first chance to appear on the world's stage. Its debut was reassuringly successful; and the realisation of its international position was fostered by the steady expansion of the *corps diplomatique* at Karachi.

6. Pakistan's appreciation of its own strength grew visibly and was soon made evident to its northern neighbour. Afghanistan had for months been playing up the "Pathanistan" idea with thinly concealed ambitions of dominating the tribal areas of the north-west frontier, and possibly some of the Indus Valley as well. With the New Year, however, and Pakistan's growing self-confidence, a rougher note became evident in its dealings with Afghanistan; and it is safe to say that the "Pathanistan" issue is now dead, and that Afghanistan will have to adopt, in its future dealings with Pakistan, a policy which recognises clearly the relative strength and stability of the two states.

7. The final and probably conclusive reason why Pakistan has come to stay is the fact that it now consists, in the north-west, entirely of Muslims.

Where formerly there were millions of Hindus, there are now only a few thousand. Eastern Bengal, though over twice as populous, has never been associated with the creation of Pakistan in the same way as the north-west, nor have any real links yet been forged between these two widely separated halves of Pakistan. But the will to do so is abundant, and the leaders of the state have fertile brains. In any case, Pakistan is essentially a Muslim state, and reunion with India is out of the question. Yet Pakistan's greatest interest in the field of foreign affairs is that it should be on good terms with India. There is, however, no apparent willingness in the capital of either Dominion to act on the principle that its good relations with the other are indeed the most important part of its foreign policy. The mistrust and ill-feeling born of recent events and the personal rivalries of the leaders of both Dominions are too great.

A NEW TYPE OF DOMINION?

8. What of Pakistan's relations with the Commonwealth? Is it likely to stay inside? The answer again is yes, but with the important proviso that Great Britian and the other members of the Commonwealth must show themselves understanding and helpful. It will be no good treating Pakistan as a daughter nation, or expecting the same automatic responses to matters concerning Great Britain's welfare, or the position of the Crown, and so on, as we have come to rely on from the older Dominions. Pakistan is at present called a Dominion, but the name obscures what is in fact a new and different relation. Precedents applicable to the older Dominions should never be automatically applied to Pakistan. We should not repeat our performance of last autumn, when Pakistan appealed to us in its hour of desperate need, and we did not even send anyone to speak words of comfort, let alone assist in solving its grievous disputes with India—except by distant words of advice. That was not the way to recommend membership of the Commonwealth; and it caused bitter comment in Karachi. There is in Pakistan a great fund of goodwill towards Great Britain and the British. The two countries have a variety of interests in common and a background of the same political ideas. Here then is a great opportunity for the Commonwealth to evolve a new type of relation so that, even if Pakistan should choose to stop calling itself a Dominion, the links which can be developed from common interests would still enable us to go forward together. That might mean a change in the nature of the Commonwealth; but the ability to change our political institutions has always been our strength.

9. Beyond its immediate neighbours and the Commonwealth, Pakistan has not had time to consider its foreign policy. It might seem fitted for the role of leader of a Middle East bloc of Muslim states; as the fifth most populous state in the world, it is far bigger and more powerful than any of the others. But it has so far shown no disposition to think along these lines. Indeed, after an early abortive effort at making contact with certain of these states, it is being most circumspect in its further approaches; and there is no indication as yet how the intrusion of this new power into their affairs would be welcomed by the Middle East countries. Pakistan has joined with them, it is true, in opposing partition in Palestine, but is unlikely to do anything very active about it.

FIELD FOR BRITISH BUSINESS

10. And, finally, what of Pakistan's economic prospect? Much was made, in the conclusions reached by the Cabinet Mission to India in 1946, of the non-viability of Pakistan, and this was the general view up to the time of partition. It is true that Pakistan has no big industries comparable with India's iron and steel, coal or sugar. But Pakistan has a surplus of valuable raw materials, in particular jute, cotton and certain grains. So long as world raw material prices remain anywhere near their present levels, that spells prosperity, on one condition: that condition is that it should be possible to move the crops. But lack of transport facilities is at present Pakistan's main economic problem. Until coal for the railways, vehicles and petrol for the roads, and improved port facilities in East Bengal are all available to an extent not yet in sight, Pakistan will be unable to derive full advantage from its resources. Their development offers a fruitful field for the co-operation of British business. The Pakistan Government has already laid down the conditions on which the investment of foreign capital will be welcomed. As in the political sphere so in the economic, there is an enormous field for the development of friendly and mutually profitable co-operation between Britain and Pakistan. Pakistan has no intention of remaining entirely a primary producer and it is to Great Britain that it first looks for help in its development towards a more balanced economy.

[1]Extract from *The Economist*, 22 May 1948.
[2]Also see No. 424, Vol. I, Part I, 762.

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Speech by M. A. Jinnah on the Inauguration of State Bank of Pakistan

F. 238-GG/22-4

KARACHI,
1 July 1948

Mr. Governor,[1] Directors of the State Bank, Ladies and Gentlemen,

The opening of the State Bank of Pakistan symbolizes the sovereignty of our State in the financial sphere, and I am very glad to be here today to perform the opening ceremony. It was not considered feasible to start a bank of our own simultaneously with the coming into being of Pakistan in August last year. A good deal of preparatory work must precede the inauguration of an institution responsible for such technical and delicate work as note issue and banking. To allow for this preparation, it was provided, under the Pakistan Monetary System and Reserve Bank Order, 1947, that the Reserve Bank of India should continue to be the currency and banking authority in Pakistan till the 30th September, 1948. Later on it was felt that it would be in the best interests of our State if the Reserve Bank of India were relieved of its functions in Pakistan as early as possible. The date of transfer of these functions to a Pakistani agency was consequently advanced by three months in agreement with the Government of India and the Reserve Bank. It was at the same time decided to establish a Central Bank of Pakistan in preference to any other agency for managing our currency and banking. This decision left very little time for the small band of trained personnel in this field in Pakistan to complete the preliminaries and they have by their untiring effort and hard work completed their task by the due date, which is very creditable to them, and I wish to record a note of our appreciation of their labours.

As you have observed, Mr. Governor, in undivided India banking was kept a close preserve of non-Muslims and their migration from Western Pakistan has caused a good deal of dislocation in the economic life of your young State. In order that the wheels of commerce and industry should run smoothly, it is imperative that the vacuum caused by the exodus of non-Muslims should be filled without delay. I am glad to note that schemes for training Pakistani nationals in banking are in hand. I will watch their progress with interest and I am confident that the State Bank will receive the co-operation of all concerned including the banks and

universities in pushing them forward. Banking will provide a new and wide field in which the genius of your young men can find full play. I am sure that they will come forward in large numbers to take advantage of the training facilities which are proposed to be provided. While doing so, they will not only be benefiting themselves but also contributing to the well-being of our State.

I need hardly dilate on the important role that the State Bank will have to play in regulating the economic life of our country. The monetary policy of the bank will have a direct bearing on our trade and commerce, both inside Pakistan as well as with the outside world, and it is only to be desired that your policy should encourage maximum production and a free flow of trade. The monetary policy pursued during the war years contributed, in no small measure, to our present-day economic problems. The abnormal rise in the cost of living has hit the poorer sections of society, including those with fixed incomes, very hard indeed and is responsible to a great extent for the prevailing unrest in the country. The policy of the Pakistan Government is to stabilize prices at a level that would be fair to the producer as well as the consumer. I hope your efforts will be directed in the same direction in order to tackle this crucial problem with success.

I shall watch with keenness the work of your Research Organization in evolving practices compatible with Islamic ideals of social and economic life. The economic system of the West has created almost insoluble problems for humanity and to many of us it appears that only a miracle can save it from disaster that is now facing the world. It has failed to do justice between man and man and to eradicate friction from the international field. On the contrary it was largely responsible for the two World Wars in the half century. The Western world, in spite of its advantages of mechanization and industrial efficiency, is today in a worse mess than ever before in history. The adoption of Western economic theory and practice will not help us in achieving our goal of creating a happy and contented people. We must work our destiny in our own way and present to the world an economic system based on true Islamic concept of equality of manhood and social justice. We will thereby be fulfilling our mission as Muslims and giving to humanity the message of peace which alone can save it and secure the welfare, happiness and prosperity of mankind.

May the State Bank of Pakistan prosper and fulfil the high ideals which have been set as its goal!

In the end I thank you, Mr. Governor, for the warm welcome given to me by you and your colleagues and the distinguished guests who

have graced this occasion as a mark of their good wishes and the honour you have done me in inviting me to perform this historic opening ceremony of the State Bank, which I feel will develop into one of our greatest national institutions and play its part fully throughout the world.—API.

[1]Zahid Husain.

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M. N. Kotwal to M. Inayat Ali
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 83/8

MINISTRY OF LAW AND LABOUR,
(LAW DIVISION),
KARACHI,
2 July 1948

RE: SALE OF THE PROPERTY BEARING NEW SURVEY NO. 4, SURVEY SHEET S.R.2, KNOWN AS MOHATTA BUILDING

Dear Sir,

With reference to your letter dated the 16th ultimo,[1] I have to state that, as desired by the Bank, I duly placed the draft confirmatory letter before the Quaid-i-Azam, who has instructed me to intimate that he will duly consider the matter at the proper time when the term of the present lease made between Mr. Shiv Rattan Mohatta and the Bank will expire on 31.8.1950. You will please, therefore, note accordingly.

Yours faithfully,
M. N. KOTWAL

M. Inayat Ali, Esq.,
Advocate,
Karachi

[1]Not traceable.

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Frederick Bourne to M. A. Jinnah

F. 489/9

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
DACCA,
2 July 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

[*Para 1 omitted*]

2. The Pakistan Education Department has for some time been considering the appointment of Dr [Mahmood] Hasan, Vice-Chancellor of the University here, as Education Adviser at Karachi. I believe Dr Hasan was not entirely averse from, [*sic* for to] accepting this post and I understand that both the Prime Minister and the Education Minister here, some time ago, agreed informally that he could go, if he were required. The authorities here are now anxious to keep him, and I certainly think that from our point of view it would be a very great mistake to let him go. He has long and valuable experience of University administration in Dacca and he has, in the last year or so, been responsible for expanding the University to meet the needs of the new situation that has arisen in East Bengal, whereby the University ceases to be solely a teaching body and has had to undertake examinations for a large number of affiliated colleges. The last step from our side was that the Education Secretary here wrote to his opposite number in Karachi informing him that I, as Chancellor, was not prepared to spare the services of Dr Hasan. I now find that by some means or other, rumours got abroad that Dr Hasan had been intriguing with the staff and the students in order to secure his retention here merely in order that he might claim a higher salary in view of his increased responsibilities. I am quite satisfied that these rumours are entirely baseless and for Dr Hasan quite out of character, but they have got to his ears and he is feeling extremely uncomfortable, so much so that he is now very anxious to be allowed to go. I hope to discuss the matter with our Education Minister and with Mr Fazlur Rahman over the week-end and later with the Prime Minister when he comes back from tour. I still feel that Dr Hasan would be doing far more valuable work here as Vice-Chancellor than he could do in any Central advisory post.

3. I understand that the I.C.S. (Pakistan) Association in Karachi have been memorialising your Prime Minister regarding their future

prospects in the matter of pay and other terms of service of ex-I.C.S. officers. In view of the announcements made at the time of Partition, it was not to be expected that any occasion for anxiety should arise. I mentioned the matter at the end of paragraph 4 of my letter of the 2nd of June.[1] Of course, it is not only the I.C.S. officers who are concerned, though, I suppose, they do form the principal item in the body of ex-Secretary of State officers now in service. I understand that the I.C.S. officers in this Province are in agreement with the stand taken by the Central Association in Karachi. I trust that in effect their anxieties will prove to be excessive, or at least that representatives from the Association will be given an opportunity of appreciating the necessity of such steps as it may be advisable to take, and that their loyalty will not be exposed to the strain of a more or less arbitrary order without their representatives being given a hearing.

4. The last meeting of the West Bengal and East Bengal Chief Secretaries, with a view to implementing the Inter-Provincial Agreement reached in Calcutta some weeks ago, ended somewhat abruptly. I understand that our Chief Secretary felt it idle to carry on discussions in view of the attitude taken up by the West Bengal authorities on the economic side. The two matters immediately at issue were the transfer of certain printing press machinery from Calcutta to Dacca and the refusal of West Bengal to permit the removal of 29 road-rollers, purchased by this Government, from India to East Bengal territory. But our Chief Secretary informs me that the West Bengal Government, who are anxious to secure every political advantage they can from these discussions, show no corresponding anxiety to grant us the advantages we expected on the economic side. I gather that Dr Katju[2] is definitely disposed to be fair and friendly and perhaps later meetings will be more fruitful.

5. There was a minor fracas in Dacca two days ago when local Communists decided to hold a meeting and their doing so was resented by what may be described as the local pro-Government faction. I understand that the meeting broke up more or less quietly, but that it was followed up by certain minor reprisals aimed at Communist sympathizers which at one time unfortunately threatened to take on a communal colour. The disturbance, so far as it arose at the meeting, was spontaneous, but police action will be necessary to investigate cases where members of the minority community were assaulted merely as such. It was a minor matter all round, but I thought it worth mentioning, as it seems to me a healthy sign that there are Government adherents in Dacca who do not favour the publication of Communist doctrine and are not afraid to show it.

6. I attended a party at Narayanganj last night to celebrate the

conversion of the branch of Ralli Bros. there to a Head Office both here and in Karachi and that these two offices are to handle a very large proportion of the firm's business in the two Dominions. I think there is no doubt that many firms are looking forward to establishing themselves in a big way in East Bengal and this makes it all the more urgent for us to provide facilities in the way of suitable sites for them. Luckily, Ralli Bros. in Narayanganj have all the lands and buildings they need and they have also good accommodation in Chittagong. I am glad to find that the River Steamer Company have already started consigning jute to Chittagong by barge with a view to loading it there in the stream.

Yours sincerely,
F. BOURNE

[1]Not traceable.
[2]Kailash Nath Katju, Governor, West Bengal.

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Habib I. Rahimtoola to Clement Attlee[1]

IOR, L/P&J/10/119

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR PAKISTAN,
14 FITZHARDINGE STREET, W. 1.,
LONDON,
3 July 1948

My dear Prime Minister,

I gratefully acknowledge your and Mrs. Attlee's kind invitation to myself and my wife to dinner at 10, Downing Street, on Tuesday, July 6th, which, I am informed, is in honour of Lord Mountbatten.

Lord Mountbatten's policy has completely alienated the people of Pakistan who feel he has done immense harm to Pakistan during his regime. In view of this very strong public sentiment throughout Pakistan, I very much regret that I am unable to attend a function in his honour. I wish, however, to assure you and Mrs. Attlee that neither the government nor I, nor indeed my wife, intend thereby the slightest discourtesy towards you. I hope you will appreciate the difficult position in which I am placed.

Yours sincerely,
HABIB I. RAHIMTOOLA

[1]Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, 1945-51.

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Report on Ghulam Mohammed's Press Conference in London

IOR, L/P & J/10/119

5 July 1948

Ghulam Mohammed, Pakistan Finance Minister, addressed representatives of the world press today on Pakistan economic matters. This naturally developed into a description of the disruptive economic forces which immediately followed Partition, and here the Finance Minister was highly critical of Lord Mountbatten. Referring to events after August 15th, [Ghulam] Mohammed declared "part of the blame, almost the whole blame in not having prevented these events rests upon the shoulders of Lord Mountbatten. There was direct evidence that everything was being planned on a large scale; that things were properly organised; that arms were being collected from no one knows where—imports to the Indian States, stores from British depots. Lord Mountbatten knew as Viceroy that trouble was being organised, that arms were being smuggled, that Sikh and Jat States were getting together, and that Muslims were leaving these areas. Lord Mountbatten's colleagues on the [Partition] Council pestered him to take action but Patel was in charge of the portfolio of Law and Order [Home]. Action was promised "next week" and then "next week". Forces were there to maintain order, but instead an inadequate Boundary Force was used which was absolutely smashed up.

[Ghulam] Mohammed added: "again, forcing Partition in two months was an error of judgement. The desire of Lord Mountbatten to be a strong man and force the issue resulted in all these people losing their lives and a million and a half losing all their lands, homes, and possessions. In many ways, Lord Mountbatten is a most eminent man. He has some great qualities. He also has some very great defects. Errors of judgement in high places are a refusal to see facts when these become blatant. We saw another example of this in the partition of military stores.[1] Pakistan's share was to have been one hundred and sixty-seven thousand tons. There was a promise from Lord Mountbatten and his Government on this. General Auchinleck as Commander-in-Chief was to see to this. He was to stay until March 1948, but he was forced to resign in circumstances which have been diplomatically covered up—his life became impossible. Lord Mountbatten pledged his word. So did Nehru and Baldev Singh. We accepted it. General Bucher followed Auchinleck. Bucher said he would see things done, and he asked

for ships. Pakistan hired ships and when these returned they were found to be loaded with No. 12 shoes and other so-called "military stores" which were no good .

[Ghulam] Mohammed continued: "At the present rate we shall be waiting for our military stores [for] seven to twelve years hence. It is all very well to say that Lord Mountbatten was only Governor-General. We all know what an active part he took in everything". Earlier, Ghulam Mohammed described the actions of the Sikhs and the R.S.S. and declared: "Their object was to disrupt the commercial and economic life of Pakistan, and in India generally steps were taken officially, semi-officially, and unofficially to work in that way. With this cold economic war going on, the incident of Kashmir further strained relations between the two countries. Because of the fascist methods followed by the Government of India, conditions in Pakistan are far from normal even now". [Ghulam] Mohammed, illustrating the difference in outlook between India and Pakistan, said that thousands of Hindus left Amritsar every day to work in Lahore, whereas no Muslim could enter Amritsar. It was almost impossible for a Muslim to journey by train from Lahore to Delhi. Things were not like this in Pakistan. Ultimately, said [Ghulam] Mohammed, India and Pakistan had to live in peace and with goodwill. There could be no basic animosity.

Notwithstanding India's fascist mentality—as demonstrated again by India's actions against Hyderabad—Pakistan went ahead in the economic field and entered into short-term relationships with India, even though India had arbitrarily stopped the payment of certain funds to Pakistan and otherwise displayed an aggressive policy. The running sore of Kashmir had given an even bigger field for the Sikhs and the R.S.S. In the case of Hyderabad, when the Nizam offered to abide by the decisions of his people, given under a plebiscite under independent control, the bottom was knocked out of India's claims. Actions which have been justified in the name of democracy have been nothing more than pure coercion and brute force. The way the Government of India is behaving towards Hyderabad does affect the minds of the people of Pakistan and of Muslims all over the world. Pakistan wanted the people of Hyderabad to decide their own case without coercion in the economic field. The object of the Pakistan Government, he added, was to industrialize with the sole object of raising the standard of living of the people. Pakistan grew 80 per cent of the jute and had not a single jute-mill. Pakistan grew the best cotton but had no cotton-mills, and produced bulk hides, yet had no tanneries or shoemaking plants with the exception of Bata at Lahore.

Finally, [Ghulam] Mohammed said that three things were militating against good relations between India and Pakistan; first Kashmir, second Hyderabad, and third the hatred of Pakistan in the minds of Indian officials. Nehru and others could give orders, he declared, but these were not carried out when they got down to the lower ranks.[2]

[1]See Chaudhri Muhammad Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan*, Lahore, 1973, 192.
[2]Also see the editorial of the *Dawn*, 7 July 1948.

457

Statement by Commonwealth Relations Office

IOR, L/P&J/10/119

LONDON,
5 July 1948

The attention of His Majesty's Government has been drawn to the statements reported in the press[1] regarding certain decisions made by Lord Mountbatten before Partition.

The decision not to take action in the case of the Sikhs therein referred to was reached by the Governor-General after full discussion with the then Governor of the Punjab, who was constitutionally responsible, subject to the Governor-General, for security in the Punjab. In advising Lord Mountbatten that the Sikh leaders should not be arrested, the Governor acted with the agreement of the officials who were due to become the Governors of the East and West Punjab. Lord Mountbatten's decision had the full approval of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

Lord Mountbatten also had the full approval of His Majesty's Government, to whom he was responsible as Governor-General of the undivided India, for the time-table which was followed in the transfer of power to India and Pakistan. That time-table had been worked out in the closest consultation with the respective leaders of the new Dominions.

[1]No. 456

458

Statement by Firoz Khan Noon

IOR, L/P&J/10/119

LONDON,
6 July 1948

Sir Firoz Khan Noon, Member of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly and the West Punjab Legislature, who is now on a short visit to England, said today that he welcomed the statement made by Mr. Ghulam Mohammed,[1] Pakistan Finance Minister, which has drawn the attention of the British public to the real state of affairs in connection with the Punjab massacres.

Commenting on the reply of the Commonwealth Relations Office: "The decision not to take action in the case of the Sikhs was reached by the Governor-General after full discussion with the then Governor of the Punjab, who was constitutionally responsible, subject to the Governor-General, for security in the Punjab....", Sir Firoz said that this makes clear that the massacre could have been prevented through timely action. At that time, the Unionist Ministry had been defeated, and there was no popular Government in the Punjab. The Governor, instead of calling upon the majority party, namely the Muslim League, to form a Ministry, invoked Section 93 of the [Government of] India Act, 1935, and assumed full administrative powers. "It is a very poor defence to say that Lord Mountbatten was misled by Sir Evan Jenkins, the then Governor of the Punjab, and I am surprised that the ex-Viceroy allows himself to be defended at the cost of his subordinate officials", said Sir Firoz.

"May we know which subordinate official it was who suggested that Gurdaspur District, a Muslim majority area which had been given to Pakistan in the notional division, should be given away to the Indian Union so as to make Kashmir contiguous with India? Which subordinate official will be blamed for the failure of the Viceroy and Supreme Commander-in-Chief to see that Pakistan receive their share of armaments and military stores? Which subordinate official is responsible for the somersault the Big Powers took at U.N.O. in the Kashmir affair?

[1]No. 456.

459

M. N. Kotwal to M. A. Jinnah

F. 83/74-5

MINISTRY OF LAW AND LABOUR,
(LAW DIVISION),
KARACHI,
6 July 1948

RE: SALE OF THE PROPERTY BEARING NEW SURVEY NO. 4, SURVEY SHEET S.R.2, KNOWN AS MOHATTA BUILDING

Sir,

With reference to the draft sale deed of the above-mentioned property duly forwarded by me for your approval and return, I have to inform you hereby that Mr. Shiv Rattan Mohatta has now obtained the required certificate from the Income Tax authorities and he desires that the sale transaction herein be duly completed by the end of this month.

Accordingly, the following sums will be required for meeting payments as under, viz:

Balance purchase money	Rs. 10,00,000
Stamps on the sale-deed	Rs. 30,300
Approx. registration charges of the sale-deed	Rs. 3, 000
Total	Rs. 10,33,300[1]

I may mention in this connection that in terms of the agreement for sale, the sale transaction is to be completed by the 10th day of August 1948 and you will kindly let me know as to when you intend to complete the sale, either by the end of this month or at any time thereafter before the 10th August '48.

The plot bearing New Survey No. 3, Survey Sheet S.R.2 adjoining the above-mentioned property and situated to the west thereof, belongs to the estate of the late Mr. F.E. Dinshaw, and Mr. Shiv Rattan Mohatta has lately forwarded to me an agreement made between him and the executors of the said estate regarding the easement as to light and air at present enjoyed by the respective owners of the aforesaid adjoining plots. I have scrutinised this agreement and there is nothing in it which, in any way, affects adversely the title of Mr. Shiv Rattan Mohatta to the above-mentioned property, contracted to be sold by him, or his enjoyment thereof.

Wishing you best of health and with respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. N. KOTWAL

[1]See No. 462.

460

F. Amin to M.Shafiq

F. 65 (Part I)-GG/7

THE RESIDENCY, ZIARAT,
7 July 1948

Dear Sir,

I am desired by the Quaid-i-Azam to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 1st July 1948,[1] and to say that he regrets it is not possible for him to give a message for your journal, much though he would like to, as he is extremely busy with other more important matters.

I am further to add that the Quaid-i-Azam is receiving many such requests from various editors of journals and newspapers, but he feels that it would not be fair to give a message to one journal and refuse [it] to another, and therefore he has for the present decided that he will not give messages to various newspapers etc.

Yours faithfully,
F. AMIN

The Editor,
Khatoon-e-Pakistan,
Haroon Chambers,
South Napier Road,
Karachi

[1]The Editor had requested a message for the anniversary issue of his journal. See F. 65 (Part 1)-GG/6. Not printed.

461

Statement by Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations[1]

KARACHI,
7 July 1948

"The statement issued by the Commonwealth Relations Office in London in reply to certain remarks[2] made by Mr Ghulam Mohammed, Pakistan's Finance Minister, in a press conference in London on July 5, does not touch the essence of the matter", says a statement issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, Government of Pakistan.

The statement adds: The fact is that Lord Mountbatten had definitely promised action against Sikh leaders who were bent upon mischief. He failed to carry out his promise.

It appears from the statement issued by the Commonwealth Relations Office that shelter is now sought to be taken behind the plea that the decision not to take action was reached after discussion with the then Governor of the Punjab, who was constitutionally responsible for security in the province.

It is admitted, however, that the responsibility of the Governor for the security of the province was subject to the responsibility and authority of the Governor-General. It is a fact that cannot be denied that the Governor-General had professed himself convinced that action was necessary and had definitely promised action.

RESPONSIBILITY WAS HIS

The responsibility throughout was his. He was convinced of the need of certain action; he promised that action and failed to fulfil his promise. If he chose, in a matter of such vital importance to the peace of a very vast area, to take a decision on the advice of the Governor, the responsibility, nevertheless continued to be his and he must shoulder the blame for failing to discharge it.

After stating that the Governor of the Punjab gave his advice in consultation with certain officials who had at the time neither full knowledge [of] nor responsibility for the maintenance of law and order in the province. The Commonwealth Relations Office goes on to add that Lord Mountbatten's decision had the full approval of the British Government.

This cannot mean that Lord Mountbatten can be acquitted of blame in respect of a most serious dereliction of duty.

All that the plea of the Commonwealth Relations Office amounts to is that the most serious blame must attach not only to Lord Mountbatten but also to the British Government who approved his disastrous policy. Failure to do what was plainly necessary, had been repeatedly urged, and had been definitely promised, cannot be excused or condoned by these attempts to shift responsibility.

The main responsibility for the policy that led to the horrors of that disastrously tragic period must rest upon the shoulders of Lord Mountbatten. These horrors included widespread massacres, loot, arson, rape, abduction and untold human misery.

ONLY THREE PER CENT

Lord Mountbatten has been known subsequently to urge, presumably in mitigation, that the total number involved in all these massacres and uprooting from their homes did not exceed three per cent of India's population. It must be explained that three per cent of the population of the Indian sub-continent means more than the total population of Canada and 40 per cent in excess of the total population of Australia.

As regards the question whether Partition was forced too quickly, the same plea is urged that Lord Mountbatten had the full approval of the British Government for the time-table which was followed in the transfer of power to India and Pakistan.

Surely, if in fact Partition was too quickly forced as is now only too disastrously patent, the plea that the British Government accepted the time-table laid down by Lord Mountbatten would not alter that fact. A somewhat lame excuse is added that the time-table had been worked out in close consultation with the respective leaders of the two new Dominions.

NO CHOICE LEFT

So far as the Muslim League leaders were concerned, they were left no choice in the matter. It was repeatedly and emphatically urged on their behalf that the period allowed was wholly inadequate for a peaceful and satisfactory transfer of power.

In utter disregard of this advice, August 15, 1947, was fixed, undoubtedly at the insistence of Lord Mountbatten, as the date for the final transfer of power. Even after this date was fixed, it continued to be most strongly and strenuously urged on behalf of the Muslim League leaders that the British Government should not divest itself of ultimate responsibility till the transfer of power was completed and in particular till the reconstitution of the armed forces between the two Dominions had been accomplished.

The series of events which followed close upon the transfer of power

have demonstrated only too tragically the soundness of this view, which was rejected by Lord Mountbatten presumably with the approval of the British Government.[3]

[1]The *Dawn*, 8 July 1948.
[2]No. 456.
[3]Also see the editorial of the *Dawn*, 10 July 1948.

462

M. N. Kotwal to M. A. Jinnah

F. 83/76

KARACHI,
7 July 1948

Sire,

RE: SALE OF THE PROPERTY BEARING NEW SURVEY NO. 4, SURVEY SHEET S. R. 2, KNOWN AS MOHATTA BUILDING

With reference to my letter dated the 6th inst[ant][1] in the above matter, a mistake has crept in. The amount paid as earnest money was Rs. 1,00,000 with the result that the balance [of] purchase money should be Rs. 9,10,000 and the total amount required to complete the sale should be Rs. 9,43,300 accordingly. You will kindly, therefore, read the said letter as corrected as aforesaid and in the draft sale-deed also, the amount of earnest money shown as Rs. 10,000 should stand corrected as Rs. 1,00,000.

With respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. N. KOTWAL

[1]No. 459.

463

F. Amin to Ram Krishna Dalmia

F. 888/100

THE RESIDENCY, ZIARAT,
8 July 1948

Dear Sir,

I am desired by the Quaid-i-Azam to acknowledge the receipt of

your letter dated 30th of June 1948[1] and to say that he has done all he could in the matter and is still [word missing] for it. I am to add that it is manifestly an unjust and unfair treatment that is meted out to you, and he hopes that the latest efforts made by him might succeed.

I am further to say that he has always taken this matter seriously because he feels that it is really intended to harrass him. He quite sympathises with you for your having been deprived of the use of the house and appreciates the fair and frank way in which you have dealt with him in the matter. He feels, however, that the cause of justice and fair play is stronger than what you did for him or he did for you, and he, therefore, desires me to repeat that he has done his best and trusts that his latest effort might succeed.[2]

Yours faithfully,
F. AMIN

Seth Ram Krishna Dalmia,
Dalmia Jain Nivas,
New Delhi

[1]Not traceable.
[2]Jinnah had sold 10 Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi, to Jaidayal Dalmia for three hundred thousand rupees in August 1947. The purchaser was facing difficulty with the Delhi Administration over its registration. See Annexure to Enclosure to No. 77, Vol. IV, 137.

464

N. N. A. Kureshi to S. M. Yusuf

F. 120 (Vol. I)-GG/135

MINISTRY OF INDUSTRIES,
MINES AND POWER, KARACHI,
8 July 1948

My dear Yusuf,

Farrukh Amin, *vide* his letter No. D-1846-GG/48 dated the 10th May,[1] forwarded a sample of suspected gold to the Hon'ble Mr. Ghulam Mohammed. The latter advised this Ministry that the Quaid-i-Azam would be interested in an interim report.

2. We have now received an analysis report which discloses that the sample contained 86.90% gold and 13.10% silicious matter. The sample has been spent in the analysis.

3. As the sample was brought from the Chitral State, we are arranging through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations to make a detailed geological survey of the entire area in order to have a

clearer idea of the possibilities.

Yours sincerely,
N. N. A.KURESHI

[1]See F. 120 (Vol. I)-GG/134. Not printed.

465

M. A. Jinnah to King Abdul Aziz

F. 125 (21)-GG/17

11 July 1948

Your Majesty,

I was delighted to receive your letter[1] which is so cordial and friendly that it is difficult for me to find adequate words in which I can sufficiently thank you.

Your representative, Syed Abdul Hamid el-Khatib, whom I had the pleasure of meeting and having a long talk with, impressed me not only with his ability but his charming manners, and I welcome him as Charge d'affaires of your Legation in Pakistan.

I am looking forward to closer relations being established between Saudi Arabia and Pakistan through your able representative in Pakistan, to whom we shall give every possible cooperation in the mutual interest of the two countries.

With best wishes and kindest regards to you,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

His Majesty the King of Saudi Arabia

[1]No. 447.

466

Ilahi Bakhsh to S. S. Alam

Telegram, F. 178 (2)-GG/1

QUETTA,
25 July 1948

MOST IMMEDIATE

Doctor Alam, Mayo Hospital, Lahore
Report immediately Quetta Residency with portable X-Ray apparatus.

Bring Doctors Riaz Ali Shah and Ghulam Moh[amma]d, Clinical Pathologist. Direct current electric voltage of local plant can be adjusted from hundred to two hundred and eighty volts. Wire departure at Ziarat. Informing Colonel Mallick about leave.[1]

ILAHI BAKHSH

[1]See F. 178 (2)-GG/2. Not printed.

467

F. Amin to Director, Spencer & Co.

F. 582/67

THE RESIDENCY,
ZIARAT,
25 July 1948

Dear Sir,

I am desired by the Quaid-i-Azam to acknowledge, with thanks, the receipt of cheque No. G-108643, dated the 21st July 1948, for Rs. 1, 500, being the rent for your premises [Spencer's Building] for the month of July 1948, forwarded with your letter dated 21-7-48.

Yours faithfully,
F. AMIN

The Director,
Spencer & Co., Ltd.,
McLeod Road,
Karachi

468

Abdus Sattar Pirzada[1] to S. M. Yusuf

Telegram, F. 140-GG/17-20

KARACHI,
28 July 1948

File sent to Military Secretary, Quaid-i-Azam, Ziarat, seventeenth July, regarding nomination Chairman and six Members of new Managing Body, Pakistan Red Cross Society. Following names submitted

for approval of Quaid-i-Azam:

Chairman

Chief Judge Hatim B. Tyabji

Members

1. Auditor General
2. Secretary, Food, Agriculture and Health Ministry
3. Director General, Medical Services, Civil
4. Director General, Medical Services, Military
5. Public Health Commissioner
6. Begum Liaquat Ali Khan
7. Begum Ikramullah
8. Dr. Heranand Keshwani
9. Advocate General

Annual General Meeting, Pakistan Red Cross Society, being held Friday, thirtieth July, Karachi. Wire approval names Chairman and six members by Quaid-i-Azam to reach Karachi by twentyninth evening.[2]

ABDUSSATTAR PIRZADA

[1]Minister for Food & Agriculture.

[2]F. Amin communicated Jinnah's approval to the proposal on 29 July 1948. See F. 140-GG/20. Not printed.

469

Sri Prakasa to M. A. Jinnah

F. 83/136

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR INDIA,
DAMODAR MAHAL,
NEW TOWN, KARACHI 5,
30 July 1948

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

You will please pardon me for troubling you in this manner. I sincerely hope you have completely regained your health, and that we shall soon have the pleasure of welcoming you back to Karachi. I should have much preferred to meet you and talk over the matter personally, but as you are out of station, I have to trouble you with a letter.

2. You will perhaps remember the interview that you were good enough to grant me on May 14, when I asked for your permission, on behalf of the Government of India, to requisition your Bombay house, in view of the acute shortage of accommodation, particularly when the

house was vacant for the preceding many months. Besides the consideration of sentiments which we all understand, and the Government of India appreciate, you particularly mentioned that a house like that could only be occupied by either a prince or a multi-millionaire of very refined tastes, and that if it were given to all sorts of persons they would only destroy the house. You were also pleased to add that it would be difficult for anyone to imagine how much you loved Bombay and hoped, when things were settled, to go back there some day. You asked me to help in saving the house and I promised to do my best.

3. I immediately sent a long telegram to Jawaharlal, conveying to him your sentiments and your desires. In deference to your wishes he advised the Government of Bombay accordingly, and your house was not touched. I have now heard from him again; and I have to write to say that owing to the acute shortage of housing in Bombay, the Government of Bombay are being considerably embarrassed by permitting this big house remaining un-occupied, particularly when they have introduced a very rigorous housing control in that city.

4. I have, therefore, once more to approach you with the request that you may be pleased to permit the Government of Bombay to allot your house to one of the principal foreign consulates stationed there. These persons would surely keep the house in very good condition and there would be no danger of its being misused at all. This should assure you that no non-descript persons would be allowed the use of the house. The Government of India also assured me that when the house is allotted to the consulate, a condition will be imposed that whenever it should be required for your personal use, it will be vacated by them on the expiry of a suitable period of notice. I may be permitted to add that it was a matter of great gratification to me when I learnt you were expecting to be able to go back to the city, which owes so much to you. I am sure that the citizens there will welcome your presence among them once again very warmly.

5. If I may suggest, it would indeed be gracious on your part if you could yourself offer the house, in view of the conditions in Bombay, for the use of a foreign consulate. This will eliminate the fear that you expressed that the requisitioning of your house would create bitterness in the minds of Indian Muslims who may interpret the action of Government in a very different light; when they know that you are voluntarily making the offer in order to meet legitimate requirements, no hostile feeling will be roused, and the act will naturally and rightly be regarded as a most gracious gesture on your part. You will pardon

me for saying it, but if you could also give some idea of the rent that you will expect, the Government of India will be much helped in fixing the same and informing the consulate concerned accordingly.

6. You will please permit me to add that I have made the fullest enquiries personally and non-officially; and I should like to assure you that the person you mentioned as being perhaps at the bottom of Government's desire for requisition, has had nothing to do with it. The house would have been too small for him in any case, as you yourself thought, for he has a very large family; and then he is settling at Bikaner and has very little to do with Bombay.

Apologising once more for the trouble I am giving you,

I am,

With high and respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,

SRI PRAKASA

470

Clement Attlee to Habib I. Rahimtoola

IOR, L/P&J/10/119

10 DOWNING STREET,
WHITEHALL,
[LONDON,
July 1948]

I have received your letter[1] with regret. I must correct a misapprehension under which you appear to be labouring.

Lord Mountbatten had no individual policy. When he was Viceroy of India he carried out the policy of His Majesty's Government. As Governor-General of India he was, of course, as a constitutional governor not responsible for any policy. The policy of the Government of India since it became a Dominion is, of course, that of the Government, not the Governor-General.

The High Commissioner for Pakistan

[1]No. 455.

471

Altaf Husain to F. Amin

Telegram, F. 65 (Part I)-GG/32

KARACHI,
2 August 1948

Grateful if Quaid-i-Azam sends a message[1] to *Dawn* for Independence number by August seventh as printing commences eighth.

ALTAF HUSAIN
[*Editor*]

[1]F. Amin telegraphed Altaf Husain on 12 August 1948 to ask that he contact S. M. Yusuf for the purpose. See F. 65 (Part I)-GG/33. Not printed. A message to the nation was given by Jinnah for the first anniversary of independence, which was published in the *Dawn* and other newspapers. See No. 481.

472

Haji Abdul Sattar Saith to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 30 (2)-GG/221

CAIRO,
3 August 1948

Nationals and friends of Pakistan in Egypt assembled at *Lailatul Qadr* for thanksgiving prayers on birth of Pakistan on same sacred day in *Ramadan*. Respectfully offered their joyous congratulations to Quaid-i-Azam and people of Pakistan on first birthday [anniversary] of independent State of Pakistan humbly beseeching Almighty *Allah* to bestow unity, strength and prosperity to [*sic* for on] Pakistan and long life to [*sic*] Quaid-i-Azam.[1]

HAJI ABDUL SATTAR SAITH
Ambassador

[1]S. M. Yusuf sent to Haji Abdul Sattar, Pakistan's Ambassador to Egypt, a note of thanks on behalf of Jinnah on 12 August 1948. See F. 30 (2)-GG/220. Not printed.

473

F. Amin to Ilahi Bakhsh

F. 178 (2)-GG/17

IMMEDIATE/EXPRESS [ZIARAT,]
5 August 1948

Col. Ilahi Bakhsh, Club Road, Lahore

Please bring Dr. Alam with his ultra-violet light apparatus.

F. AMIN

474

M. A. Jinnah's Message on 'Id al-Fitr[1]

6 August 1948

On this day of rejoicing I send my greetings to Muslims all over the world and wish them a very happy *'Id*.

For us the last *'Id al-Fitr,* which followed soon after the birth of Pakistan, was marred by the tragic happenings in East Punjab. The blood-bath of last year and its aftermath—the mass migration of millions—presented a problem of unprecedented magnitude. To provide new moorings for this mass of drifting humanity strained our energies and resources to breaking-point. The immensity of the task very nearly overwhelmed us and we could only just keep our heads above water.

The brief span of 12 months was not sufficient to see all the *Muhajireen* settled in profitable employment in Pakistan. Considerable progress has been made in resettling them but a good many remain to be rehabilitated. We cannot rejoice till everyone of them has been put on his feet again. I am sanguine that by next *'Id* this formidable and intractable problem will have been solved and all the refugees absorbed in Pakistan's economy as useful members of society.

The history of the last 12 months has been one of continuous struggle against heavy odds, but what sustained us during these dark days was our unity of purpose and firm resolve to see that our young State did not founder under the blows of our enemies. We have weathered the worst storms, and the safety of the shore, though distant, is in sight. We can look to the future with robust confidence provided we do not relax and fritter away our energies in internal dissensions. There never was a greater need for discipline and unity in our ranks. It is only with united effort and faith in our destiny that we shall be able to translate

the Pakistan of our dreams into reality. You are celebrating *'Id* today after a month of fasting. Why was fasting enjoined upon Muslims if it were not to teach them discipline and orderliness? These are the virtues to cultivate and in that lies your salvation and that of the nation.

My *'Id* message to our brother Muslim States is one of friendship and goodwill. We are all passing through perilous times. The drama of power politics that is being staged in Palestine, Indonesia and Kashmir should serve as an eye-opener to us. It is only by putting up a united front that we can make our voice felt in the counsels of the world.

Let me, therefore, appeal to you—in whatever language you may put [it], when the essence of my advice is boiled down, it comes to this—that every Musalman should serve Pakistan honestly, sincerely and selflessly.

[1]Yusufi, *Speeches of Quaid-i-Azam*, IV, 2788-9.

475

S. Ghias Uddin Ahmed to S. M. Yusuf

F. 187 (2)-GG/75

GOVERNOR'S CAMP,
FIR HILL, MURREE,
WEST PUNJAB,
8 August 1948

Sir,

With reference to the correspondence resting with your D.O. letter No. D.2632-GG/48, dated July 29 1948,[1] I am directed to say as follows:

Since the partition of the Punjab, unclaimed and looted property worth lakhs of rupees has been coming to the hands of the West Punjab Police. It has been and is being utilized on a large scale in the rehabilitation programme of the Province. In respect of the unclaimed property, Section 26 of the Indian Police Act 1861 requires a proclamation to be issued, calling upon any person who has any claim thereto, to appear and establish his right within six months from the date of such proclamation. Similarly, Section 523 of the Criminal Procedure Code 1898 prescribes the same procedure and the same period of limitation for the property in respect of which an offence is alleged or suspected to have been committed.

2. Owing to the fact that the unclaimed and looted property was

urgently required in connection with the rehabilitation of Muslim refugees who arrived here in an utterly destitute condition from the Indian Union territory, it has not been possible for this Government to observe the above-mentioned legal procedure. In the circumstances, this Government has been distributing or selling this property among the refugees without giving six months' notice before its disposal.

3. In order to facilitate speedy rehabilitation of refugees and expeditious disposal of the unclaimed and looted property, this Government propose to promulgate an ordinance, a draft of which as revised by the Pakistan Ministry of the Interior (Home Division) is enclosed,[2] and I am to request that the assent of the Governor-General to the promulgation of this ordinance may kindly be obtained and communicated to me as early as possible.[3]

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
S. GHIAS UDDIN AHMED
Secretary to H.E. the Governor, West Punjab

[1]See F. 187 (2)-GG/74. Not printed.
[2]Not traceable.
[3]Governor-General's assent was communicated on 30 August 1948. See F. 187 (2)-GG/76. Not printed.

476

Sri Prakasa to F. Amin

F. 83/139

No. S. 40-IHC/46-II (A)

DAMODAR MAHAL,
KARACHI-5,
9 August 1948

Dear Mr. Amin,

I have just received your letter No. 350-GG (C), dated August 5,[1] for which I thank you. I am very glad to hear from you. In fact I have been wanting to write to you for some days past to enquire about the health of the Quaid-i-Azam. I was expecting to meet him here on the occasion of the annual celebrations; but I understand he is too weak yet to be able to travel. I have been naturally anxious and I shall be glad if you could please let me know how he is.

The other day, at the instance of the Government of India, I had

written[2] to the Quaid-i-Azam to enquire about his desire regarding his Bombay residence. I shall hope to hear from you on that subject also before long, as I have to inform the Prime Minister at Delhi. I am sorry, though, to trouble Mr. Jinnah when he is not well; but if he should be able to attend to such matters, I hope you will present that letter to him when he is well enough to advise on the subject.

I am sorry to learn from your letter that a further difficulty has crept in the matter of the disposal of his house in Delhi. I am writing up to Delhi and shall let you know about its position as soon as I am in a position to do. Hoping all is well.

With kind regards,

I am,

Yours sincerely,
SRI PRAKASA

[1]Not traceable.
[2]No. 469.

477

M. A. Jinnah to M. N. Kotwal

F. 83/77

No. 373-GG (C) CAMP ZIARAT,
11 August 1948

Dear Mr. Kotwal,

In continuation of my previous correspondence,[1] I am sending you a cheque for Rs. 9,43,300 (Rupees nine lakh, forty-three thousand and three hundred) to complete the sale on due date.[2] Later on, you can send me the actual detailed accounts of the amount that may be paid to the vendor on executing the sale deed and delivering it to you, and other expenses.

Please acknowledge receipt.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

M. N. Kotwal, Esq.,
Ministry of Law,
Karachi

[1]Not traceable.
[2]It related to the purchase of Mohatta Building, Karachi, by Jinnah. See F. 83/74-5, 6 July 1947.

478

F. Amin to M. N. Kotwal

F. 83/78

No. 374-GG (C)

CAMP THE RESIDENCY,
ZIARAT,
11 August 1948

Dear Mr. Kotwal,

I am sorry I cannot lay my hands on the correspondence which has taken place between the Quaid-i-Azam and yourself regarding the purchase of Mohatta building property. I shall be obliged if you will be good enough to send me a copy of all such correspondence. You will of course sign the letters sent by you to Quaid-i-Azam. If later on I am able to trace the papers, I will return these duplicate ones.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
F. AMIN

479

Gul Hawas Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 30 (2)-GG/265
[*Original in Urdu*]

CHOWK DARAS SHAH,
BANNU,
12 August 1948

Most respected Sir,

I humbly offer my heartiest greetings on the eve of *'Id*. Also please accept my warm felicitations on the creation of Pakistan.

I always hold those who worked hard to make Pakistan stronger in high esteem and greatly value their contribution in this noble task. I pray to the Almighty *Allah* for Pakistan to emerge stronger and keep marching on the road to progress. I feel delighted at the prospect of Pakistan growing stronger. I am an enemy of the traitors and wish their ruin.

I pray, Sir, that you should look after the poor and save them from exploitation by the rich. Please curb the evil of black marketing. Let

Muslims remain masters of their destiny.

Pakistan Zindabad!

Praying for you,
GUL HAWAS KHAN

480

S. R. Rahmat Ullah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 30 (2)-GG/211-2

BAMBOO GATE,
SIALKOT CITY,
14 August 1948

May it please Your Excellency,

Today is August 14th, and all the Pakistanis are very happy, and are rejoicing [on] this historic day, which laid the foundation of the biggest independent and sovereign Muslim State of Pakistan in the whole world. Your Excellency, the father of our one-year old Dominion of Pakistan is the right and proper personality with whose gracious hands, untiring efforts, strong determination and pious personality—which is unparalleled in the history of politics in the world—, ten crores of Muslims found shelter from the so-called [*sic*] cruel and cunning hands of united India Hindu *Raj*. For your, this everlasting favour, Muslims are and shall ever remain grateful and indebted to Your Excellency. Your personality is unimpeachable, that was not even overtaken [*sic*] by Hindu tricks, and even by the sweet but snaky tricks of Gandhi

So, on this auspicious occasion, which is a landmark in the history of the Muslims, I, the humble servant of the Dominion of Pakistan, most respectfully beg leave to take the liberty of presenting my humble heart-felt congratulations on the first birthday [anniversary] of our Dominion of Pakistan to Your Excellency, and pray that Your Excellency may live long to see very many happy birthdays of our Pakistan.

On the one side [*sic*] we thank Almighty God for this happy day and pray to Him for the success, prosperity and tranquillity of our young State, and on the other side [make] an earnest and important appeal to Him, that Your Excellency, the father and founder of Pakistan, may live long to build properly the walls of Pakistan, the foundation of which has been cemented and concreted by Your Excellency's wisdom combined with your love for Islam.

Muslims are today proud, and moreover are lucky, that Your Excellency is the only personality out of ten crores of Muslims, who boldly took [up] the challenge from the Congress, at the most critical stage of the Muslim era.

Muslims in Pakistan do not want more from God, but in the name of our Prophet Muhammad (may God's blessings be upon him) we only pray to Him with folded hands for Your Excellency's long life and good health, which is our earnest wish and a great tonic for the safety and welfare of our young State of Pakistan.

With all the best wishes and good luck to Your Excellency, and assuring my humble services,

I have the honour to be,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

S. R. RAHMAT ULLAH

Army Contractor

481

Message to the Nation by M. A. Jinnah on the First Anniversary of Independence[1]

14 August 1948

Citizens of Pakistan!

Today we are celebrating the first anniversary of our freedom. A year ago complete power was transferred to the people of Pakistan, and the Pakistan Government, under the present Constitution[2] as adapted, took over charge of the affairs of the country in its own hands. We have faced the year with courage, determination and imagination, and the record of our achievements has been a wonderful one in warding off the blows of the enemy which have been so often referred to before, especially the pre-planned genocide and pushing on with real constructive work internally. The result of our constructive and ameliorative work has gone far beyond the expectations of our best friends. I congratulate you all, my Ministers under the leadership of the Prime Minister, Members of the Constituent Assembly and of the Legislatures, officials working in various administrative departments, and the members of the Defence Forces, for what you have achieved during so short a period, and I thank the people of Pakistan from whom we have received patient and genuine support in every effort that we have made to put forward the programme of the first year.

But that is not enough. Remember that the establishment of Pakistan is a fact of which there is no parallel in the history of the world. It is one

of the largest Muslim States in the world, and it is destined to play its magnificent part year after year as we go on, provided we serve Pakistan honestly, earnestly and selflessly.

I have full faith in my people that they will rise to every occasion worthy of our past Islamic history, glory and traditions.

The story of the millions of refugees who had to flee from their homes across our borders and seek asylum in Pakistan is well known to you all. The tragedy occurred even before our State had had time to settle down. In fact it involved also a large proportion of the people who, as Government personnel, were to set up the very machinery of the State. I know that it has not been possible to do all that might have been desired for these homeless and oppressed brethren of ours. There are still many hardships that many of them have to face. But the very fact that a large number of the refugees have already been rehabilitated in their new homes with prospect of a new and a happier life ahead of them, is an achievement of no mean order. But for the spirit of brotherhood shown by the people of Pakistan and the courage with which the people as well as the Government faced the almost overwhelming difficulties created by a catastrophe, unparalleled in the history of the world, the entire structure of the State might well have crumbled down.

Disappointed in their efforts by other means to strangle the new State at its very birth, our enemies yet hoped that economic manoeuvres would achieve the object they had at heart. With the wealth of argument and detail, which malice could invent or ill-will devise, they prophesied that Pakistan would be left bankrupt. And what the fire and sword of the enemy could not achieve, would be brought about by the ruined finances of the State. But these prophets of evil have been thoroughly discredited. Our first budget was a surplus one: there is a favourable balance of trade, and a steady and an all-round improvement in the economic field.

One year is a brief period in the history of a State for finally assessing its progress or predicting its future. But the way in which tremendous difficulties have been overcome and solid progress recorded during the last twelve months gives a firm basis for optimism. In the administrative field, we had to start from scratch at the Centre. And in the West Punjab, at the very inception of our State, we had to face very nearly a breakdown of administrative machinery. But I am glad to say that we have successfully dealt with all threats to our solidarity, and on some major questions of the day, the Pakistan Government has displayed not only its determination but its capacity to deal effectively with the various world problems that have arisen from time to time.

Nature has given you everything. You have got unlimited resources.

The foundations of your State have been laid, and it is now for you to build, and build as quickly and as well as you can. So go ahead and I wish you Godspeed.

Pakistan Zindabad!

[1]Yusufi, *Speeches of Quaid-i-Azam,* IV, 2790-2.
[2]Government of India Act, 1935.

482

M. S. Shaukat to M. A. Jinnah

F. 30 (2)-GG/243

BHAKKAR,
15 August 1948

My own Quaid-i-Azam,

A few verses from a raw young brain were written and read by me on Independence Day, the 14th August, at Bhakkar.

The same are presented to Your Excellency as a token of love and hearty respects.

This is the first attempt in my life and only your going through these few words will encouage my raw brain to develop.

With all the respect,

I remain,
Your Excellency's most affectionate servant,
M. S. SHAUKAT
Asstt. Inspector of Works, N. W. R.

Enclosure to No. 482

F. 30 (2)-GG/244-5

INDEPENDENCE DAY

On fourteenth August, happy dawn,
We salute thee, Flag of Pakistan,
And pray for best of luck and fate,
By grace of gracious God the Great!

Thou art a sign of peace, not war,
With shining crescent, twinkling star,

Green for Muslims, White for the rest,
Is mark of peace from East to West.

We got the freedom on this date,
Not freedom but a Muslim State,
A State so good and free and fine,
With holy name and heavenly shine.

Thou freed us from the foreign yoke,
Quite free from followers of Pope,
And also free from Sikhs so mean,
As coward and crazy as ever seen.

We met with treachery, met with blood,
And breaches due to heavy flood,
The arson, loot and wholesale slaughter,
With loss of lives of sisters and daughters.

After a year of trials and stake,
We commemorate the birth of State,
In company of poor and lords,
And marching parade of National Guards.

Now once for all we must unite,
To rule with all the grace and might,
Corruption, tyranny, low morale,
Must come to dead end lest we fail.

Kashmir, the paradise on the lands,
Be conquered must by joining hands,
And Hyderabad must never be lost,
The progress must be very fast.

For country, we may have to die,
Let morale and aims be very high,
We must be honest, brave and strong,
To enforce the right in place of wrong.

May Pakistan be firm and strong,
May Jinnah the Quaid live long long,
Is what we pray on Bhakkar sands,
With eyes closed and folded hands.

M. S. SHAUKAT

483

Sardar Masih to M. A. Jinnah

F. 30 (2)-GG/312-4

15 August 1948

CELEBRATION OF FREEDOM DAY, 14 AUGUST 1948

LONG LIVE QUAID-I-AZAM!

Sir,

It is most humbly submitted that in honour of the Pakistan freedom day—the 14th August 1948—,the Christian land-holders and tenants of Chak No. 58/4.R. Sikandarpur, Tehsil and Dist. Montgomery [now Sahiwal], met in the village church and went through the following programme under the presidentship of Rev. Jamil-ud-Din:

2. The church bell twice tolled early in the morning before the congregation met. In the beginning, Psalm Nos. 47 and 165, Part II were sung enthusiastically by the congregation in the praise of the Most High. The theme of these Psalms is that God is the King of Kings. He sustains the universe with His word of power. His kingdom is glorious and eternal. Then God's Commandments were read [out] by the pastor out of the holy Bible in which was revealed through Apostles what should be the attitude of the Christians towards their earthly rulers and governors.

[*Para 3 omitted*]

4. After this the following prayers were said:

i. Rev. Jamil-ud-Din prayed for the long life and prosperity of Quaid-i-Azam, the Governor-General of Pakistan. The congregation said Amen.

ii. Ch. Sardar Masih, B.A., Senior English Master, G.H. School, Montgomery, prayed that the Almighty God might grant to all the Pakistani officers—both the big and the low—abundant insight and understanding into the state affairs so that the Pakistan Dominion may go from strength to strength in all aspects.

iii. Elder Hakim Din prayed for the whole of the Pakistan population. He begged God to bless the people with a spirit of union and sincere hearts, so that through the[ir] unremitting toils the Pakistan Dominion may ever prosper.

iv. Mr. Hari Ram Gill, the Second Master of the local Mission Middle School, prayed for the refugees. He besought the Lord to grant them all the amenities of life, of which they were deprived through communal disturbances. May they be enabled to live as respectable citizens of this State.

v. Elder Inayat Masih prayed for the dispersed Christians of the Pakistan Dominion. May the Christian people hold fast to their faith and make their best contribution towards the stability and properity of Pakistan.

The School staff and students took keen interest in the celebration. The congregation dispersed after having pronounced the Lord's prayer unanimously.

Yours most respectfully,
SARDAR MASIH
B.A.
for the Christians of Chak No. 58/4-R
Sikandarpur, Tehsil & Dist. Montgomery

484

Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

F. 30 (2)-GG/373-6

LAHORE,
16 August 1948

Respected Sir,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Please allow me to congratulate you on the first anniversary of the birth of Pakistan—which was celebrated in Lahore in the right-royal [*sic*] manner. It was celebrated in a way for which every Pakistani is proud.

Sir, since [*sic*] the last few weeks we are [*sic*] hearing that you are not keeping good health and have been heavily strained by your hard work of the last ten months. We pray that a month's rest, which Your Excellency has decided to take, will again make you hale and hearty and give you a chance to take part in public celebrations and bless the occasion by your presence.

We hope, Sir, you will live long enough to celebrate at least twenty such days. We wish and pray that God Almighty may give you the courage to pilot our ship of State through these troubled waters.

We are also grateful to you for not interfering in W. Punjab politics. By the wise steps you have taken, Punjab has got rid of all Communist elements in the Ministry, which would have created trouble in the long run. Just take the case of Sardar Shaukat Hyat, Sir. After failing to disrupt the Ministry, he has accepted the managership of a Hindu

Bank at Rs. 3,000 a month. The Directors of this Hindu Bank are Indians and not friends of Pakistan.

Again, Sir, I would like to inform you that Nawab Sahib of Mamdot enjoys the full confidence of the common man and is a true spokesman of the public. These days he is working day and night and you will be glad to hear that he has lost about 30 lbs of weight and has become the smartest man in the Province.

In the end, Sir, I hope you will see that injustice is not done with Kashmir and Hyderabad. We, the Muslims of Pakistan, will prefer to fight to the last man rather than live to see Kashmir divided and its art, culture, religion and civilization destroyed by the *bania* fascism.

Yours, etc.,
A PAKISTANI

485

Ruler of Kalat to M.A. Jinnah[1]

F. 14-GG/166

KALAT,
16 August 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Rumours are afloat that, God forbid, you are not keeping well, though today's papers have contradicted this, and I was very pleased to hear that you are keeping good health. As the burden of the whole of Pakistan is on your shoulders, I feel that the heavy strain of work must have made you tired. I pray to God Almighty that He may keep you fit and give you more and more strength to enable you to discharge your sacred responsibilities comfortably. It is needless to say that it is the wish of all of us Pakistanis to have you among us for long years to come to guide the destinies of the nation as their beloved leader. God may bless you.

As regards myself, I assure you that I will always remain loyal to you and will obey your commands.

Yours sincerely,
AHMAD YAR KHAN

[1]Jinnah thanked the Ruler of Kalat for his sentiments about him and assured him that there was nothing seriously wrong with him. See F. 14-GG/167. Not printed

486

M. N. Kotwal to M. A. Jinnah

F. 83/79

MINISTRY OF LAW AND LABOUR,
KARACHI,
16 August 1948

Sir,

RE: SALE OF THE PROPERTY BEARING NEW SURVEY NO. 4, SURVEY SHEET S. R. 2, KNOWN AS MOHATTA BUILDING

I hereby acknowledge receipt of your letter dated the 11th inst.[1] bearing reference No. 373-GG (C) along with the cheque for Rs. 9,43,300 (nine lakh forty-three thousand and three hundred) and have to state that the sale transaction herein is now being completed.

With respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. N. KOTWAL

[1]No. 477.

487

M. A. Jinnah to Sri Prakasa

F. 83/138

No. 389-GG (C)

CAMP QUETTA,
16 August 1948

Dear Mr. Sri Prakasa,

Thank you for your letter dated the 30th of July[1] and for all the trouble that you have taken, and to Jawaharlal for giving careful consideration to this case. I am quite willing, as suggested by him, to let this house on the terms mentioned in your letter to a foreign consulate, not because of any racial feeling but [because] the house is built entirely in European style and for the use of a small European family.

As regards the rent, I was offered some time ago Rs. 3,000 per month, but it does not lie in my mouth to fix the rent. As it is requisitioned by Government, I leave it to the Government to make fullest

enquiries and fix such rent as they may think reasonable.

I would prefer the American Consulate to occupy it because they would be really in a position to keep the amenities, and the very large and pretty garden which is very essential, in good condition.

Thanking you for all that you have done, and looking forward to meeting you when I return to Karachi,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Shri Sri Prakasa,
High Commissioner for India in Pakistan,
Damodar Mahal,
New Town,
Karachi-5

[1]No. 469.

488

S. H. Zaidi to Liaquat Ali Khan
(Copy to PS to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 30 (2)-GG/316

C/O MINISTRY OF LAW AND LABOUR,
16 August 1948

Sir,

I am directed by my Association to forward herewith a copy of the resolution passed by its general meeting held on 15th August 1948, for your information.[1]

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
S. H. ZAIDI
Honorary Secretary,
Pakistan Class IV Employees Association

[1]F. Amin conveyed thanks from Jinnah. See F. 30 (2)-GG/315. Not printed.

Enclosure to No. 488

F. 30 (2)-GG/317

RESOLUTION

On the auspicious occasion of the first anniversary of our independence, this general meeting of the Pakistan Class IV Employees Association present its grateful thanks and hearty congratulations to their beloved Quaid-i-Azam and all other national leaders.

The Class IV Employees of the Government wished to celebrate the day in a befitting manner, but in deference to the wishes of our national leaders and in view of the sad happenings in Kashmir, Hyderabad, Palestine, and our own financial difficulties, all our ambitions in this behalf remained unfulfilled. In spite of this, all the employees (Class IV) took part in every detail of the programme in great numbers.

This general meeting of the Association fervently prays that God Almighty may spare, for many more years, our Quaid-i-Azam for our guidance and service of Islam and may grant our new State stability and greatness.

This meeting of the Association reiterates its resolve to make every sacrifice for the stability, prosperity and greatness of Pakistan.

Quiad-i-Azam Zindabad!

Pakistan Zindabad!

489

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F 178 (2)-GG/22

EMBASSY OF PAKISTAN,
WASHINGTON, D. C.,
17 August 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Had it not been for the statement of the Cabinet released two days ago regarding your health, I would not have inflicted a letter upon you. We are told that you propose to return to Karachi by the end of this month. This news is most disquieting.

I beg of you not to return to Karachi before the end of September. If you find Ziarat too cold, you can move to Quetta. You must, however, take complete rest and keep away from work, interviews and worry, irrespective of the immediate or even long-term consequences. You

must rest and go absolutely easy until you regain the strength that you have lost through over-exertion and over-work.

I shall not weary of telling you how important, nay essential, it is for the nation that you have created to have you as its head for many many years to come. You are its priceless jewel.

I was delighted to receive confidential information, telegraphically, this afternoon that your health has considerably improved since I saw you at the end of last month. Some more rest and quiet will make you as fit and strong as you should be.

May *Allah* bless and protect you. *Aameen.*

Very sincerely yours,
HASSAN

490

Hafiz al-Sheikh Hassan Salim al-Makki to M. A. Jinnah

F. 30 (2)-GG/303
[*Original in Arabic*]

MIDHAT PASHA ROAD,
RAMAL AL-ZAIDANIAH,
BEIRUT, LEBANON,
17 August 1948

Bismillah ir Rahman ir Rahim

And We have written in the psalm after the admonition that the earth shall be inherited by our righteous servants

Respected Governor-General of Pakistan,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu

My sincere greetings to your goodself and your respectable colleagues in your esteemed Government.

Accept my greetings on the occasion of celebration of the birth anniversary of your country under the wise leadership of Mohammad Ali Jinnah. I also seize upon this opportunity to draw your attention to the necessity of adhering to piety and obedience to Almighty *Allah* and also maintenance of justice among mankind by implementing the limits *(Hudud)* of *Shari'ah;* promotion of the teachings of the holy *Qur'an;* and asking guidance from the precedents of the Messenger (peace and blessings of *Allah* be upon him).

There is justice so long as there is Umar.[1] *Allah* says in a verse of His

Explicit Book: "Thy Lord shall not destroy villages unjustly so long their dwellers are believers. So have trust in *Allah,* and if you are believers hold fast to Him. And whoever holds fast to *Allah* is bound to be led to the right path".

May *Allah* guide your steps, favour you with His spirit, and grant you victory. "Surely, my Lord hears the request".

Wassalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu Bukratun wa Asila

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
HAFIZ AL-SHEIKH HASSAN SALIM AL-MAKKI

[1]Umar Ibn Al-Khattab (AD 586-644); Second of the Righteous Caliphs of Islam (AD 634-644).

491

Sri Prakasa to M. A. Jinnah

F. 83/141

No. S-40-IKC/48-V (B)

DAMODAR MAHAL,
KARACHI 5,
18 August 1948

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am most grateful to you for your kind letter No. 389/GG (C), dated August 16,[1] that was duly delivered to me late in the evening yesterday. It is very kind of you indeed to have agreed to offer your Bombay residence for the housing of a foreign consulate therein. I am conveying your wishes immediately to Jawaharlal and I have no doubt that every consideration will be extended to them.

I am happy indeed to know that your health has considerably improved, and I shall eagerly look forward to meeting you when you are once again in the capital.

With high regards,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
SRI PRAKASA

[1]No. 487.

492

Agenda for the First Meeting of Pakistan-NWFP Refugees Council

F. 226 (II)-GG/42-3

18 August 1948

AGENDA ITEM NO. 5: GRANTS TO PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS FOR THE REHABILITATION OF REFUGEES

Following is a copy of circular letter No. D. 3850-B/48, dated the 6th July 1948, from the Ministry of Finance to all Provincial Governments (except East Bengal):

I am directed to state that question of allocation of funds to the Provincial Governments for the rehabilitation of refugees has been engaging the attention of the Government of Pakistan for some time. After a careful consideration it has been decided to make the following grants to the Provincial Government for the purpose subject to the conditions detailed against each:

i. West Punjab Rs. 125 lakh
   Sind Rs. 10 lakh
   No expenditure will be incurred except on schemes approved by the Joint Refugees Councils for the West Punjab and Sind.
ii. North West Frontier Province Rs. 5 lakh
   Sanction of the Central Government will be necessary before spending any part of the grant.

2. The Accountant-General, Pakistan Revenues, will arrange payment of the grants to West Punjab and Sind Governments on the advice of the Ministry of Refugees and Rehabilitation.

3. The expenditure will be debitable to "88-Grants to Provincial Governments for Development-Grants to Provinces for expenditure on the rehabilitation and resettlement of refugees".

With the setting up of a Refugees Council in NWFP on the lines of the Pak./Sind Refugees Council, it is for consideration whether, on the analogy of the orders applicable in the case of grants made to Sind, it should not be stipulated that expenditure from the grant to the NWFP should be incurred on schemes approved by the Pak./NWFP Refugees Council and that the NWFP's allocation of Rs. 5 lakh from the Central Grant be paid to the Provincial Government by the A.G.P.R., on the advice of the Ministry of Refugees. If the suggestion is approved the matter will be taken up with the Ministry of Finance.

E. DE V. MOSS
Secretary,
Pakistan-NWFP Refugees Council

493

F. Amin to Sri Prakasa

F. 83/140

CAMP THE RESIDENCY,
QUETTA,
18 August 1948

Dear Mr. Sri Prakasa,

Thank you for your letter No. S. 40-IHC/48-II (A), dated the 9th August 1948.[1]

It is very kind of you to enquire about the Quaid-i-Azam's health, and I am glad to say that he is keeping good health. Rest, which he needed for some time, has done him a lot of good.

The Quaid-i-Azam has already replied[2] to your letter regarding his Bombay house and I am sure you must have received it by now.

I thank you once again for writing to Delhi regarding 10, Aurangzeb Road, and I hope this will see the matter through.

With best regards,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
F. AMIN

[1]No. 476.
[2]No. 487.

494

S. M. Yusuf to Secretary to Governor, NWFP

F. 66 (8)-GG/22

18 August 1948

ORDER OF THE BRITISH INDIA

Sir,

With reference to your letter No. 3748, dated 10th August 1948,[1] I am directed to inform you that the O.B.I. and other awards have been

discontinued and that they will be replaced by purely Pakistan awards. Provincial authorities will be informed as soon as a decision is arrived at in this connection.

I have etc.,
S. M. YUSUF

[1]Govt. of NWFP had enquired if orders for the award of titles had been issued. See No. F. 66 (8)-GG/20. Not printed.

495

M. N. Kotwal to F. Amin

F. 83/80-1

MINISTRY OF LAW AND LABOUR
(LAW DIVISION),
KARACHI,
21 August 1948

Re: SALE OF THE PROPERTY BEARING NEW SURVEY NO. 4, SURVEY SHEET S.R. 2, KNOWN AS MOHATTA BUILDING

Dear Mr. Amin,

I was in receipt of your letter dated the 11th inst.[1] bearing reference No. 374-GG (C), and trust that by now you must have traced the previous correspondence in the above matter. You will kindly inform the Quaid-i-Azam that the Sale Deed[2] will be presented for registration on Tuesday next, the 24th inst. I enclose herein a copy of the letter of attornment[3] which will be duly signed by all tenants in the occupation of the Mohatta Building. You will find from this letter that the rent accruing due as from 1st August 1948 is payable to the Quaid-i-Azam, with the result that we will realise the rent for the whole month of August 1948 and thereafter settle the rent account with the Vendor on the basis of credit being given to us for the rent of August 1948 for the period commencing from 24th August '48 when the Sale Deed will be presented for registration and ending with 31st August 1948. The balance remaining in our hands will be adjusted in the settlement of the tax account. I do not know through which agency the Quaid-i-Azam realises rents of his properties and, therefore, I send this letter of

attornment to you in advance to enable you to make immediate arrangements for the realisation of rents which will fall due for payment at the end of this month.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. N. KOTWAL

[1]No. 478.
[2]For draft Sale Deed, see F. 83/84-8. Not printed.
[3]See F. 83/82-3. Not printed.

496

Beverley Nichols to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1-GG/8-9

MERRY HALL,
ASHTEAD,
SURREY,
23 August 1948

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hope that my name is not yet forgotten! I still have frequent reminders of my inspiring meeting[1] with you in Bombay through the press. Hardly a week goes by when I do not receive press cuttings from all over the world, quoting the long and inspiring interview[2] which you gave me, which turned out to be so happily prophetic.

The purpose of this letter is to enquire whether you feel that a useful purpose could be served if I came out to Pakistan next year to write a book showing your new nation in its actual being. I feel that I have some right to do this because—although perhaps I should not say it myself—I was the only writer of international standing who realized the truth of your prophecies and stood by them from start to finish. This was not a "lucky guess" on my part, it was simply a matter of intelligent deduction, combined with a real love and admiration for the Muslim cause.

I feel that your country needs—and for some time will continue to need—the active support of all its well-wishers. A book by me on Pakistan would certainly put your case before the world in a way of which I think you would approve.

This is merely to sound your ideas on the subject. It is not a project which I could undertake at once, because I am contracted to tour the U.S.A. this winter and to produce a book about America. But there is no harm in thinking ahead.

I hope you will forgive me for troubling you at this time, because I am distressed to read that you are not in the best of health. I do so much hope that this is only a temporary lapse?

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
BEVERLEY NICHOLS

[PS.] Please give my kind remembrances to your charming sister.

[1]On 18 December 1943. See Beverley Nichols, *Verdict on India*, London, 1945, 188.
[2]See F. 785/98-104, *QAP*.

497

Mohammad Ismail[1] to M. Ikramullah

Telegram, F. 178 (2)-GG/23

SECRET
No. 55

NEW DELHI,
24 August 1948

Indian newspapers, especially vernacular, circulating wildest rumours regarding Quaid-i-Azam ranging from serious illness and impending visit to Europe or America for cancer treatment to, God forbid, his demise. Sri Prakasa reported to have neither confirmed nor contradicted rumour on telephone. Please issue contradiction immediately if considered necessary.[2]

[1]Pakistan's High Commissioner in India.
[2]F. Amin recorded: "I have shown this telegram to Quaid-i-Azam. He thinks it is not necessary to issue any further statement contradicting such rumours."

498

F. Amin to M. N. Kotwal

F. 83/24

CAMP, THE RESIDENCY,
QUETTA,
25 August 1948

Dear Mr. Kotwal,

Thank you for your letter dated the 21st August 1948[1] regarding Mohatta Building.

The previous correspondence was with the Quaid-i-Azam and now our file on the subject is up-to-date.

In connection with the realization of rent, Quaid-i-Azam would like to know the name of the agency which is at present collecting the rent from tenants in this building and whether it is trustworthy. If no special agency is doing so, will you be good enough to suggest some names[2] with their credentials so that the Quaid-i-Azam may approve of one of them to undertake this work on his behalf.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
F. AMIN

[1]No. 495.
[2]M. N. Kotwal suggested the name of Burjor M. Dhatigara. See F. 83/142-3. Not printed.

499

F. Amin to S. M. Mallick

Telegram, F. 178 (2)-GG/20

EXPRESS [ZIARAT,]
26 August 1948

Medical Superintendent, Mayo Hospital, Lahore

Please send Doctor Ghulam Mohammad Monday next by air.

F. AMIN

500

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani

F. 178 (2)-GG/24

CAMP QUETTA,
1 September 1948

My dear Hassan,

Many thanks for your letter[1] showing anxiety for my health.

My return to Karachi is not fixed and you need not worry that I will be unwise to hasten my return. Besides, the doctors do not allow me to do so.

Thank you very much for all your concern. There is nothing to worry.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

His Excellency Mirza Abol Hassan Ispahani,
Ambassador of Pakistan to the U.S.A.,
Washington, D.C.

[1]No. 489.

501

M. A. Jinnah to Beverley Nichols

F. 1-GG/10

CAMP QUETTA,
1 September 1948

Dear Mr. Beverley Nichols,

Thank you very much for your letter dated the 23rd August[1] and for your concern about my health. I am glad to inform you that there is nothing serious the matter with me.

As regards your writing a book, I can make no commitments or give you any assurance of my approval or disapproval. It is for you great writers to take the risk. If the book is good on merits, it will sell like hot cakes; if it is not, nobody can help you. In any case, you are free and

welcome to come to Pakistan and write a book if you think that you should do so.

Personally I shall be very happy to see you again if at any time you care to come to Karachi, and I am sure the Pakistan Government will give you all the help in the way of information and facilities for study.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Beverley Nichols, Esq.,
Merry Hall, Ashtead,
Surrey, England

[1]No. 496.

502

Fatima Jinnah to Ameer of Bahawalpur, London

Telegram, F. 178 (2)-GG/25

SECRET/IMMEDIATE

CAMP QUETTA,
3 September 1948

Doctors consider most important that Quaid-i-Azam should stay at Malir during his convalescence at least for a fortnight before going to Karachi. Will be thankful if you can place Guest House, Malir, at Quaid-i-Azam's disposal from fifteenth of September.[1]

[1]Response from Amir of Bahawalpur is not traceable.

503

Note by Press Information Department, Government of Pakistan

F. 30 (2)-GG/337-8

3 September 1948

PAKISTAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

To celebrate the first anniversary of the birth and independence of Pakistan, the High Commissioner for Pakistan and Begum Rahimtoola

held a very successful reception on August 16th at Claridge's Hotel, London.[1]

The crowded ballroom was beautifully decorated with mixed flowers and the Pakistan National Flag. The reception, the biggest social event of the season, was attended by over 1,000 guests, among whom were the Lord President of the Council and Acting Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, several other Government Ministers, members of the Diplomatic Corps, Dominion High Commissioners, high-ranking civil and military officers, Members of both Houses of Parliament, other representatives of British public and cultural life, and many prominent Pakistanis in London, most of the ladies wearing their colourful *saris*. The hosts received from all sides sincere congratulations and good wishes for the further prosperity of Pakistan. The toast of the evening was *Pakistan Zindabad* and *Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad*. The birthday cake was decorated with Pakistan's green flag with its crescent and star. A quartet played selections of light music.

The reception proved to be a really grand party. And H.E. the High Commissioner was quite right when he said in his Independence Day Anniversary Message: Never in history has a nation had to struggle against such odds as did Pakistan at its inception. The creation of a new administrative machinery for a new Government from scratch is no easy task, even under the most favourable conditions, and we had in addition the mass movement of population involving physical transhipment of more than 6 million people, with the consequent dislocation of traffic and essential services which are, after all, the lifeline of a nation. But these problems were faced with determination and courage and the obstacles surmounted by patriotism and unity, so that we can, by the grace of God, look back on the past year with satisfaction, and remember with gratitude those friends who stood by us. The inspiring leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah has been of inestimable help, and we hope and pray that he will continue to guide [us to] our destination for very many years to come. We are not forgetful, at this moment of rejoicing, that still greater tasks lie ahead.

[1]See Diplomatic Bulletin, London, 24 August 1948.

504

R. G. Casey to S. M. Yusuf

F. 65 (4)-GG/25

125 WILLIAM STREET,
MELBOURNE, C.I.,
3 September 1948

Dear Mr. Yusuf,

I have been disturbed to read in the Australian press, reports of the ill-health of the Quaid-i-Azam, and as I have no other information than the newspapers, I venture to write to you to say how very sorry I am if these reports happen to be true. I hope that you will give His Excellency my sincere regards and respect, and to [*sic*] hope that the newspapers, as so frequently happens, are exaggerating.

I realise very well how Pakistan would suffer if His Excellency's leadership had to be relinquished or even diminished at this time.

With my best wishes—and in the hope that you will be good enough to let me know the state of His Excellency's health.[1]

I am,

Yours sincerely,
R. G. CASEY

[1]S. M. Yusuf thanked and informed Casey about the state of Jinnah's health. See F. 65 (4)-GG/26. Not printed.

505

Abdul Haye to M. A. Jinnah

F. 46 (II)-GG/40-1

STREET 6, DOUGLASPURA,
LYALLPUR,
6 September 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Apropos of my letter of the 16th ultimo,[1] the postal acknowledgment of

which I received a few days ago (but about which I much regret I have heard nothing whatever from Your Excellency so far), I suppose you are going to appoint Sheikh Faiz Mohammad, Speaker of the West Punjab Assembly, as Pakistan's Refugees Minister. Prior to that, I also heard in this connection the names of Chaudri Nazir Ahmad and Mian Mumtaz Daultana. But let me tell you that none of them is a refugee from the East Punjab; and it would be in the fitness of things if Your Excellency be pleased to appoint a refugee as Minister for Rehabilitation, who can really feel for the hard lot of the poor sufferers who have sacrificed their all for Pakistan. I am therefore to pray Your Excellency on behalf of sixty lakhs of refugees that you be pleased to consider sympathetically their just claim to appoint a refugee as Pakistan's Refugee Minister. Unfortunately, before now we could not make this request to you, for we knew that you have got a soft corner in your heart for these poor victims of circumstances. But it is indeed deplorable to note that so far, of the two Punjabi members of the Central Cabinet, the sixty lakhs of poor refugees had no representative: Ghazanfar Ali and Zafrulla Khan both belong to the West Punjab. And now Faiz Mohammad, Nazir Ahmad and Daultana also belong to the West Punjab. Let me therefore reiterate my offer to you of the last year to work as your Minister for Refugees and Rehabilitation (and of Commerce also if required) in the Pakistan Cabinet. As you know, I am a refugee from Jullundur and can assure Your Excellency in the strongest words I can find that I shall rehabilitate all the unsettled refugees within one month. I shall work like you quite honorarily and am hereby to pledge not to take my evening meals till a single refugee remains unsettled.

I am afraid I cannot say more to prove my honesty of purpose. But I know that you are very keen to put an end to the state of emergency recently declared by you if you could find a suitable man to shoulder the responsibility. I am not a job-hunter, but I want to serve the nation sincerely, selflessly and earnestly. You know I was offered a Muslim seat in the interim Government formed by Jawaharlal Nehru in August 1946, and he and Patel and Abul Kalam Azad sent telegrams and letters to me requesting me to accept their offer, and this fact was also given wide publicity in the press; but I refused the offer only because you had refused it. Subsequently, Shafaat [Ahmad Khan] and [Syed Ali] Zaheer accepted it, traitors as they were. I should, in this connection, await Your Excellency's

advice by telegram so that I may take over charge without further delay in the interest of the rehabilitation of the refugees.

I hope this finds you in the best of your health, and believe me I remain,

Your Excellency's most affectionately,
ABDUL HAYE

·Not traceable.

506

Abdul Haye to M. A. Jinnah

F. 46 (11)-GG/42-3

STREET 6, DOUGLASPURA,
LYALLPUR,
9 September 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

BUNGLED REHABILITATION NECESSITATES INSTANTANEOUS ATTENTION

I have already sent to you a telegram and Your Excellency would have realized as to how most preposterously and atrociously this problem has been mishandled, and the hungry and shelterless Muslims have suffered the rigours of a bitter winter and a blazing summer. The present speed of dispersing the refugees must be kept up in rehabilitating them as well although nothing whatever is known of such plans.

All the same, I can assure Your Excellency that the rehabilitation of refugees is not so difficult a problem as has been made out by the present people who hold charge of it. The refugees deserve a more humane and sympathetic treatment than they have been subjected to in the past. This large mass of seething humanity has suffered and borne a terrific amount of misery and pain; there is not a heart among them that is whole nor a body that is unscarred. They are like wounded children and motherless babies. This is therefore an all-important problem as on it depends the future reconstruction and planning of our Dominion which is yet in its infancy. Inefficient handling of this problem has caused indescribable despair, resentment and frustration, and is a grave potential danger to the security and peace of the country. At Montgomery, Multan, Lahore, and at several other places, you know refugees became desperate at the gross mismanagement and maladministration of their camps which continued to fester like wounds for over a year. I am therefore to suggest in all sincerity that Your Excellency, as the supreme head of the State, should

enlist cooperation of selfless workers. I offer to solve the problem on a plan if you would deign to accept my offer to work as your Minister.

With kindest regards,

believe me to remain,

Yours most affectionately,

ABDUL HAYE

507

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. Ikramullah

Telegram, F. 178 (2)-GG/30

TOP SECRET/MOST IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON,
No. C-243 *10 September 1948*

Please advise Ilahi Bakhsh,[1] Governor-General's Camp Quetta, immediately that after obtaining top-most advice have selected Doctor Mcleod Riggins of 140, East 54 Street, New York, whom we are persuading to proceed earliest. Riggins very renowned chest and lung specialist, also reputed to be entirely capable of a general check-up. If Lieut-Colonel Ping on examination considers calling someone else he will advise.

Impossible to get any one away earlier than middle of next week because it involves his personal arrangements of passport and other details. Will do utmost to expedite. Will advise flight details on completing arrangements. All communications in this regard must be to Washington not (repeat not) New York.

[1]See Annexes I & II

Annex I to No. 507
F. Amin to M. A. Hassan Ispahani

Telegram[1]

TOP SECRET GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S CAMP,
QUETTA,
8 September 1948

Ispahani, Parep, New York

Doctor[s] Ilahi Bakhsh and Riaz Ali Shah consider immediate consultation with lung specialist and top general physician imperative. They recommend Doctor Hinshaw of Mayo Clinic Minnesota but of course final

choice rests entirely with you. Please arrange immediate specialist to reach Quetta repeat Quetta by quickest repeat quickest air-route. Wire arrangements.

AMIN

[1]Zaidi, *Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence*, 617.

Annex II to No. 507
F. Amin to M. A. Hassan Ispahani

Telegram[1]

TOP SECRET

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S CAMP,
QUETTA,
[*September 1948*]

Ispahani, Parep, New York

Continuation my telegram of September 8.[2] Kindly intimate immediately names of specialists selected by you. Needless to say they should not repeat not be Jews.

[AMIN]

[1]Zaidi, *Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence*, 617-8.
[2]Annex I.

508

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. Ikramullah

Telegram, F. 178 (2)-GG/31

TOP SECRET / MOST IMMEDIATE
No. 244

WASHINGTON,
11 September 1948

Reference my telegram No. C-243 dated September 10th.[1] Ambassador met Dr. Mcleod Riggins in New York today. Dr. leaving New York Tuesday, September 14th repeat September 14th, by Pan-American Airways Flight No. 4 (half of 8) for Karachi. Please arrange to have him met and place car, one aide-de-camp in attendance during his stay. The following reports are essential. Please inform Dr. Ilahi Bakhsh immediately to have them ready on arrival of Riggins:

a. Complete blood count
b. Non-protein nitrogen

c. Blood sedimentation
d. P.A. chest film and a lateral chest film. Also Bucky chest film
e. Urinalysis
f. Stool culture and microscopic examination
g. Sputum
    i. Pyogenic culture
    ii. Concentrated examination of sputum for T.B.
    iii. Culture of sputum for fungi
    iv. Microscopic examination for other organisms
h. If not recorded recent electro-cardiogram required

[1]No. 507.

509

The Gazette of Pakistan Extraordinary

F. 178 (2)-GG/32

No. 333-CORD/48

GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN,
CABINET SECRETARIAT,
KARACHI,
12 September 1948

NOTIFICATION

The Prime Minister and Ministers of the Pakistan Government announce with deep sorrow and grief the death by heart failure of the beloved Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Governor-General of Pakistan, at Karachi on Saturday, 11th September 1948, at 10.25 p.m. They wish to convey their heartfelt condolences at this national calamity to Miss Fatima Jinnah and other members of the family and to the nation.

The Father of the Pakistan Nation has passed away. To his far-reaching vision, indomitable will and steadfastness of purpose is due the creation of the biggest Muslim State in the world. To him it was given, as to few in history, to witness the fruition of his labours in his own life-time. Even after the achievement of Pakistan he did not sit back but continued to the last breath his untiring and unceasing labours to strengthen and consolidate Pakistan. His death deals the greatest blow that could be inflicted on the people of Pakistan, but nurtured as they are in the ideals set before them by the Quaid-i-Azam, the Pakistan Government are confident that they will bear it with fortitude and dedicate themselves afresh to the

service of Pakistan, for which their beloved leader lived and died.

MOHAMAD ALI
Secretary-General

510

The Gazette of Pakistan Extraordinary

F. 178 (2)-GG/33

No. 5187-P

OFFICE OF THE MILITARY SECRETARY
TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF PAKISTAN,
KARACHI,
12 September 1948

NOTIFICATION

Owing to the death of Quaid-i-Azam, Governor-General of Pakistan, official mourning will be observed for 40 days with effect from today, the 12th of September.

Officers of the Defence Services attending the Governor-General's House will wear black arm-bands on their left arms, and civilians will wear black ties. Ladies attending the Governor-General's House will appear in black or white, or black and white, or grey dress.

BY ORDER,
G. KNOWLES
Colonel
Military Secretary to the Governor-General of Pakistan

511

H. M. Aslam Chishty to A. D. F. Dundas
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 233-GG/97

21 MOZANG ROAD,
LAHORE,
12 September 1948

Dear Sir,

I have the honour to submit the attached proceedings containing a

most important proposal for favour of your consideration.

Thanking you in anticipation,

Yours obediently,
H. M. ASLAM CHISHTY
B.A., Ph. D (H)
Proprietor, Sadiq and Saut-ul-Haram Dailies

His Excellency the Governor,
North-West Frontier Province,
Peshawar

Enclosure to No. 511

F. 233-GG/98

MOZANG, LAHORE,
12 September 1948

PROCEEDINGS

The news of the death of the Quaid-i-Azam was heard like an atom bomb which shook the whole world. But the after-effects of this tragedy are more ruinous. The great and the unprecedented services rendered by the Quaid-i-Azam for the cause of Islam demand that the seat [*sic*] of Quaid-i-Azam's Governor-Generalship should be offered to Miss Fatima Jinnah, the only deserving and miraculous [*sic*] personality after Quaid-i-Azam, in the whole of Pakistan. If unfortunately this office is taken over by anyone else, innumerable differences will surely arise and upset a year-old baby—Pakistan.

Under the above-mentioned feelings the Qaumi Razakars of Mohallah Mubarikpura, Mozang, called a public meeting of the inhabitants of Mozang on 12.9.48 at 10 a.m. Thousands attended this meeting. Dr. Mohammad Aslam Chishti, Proprietor and Editor of daily *Saut-ul-Haram,* presided. Enthusiastic tributes were paid to the late Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Mr. Ali Mohammad, Secretary, Co-operative and Thrift Society, Mubarikpura, Mozang, moved a condolence resolution which was passed unanimously. Dr. Mohammad Aslam Chishti moved another resolution, on behalf of the inhabitants of Mozang, seconded by Shamsul Atibba Hakim Haji Shamsul Haq, Principal, Pakistan Tibbia College and Proprietor Amrat Dhara Pharmacy, in which it was urged upon the Pakistan Cabinet to nominate Miss Fatima Jinnah for the seat [*sic*] of the Governor-General of Pakistan.

This resolution was seconded by Dr. Mohammad Rafi and was carried out [*sic*] amidst slogans of *Pakistan Zindabad, Miss Fatima Jinnah Zindabad,* and *Islam Zindabad.* The meeting concluded at 12.30 with prayers for the soul of our beloved Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

MALIK MOHAMMAD YAQUB
Secretary,
Quami Razakars

512

Maqbool Mahmood to S. M. Yusuf

F. 25 (Part IV)-GG/191

14 KUTCHERY ROAD,
KARACHI,
21 September 1948

Dear Yusuf,

Please convey my heart-felt sympathies to His Excellency the Governor-General on the sad demise of the Quaid-i-Azam. Please also convey my prayerful wishes to him so that he may be privileged to steer the nation through the present distressing crisis.

The gap left by the Quaid-i-Azam is irreparable, but it is some consolation to those of us who have had the privilege of personal association with the present Governor-General to know that the affairs of the State are now in his tried and steady hands. And I need hardly assure him of my devotion and service, along with those associated with me and my family, for the service of the nation at this juncture. I have no doubt that his discerning and far-sighted eye must have appreciated the immediate necessity of quick and dramatic action to keep the team united, to bridge the gulf in the ranks, to intensify the constructive work at the home front, to settle the refugees on economic planned lines, to cement Islamic and international alignments, to arrange for regular and healthy liaison between the Government and the public. In these essential items of programme, His Excellency would doubtless receive dependable and valuable co-operation from the Prime Minister and other members of the Government and public. At the same time, it seems advisable to set up a small committee forthwith on the lines of the Drafting Committee appointed by P[andi]t. Jawaharlal Nehru before the Indian Constituent Assembly, and in

accordance with the plans discussed by the late Quaid-i-Azam and the Prime Minister on more than one ocassion, to work out the basic skeleton of the Constitution of Pakistan. The present policy of drift on this vital issue has done harm which far out-weighs any temporary convenience. I have made this suggestion, along with others, to the Prime Minister also.

I regret that I could not write to His Excellency earlier due to my recent illness. I am now better and would be grateful if you can solicit his convenience, if possible, before the 26th of this month when I may pay my respects personally. Otherwise, I will solicit his convenience on return from Lahore.

Yours sincerely,
MAQBOOL MAHMOOD

APPENDIX I

QUAID-I-AZAM'S RELIEF FUND

After the first cataclysmic phase of the massive influx of destitute refugees from East Punjab, Delhi, and some other parts of India, when they had to be provided with urgently needed relief and succour, the nascent State of Pakistan had, with all-too-limited resources, to undertake the Herculean task of rehabilitating them. Over 6 million[1] refugees, most of them stripped of all their worldly possessions, had to be resettled. The task entailed not only the provision of primary needs like shelter and livelihood but ensuring also that the refugees became self-reliant and useful citizens.

Due to the generous contributions which continued to pour in during the period, the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund (QARF) had grown exponentially reaching the ten million rupee mark by January 1948 and evoking Jinnah's commendation for the enthusiastic response to his appeal.[2] This figure was exceeded, considerably, later on. The donation of five lakh rupees, announced earlier by the Aga Khan,[3] had been received in two tranches.[4] The British Government donated 2,000 pounds, and a gift of one lakh rupees was made by the British Red Cross, in addition to the 100,000 pounds contributed by them previously. Jinnah duly sent letters of thanks to Maj. Gen. Thompson[5] and Lord Woolton.[6] Other contributions which deserve a mention are listed at the end of this Appendix. A young girl donated her pocket money to the Fund[7] epitomising the spirit which animated the donors generally.

When the Maharaja of Kashmir made the fraudulent and illegal decision on 27 October 1947 to accede to India,[8] riding roughshod over the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the State's population, a reign of terror was let loose on the Kashmiri Muslims, over two lakh of whom were forced to flee to the adjoining districts of Pakistan.To cater for the urgent needs of these hapless refugees, a special committee named "Kashmir Refugees Central Relief Committee" was formed under Choudhri Ghulam Abbass.[9] The initiative was endorsed by Jinnah and the Central Committee of the QARF made an allocation of five lakh rupees to this Committee.[10] Other major disbursements from the QARF were: rupees 18.5 lakh for *razais*, 7.5 lakh for clothes, 6.5 lakh for blankets and 2 lakh for cyclone relief in Chittagong.[11]

Besides meeting their urgent material needs, the more difficult task was to absorb the refugees into the socio-economic milieu in their adopted land. The fraternal fervour of the early stages was redolent of the generous and open-hearted reception of the *Muhajireen-i-Makkah*

by the *Ansar-i-Madina*. However, as time wore on, the inevitable clash of interests started surfacing in some parts of the country, especially eastern Pakistan, where the language barrier also strained relations between the locals and the refugees, besides hindering integration.[12] These discordant notes notwithstanding, the fledgling state bore the colossal burden of relief and rehabilitation of an unprecedented number of refugees with a resoluteness that has few parallels in history.

[1]Enclosure to Appendix I. 2.
[2]Ibid.
[3]See F. 80 (6)-GG/1. Not printed.
[4]Annex to Appendix I. 11.
[5]Annex I to Appendix I. 6.
[6]Annex II to Appendix I. 6.
[7]Appendix I. 12.
[8]See Durga Das, ed., *Sardar Patel's Correspondence, New Light on Kashmir*, Vol. I, Ahmedabad, 1971, 341-4.
[9]Appendix I. 10.
[10]Annex to I. 10.
[11]Enclosure to Appendix I. 3.
[12]See No. 186.

I. 1

M. A. Jinnah to Ruler of Chitral

F. 5-GG/11

1 January 1948

My dear Mehtar of Chitral,

Thank you for your letter of the 29th of October.[1] I am sorry to learn that you were not well, but I do sincerely hope that you are quite all right now. I need hardly say that I shall be very pleased to see you.

As regards your having contributed Rs. 30,000 to the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund, I am thankful to you, but it is not clear to whom this amount was sent. I hope you will let me know.

As regards your collecting warm clothes for the refugees, I am glad that you are taking all this trouble, but I would like to know whether they were forwarded through the P.A.,[2] and if so, to whom?

Thanking you for your good wishes,

Yours very sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

H.H. the Mehtar of Chitral,
Chitral State

[1]See F. 5-GG/9. Not printed.
[2]Political Agent.

I. 2

M. Arshad Husain to F. Amin

F. 80 (9)-GG/1

SIND P.W.D. SECRETARIAT,
HUTMENT NO. 7, KARACHI,
13 January 1948

My dear Farukh Amin,

The Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund has passed the one crore mark. I feel that this fact should be given immediate publicity. Accordingly I am enclosing herewith a draft message for approval of the Quaid-i-Azam. If you will please let me have this duly approved, I shall make arrangements to release it to the press. In case there are not very many amendments, please give me a ring over the phone.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. HUSAIN
Honorary Publicity Secretary,
Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund

Enclosure to Appendix I. 2

F. 80 (9)-GG/3

15 January 1948

The Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund has passed the one crore mark. In this connection the Quaid-i-Azam has issued the following message:

"Response of the people of Pakistan and from outside to my appeal of the 12th September 1947 for contributions to the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund has been magnificent. The Fund has already passed the one crore mark and contributions are still pouring in. It is a matter for gratification that donations have been received from all classes and all communities. I also acknowledge with gratitude the help which has come to us from sympathisers all over the world, both Muslims and non-Muslims, and in particular from the U.S.A., the U.K., South Africa and the Islamic countries. Although majority of the six million refugees has been resettled, there are still many who are in urgent need of relief. There are still very many relief problems to be tackled even in connection with those who have been resettled, such as the provision of clothing, blankets and medicines. I must, therefore, urge upon our people, our relief workers

and organisers, and our friends and sympathisers, the necessity for still greater effort and sacrifice. I hope everyone in Pakistan and our friends abroad will continue their good efforts in this humanitarian task so that we may be able to make the lot of those who have suffered so terribly and lost their all or most of what they possessed in this tragedy and upheaval, endurable and, if possible, comfortable.

I. 3

M. Arshad Husain to F. Amin

F. 80 (9)-GG/4

MINISTRY OF INTERIOR,
INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING DIVISION,
KARACHI,
13 January 1948

Dear Mr. Amin,

At the last meeting of the Central Committee of the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund, the Quaid-i-Azam had desired to see a copy of the Press Note regarding the allocations made so far from the Fund. I enclose a copy of the relevant Press Note. You will, perhaps, bring it to the notice of the Quaid-i-Azam.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. HUSAIN

Enclosure to Appendix I. 3

F. 80 (9)-GG/5

10 January 1948

The Central Committee of the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund have so far made the following allocations of funds for refugee relief:

Rs. one lakh to the West Punjab Committee for relief to refugees at its discretion; Rs. six lakh to the West Punjab Committee to be spent on the purchase of clothes and garments; Rs. five lakh for the purchase by the Central Committee of 1,03,000 blankets from the U.K.; Rs. ten and half lakh to West Punjab Committee for *razais;* Rs. 1,68,000 to West Punjab Committee for production of warm clothes and garments; Rs. 1,15,000 for the purchase by the Central Committee of 14,000 blankets from East Bengal; Rs. eight lakh to the Central Committee for the production of 100,000 *razais* in Karachi; Rs. two lakh to East Bengal for

Chittagong Cyclone Relief; Rs. 30,000 to East Bengal to be spent on clothes and rehabilitation of Bihar refugees now in Jessore District.

Other amounts sanctioned include:

a. Rs. 25,000 to the Christian Committee of Relief, West Punjab;

b. Rs. 25,000 for transport and maintenance of volunteers, doctors and nurses from the U.K. who are now working in West Punjab;

c. Rs. 5,000 to the Vice-Chancellor, Sind University, for refugee students;

d. Special amounts have been sanctioned for the relief of families of servicemen, which will be administered by a committee of officers of the Army Headquarters. These are: Rs. one lakh for Pakistan Army; Rs. 10,000 for Royal Pakistan Navy, Rs. 5,000 for Royal Pakistan Air Force.

In addition to the above, the Central Committee has despatched 50,000 blankets and *razais* to West Punjab, out of which 30,000 were either produced or manufactured in Karachi and the rest were gifts.

Very large number of clothes and other gifts in kind have been received by the Central Committee and Provincial Committees of the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund which have been distributed. Full details of these will be published later.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund

I. 4

H. I. Rahimtoola to M. Ikramullah

F. 80 (8)-GG/16

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR PAKISTAN,
15/16 FITZHARDINGE STREET, W. I.,
LONDON,
17 January 1948

My dear Ikramullah,

As a direct result of my previous conversations with Lord Woolton of the British Red Cross about aid to refugees in Pakistan, the Lord Mayor held a dinner on the 7th January, 1948, at which Lord Woolton made an official appeal to the British people for financial aid to enable them to carry out their programme of assistance to the refugees of Pakistan and India.

Sir Stafford Cripps, representing His Majesty's Govt., supported the appeal and announced a donation of £ 20,000 on behalf of the Govt. to

the Fund. Lord Catto and the St. John's Ambulance Society also gave donations of £5,000 each.

Lord Woolton, in his remarks, referred to their goal as being £200,000 over and above the £100,000 that the Red Cross Society had themselves given.

It was a full-fledged Mansion House dinner with about 40 people present. There was no representative of India at the dinner. The Lord Mayor, whom I met again subsequently, assured me that everything possible was being done and he was confident of the whole amount being collected soon.

My wife and I had made strenuous efforts[1] to try and get an appeal for Pakistan only, and we had almost succeeded, when the Mountbattens came here in November and then their efforts for India resulted in a joint appeal. However, I have been assured that the actual needs of the refugees, wherever they are, will be considered, and the British Red Cross move in having the first hospital at Multan will help the Pakistanis.

My wife's efforts resulted in prominent women's joint appeal for the Red Cross Fund. We are keeping up our efforts and some sums of money and clothing are coming in direct to us. Please let me know whether you want me to send the money to the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund, although I personally suggest that since I have opened a separate account here for the Fund, it should be maintained here and the amount be spent for refugee requirements from this country, under instructions from the Govt. or the Committee concerned. It would save us charges of the bank for transfer and re-transfer of these amounts. All the clothes' parcels have been forwarded immediately.

Yours sincerely,
HABIB I. RAHIMTOOLA

See Annex.

Annex to Appendix I. 4
M. A. Jinnah to H. I. Rahimtoola

F. 80 (8)-GG/18-19

8 March 1948

My dear Rahimtoolah,

Ikramullah has sent me your letter No. P.S.43/47 dated the 17th January[1] which has been seen both by myself and the Members of the Central Committee of the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund. We all appreciate your efforts with such good results as you have reported and thank you and Mrs. Rahimtoolah for all the help both of you have

given. We also wish to convey our thanks to Lord Woolton and all those who have shown such great sympathy and rendered help to the needs of our suffering millions.

It is gratifying to note that a campaign has been started to raise funds in U.K. with a target of £200,000 and we hope that when this money is collected, the distribution between Pakistan and India will not be on area and population basis but on the actual number of refugees which both the countries are required to look after. For your information, I may add that on a rough estimate the number of refugees in Pakistan, as compared to India, is at least greater by 1.5 million.

As far as the collections are concerned, my Committee desires that the same should be held in Sterling in a separate account in U.K. entitled "Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund". This Fund will be under the control of the Central Committee, so that all disbursements should have its prior approval except [for] such day-to-day expenditure as may be necessary for the administration of the Fund. My Committee would, however, like to be informed about the balance to the credit of the Fund from time to time.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

His Excellency,
Habib I. Rahimtoolah,
High Commissioner for Pakistan in U.K.,
London

[1]Appendix I. 4.

I. 5

Aga Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 80 (6)-GG/18

C/O COX SHIPPING AGENCY,
MARSEILLES,
30 January 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am now in a position to give the further[1] two lakh and fifty [thousand] for the refugee fund only in Hyderabad Deccan. If Your Excellency will cable me name and exact address of Your Excellency's agent in Hyderabad, my agent for the Nizam's dominion [*sic*] will hand him there two lakh and fifty [thousand]. Kindly cable the information.

I hope Your Excellency is in the best of health, notwithstanding the great anxiety of these historic days.

Yours sincerely,
AGA KHAN

[1]Appendix I. 7.

I. 6

T. O. Thompson to M. A. Jinnah

F. 80 (8)-GG/27

46 FRERE ROAD,
KARACHI,
7 February 1948

Your Excellency,

I have been instructed by the Headquarters of the British Red Cross Society, London, to deliver the following message and information to you as President of the Pakistan Red Cross Society.

The British Red Cross Society is making a gift of one lakh rupees to the Pakistan Red Cross Society[1] to assist that Society to set up the necessary organization as a National Red Cross Society, with the special object of assisting in refugee relief work.

The transfer of the amount is now in progress. May I be informed as to how and to whom this money should be paid.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,
TREFFRY O. THOMPSON
Major-General
Commissioner, British Red Cross
Society Commissions, India and Pakistan

[1]Jinnah thanked both Thompson and Lord Woolton. See Annexes I & II.

Annex I to Appendix I. 6
M. A. Jinnah to T. O. Thompson

F. 80 (8)-GG/13

19 February 1948

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter dated the 7th February 1948,[1] and would like to express our warmest thanks for the generous gift of one lakh rupees, which is being made by the British Red Cross Society to assist the newly created Pakistan Red Cross Society to set up the organization necessary for the special object of assisting in refugee relief work. The value, under present circumstances, of such a handsome donation cannot be exaggerated. I have no doubt that the Governing Body of the Pakistan Red Cross Society, which is to meet for the first time on March 15th, will highly appreciate the magnanimous gesture of the British Red Cross Society and that this substantial expression of goodwill will cement the bonds of friendship between the two national bodies.

As regards the last paragraph of your letter, the money may kindly be paid to Mr. Yaqub Shah, Auditor-General, Government of Pakistan, who is ex-officio Treasurer of the Pakistan Red Cross Society, for credit to the Society's account with the Imperial Bank, McLeod Road, Karachi.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Major General T.O. Thompson,
KCSI, CG, CBE, KHP,
Commissioner,
British Red Cross Society,
46 Frere Road, Karachi

[1]Appendix I. 6.

Annex II to Appendix I. 6
M. A. Jinnah to Woolton

F. 80 (8)-GG/25

10 March 1948

Dear Lord Woolton,

Major-General Sir Treffry Thompson, the Commissioner of the British Red Cross Society operating in Pakistan, has informed me that your Society is making a gift of one lakh rupees to the Pakistan Red

Cross Society to assist that Society in setting up the organization necessary for the special object of refugee relief work.

I have, in my acknowledgement to this welcome news, conveyed our thanks for the generous gift and assured General Thompson of Pakistan's high appreciation of the goodwill which inspired a very magnanimous gesture, but I feel that I must let you know personally how grateful we, in Pakistan, are for all the co-operation and financial support which is being received from the National Red Cross Society in Great Britain.

This magnificent contribution towards relief of distress among our unfortunate refugees in Pakistan is a most faithful interpretation of the noble spirit of the Red Cross to serve humanity in distress which has been so amply demonstrated by their valuable record of service.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

The Right Hon'ble Lord Woolton, PC, CH, DL,
Chairman of the Executive Committee, British Red Cross,
14 and 15 Grosvenor Crescent, London, SW1

I. 7

M. A. Jinnah to Aga Khan

Telegram, F. 80 (6)-GG/19

15 February 1948

His Highness Aga Khan, Care Coxship, Marseilles

Many thanks for your letter.[1] Have now made arrangements to receive other half of your most generous donation of rupees two lakh fifty thousand. Please arrange pay Habib Bank, Hyderabad, Deccan.

M. A. JINNAH

Copy forwarded to the Manager, Habib Bank, Karachi with the request that he will please get in touch with the Hyderabad Branch of Habib Bank in this matter and let the undersigned know as soon as the money is paid.

F. AMIN

[1]Appendix I. 5.

I. 8

J. B. Shearer to L. W. Thompson

F. 80 (6)-GG/36

GOVT. OF PAKISTAN,
MINISTRY OF FINANCE,
KARACHI,
9 March 1948

My dear Thompson,

His Highness the Aga Khan is making a donation of Rs. five lakh towards the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund. A part of this donation will be remitted to Pakistan by the branch of the Habib Bank in Hyderabad State. I have, however, been given an assurance that the donation is not being made out of income which would be liable to taxation in Pakistan, and I have agreed that in the circumstances there will be no question of assessing His Highness in respect of the donation.

The income arising in Pakistan is being separately considered and instructions will be issued to you later on this subject.

Yours sincerely,
J. B. SHEARER
[*Joint Secretary*]

L. W. Thompson, Esq.,
Commissioner of Income Tax,
Sind and Baluchistan, Karachi

I. 9

Habib Bank Ltd. to F. Amin

F. 80 (6)-GG/40

BUNDER ROAD,
KARACHI,
19 March 1948

Dear Sir,

DONATION FROM H. H. THE AGA KHAN TOWARDS
QUAID-I-AZAM'S RELIEF FUND

In continuation of our letter No. QRF/117, dated 11th March, 1948,[1] regarding the matter mentioned above, we have to say that we have

now received T.T. for Rs. 250,000 from H. H. the Aga Khan through our Hyderabad, Deccan Branch and the same has been credited to Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund account on the 17th March, 48.[2]

Yours faithfully,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
Agent

[1]See F. 80 (6)-GG/37. Not printed.
[2]F. Amin forwarded a copy to Hony Treasurer, QARF, requesting him to send an official receipt for rupees five lakh. See F. 80 (6)-GG/40-A. Not printed.

I. 10

Choudhry Ghulam Abbass to M. A. Jinnah

F. 80 (10)-GG/1

KARACHI,
4 April 1948

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Quaid-i-Azam will be glad to know that a committee under the name of the Kashmir Refugees Central Relief Committee has been set up for refugees from the Jammu and Kashmir State. The task of providing relief to more than two lakh refugees from the State will no doubt be a difficult one, but it is expected that the Committee will succeed in relieving their distress in the near future. I feel sure that in view of his kind regard for the suffering people of Kashmir, Quaid-i-Azam will be pleased to bestow his kind attention and assistance on us and put at our disposal the possible means and facilities available.[1] The personnel of the Committee are as under:

Chairman—Choudhry Ghulam Abbass
Members —M. Mohammad Yusuf, Mir Waiz of Kashmir
Sardar Mohammad Ibrahim
Mian Mumtaz Mohammad Daultana
Captain Abid Hussain
Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur
Khan Abdul Qayum

Wishing Quaid-i-Azam a long life,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM ABBASS

[1]A sum of five lakh rupees was allocated for the purpose. See Annex.

Annex to Appendix I. 10
M. A. Jinnah to Ghulam Abbass

F. 80 (10)-GG/5

8 April 1948

Dear Mr. Ghulam Abbass,

I have received your letter dated the 4th of April,[1] and thank you for it.

This is just to inform you that the Quaid-i-Azam Central Relief Committee met today and have sanctioned Rs. five lakh for the relief of Jammu and Kashmir refugees who had to cross the border in tragic circumstances and take shelter in Pakistan, most of them being in various camps at Sialkot. The Hony. Secretary, Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Committee, will write to you officially giving you all the necessary information and the ways and means of administering the Fund and its management.

I am glad to note the personnel of the Committee that is formed under your Chairmanship, and I hope that in the name of humanity they will do everything in their power to relieve the suffering of the people who are uprooted.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Appendix I. 10.

I. 11

Yaqub Shah to F. Amin

F. 80 (6)-GG/42

243 STAFF LINE,
KARACHI,

8 April 1948

Dear Sir,

Please refer to your endorsement PSQO No. F. 80 (6)-GG/47 dated 8th April 1948[1] regarding the donation of Rs. 5,00,000 received from His Highness the Aga Khan. The pay slip for the sum of Rs. 2,49,566-11-6 was received with the Quaid-i-Azam's letter No. F. 80 (4)-GG/47 dated 1st January 1948,[2] and as desired in that letter, a formal receipt was sent to the Private Secretary to His Highness the Aga Khan with our letter No. RF/164A dated 9th February 1948. I can,

therefore, now send you a formal receipt only for the balance, viz. Rs. 2,50,000, which has been credited by the Habib Bank to our account on the 17th March 1948, and this is enclosed.[3]

Yours faithfully,
Y. SHAH
Honorary Treasurer

[1]See F. 80 (6)-GG/40-A. Not printed.
[2]Not traceable.
[3]For the receipt sent to Aga Khan by Jinnah, see Annex.

Annex to Appendix I. 11
M. A. Jinnah to Aga Khan

F. 80 (6)-GG/43

9 April 1948

My dear Aga Khan,

Many thanks for your second instalment of Rs. 2,50,000, which was received through the Hyderabad, Deccan Bank a few days ago, and I am enclosing herewith an official receipt for this instalment. An official receipt for the first instalment has already been sent to you.

May I say how much the people of Pakistan and I appreciate your generous and handsome donation of Rs. five lakh towards the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund. It has done a lot of useful work, and I am sure if you were to follow in details of what in our own way we have been able to do to help and to give relief to the suffering humanity, you will be happy.

I was glad to read the reports in papers that you are now keeping well. I wish you good health and all happiness.

If you ever wish to send your suggestions or advice, please do not hesitate to do so, and I shall be very glad to receive it, and I need hardly tell you that it will have my very careful attention and consideration.

Thank you once again,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

His Highness the Right Hon'ble Sir Sultan Mahomed
Aga Khan, C/o Coxship, Marseilles

I. 12

S. Mazhar Ali Shah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 586/28

PESHAWAR,
15 April 1948

Most respected Quaid-i-Azam,

My child Rashida Parween has saved a few bits out of the pocket money allowed to her. She desires to contribute this toward the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund. I hope her small contribution will be accepted.

I beg to remain,
Sir,
Yours most obedient servant,
MAZHAR ALI SHAH

I. 13

Kaisera Anwar Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 158/23-4

213/A FRERE STREET,
KARACHI,
9 May 1948

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I am taking the liberty to represent the following points for your consideration:

1. I was the Hony. Treasurer of the Women's Sub-Committee of the Delhi Provincial Muslim League.

2. The Committee ceased to function at the time of partition, when most of the members came away from Delhi.

3. On arrival at Karachi, I arranged for the transfer of the funds of the Committee, kept in the current account with the Imperial Bank of India, Delhi, to their branch at Karachi.

4. With the dissolution of the All India Muslim League, our aforesaid Committee at Delhi has also been dissolved. I do not, therefore, know how to utilise this money now.

5. In my opinion, therefore, it appears best to place the entire amount

of Rs. 4,960 at your disposal to be used as you consider best.

With prayers for your sound health and long life,

Yours sincerely,
KAISERA ANWAR ALI

I. 14

QUAID-I-AZAM'S RELIEF FUND

LIST OF ADDITIONAL DONATIONS[1]

S. No.	*Date*	*Donor*	*Amount (in Rupees)*
1.	29.08.47	Anglo-Indian Members of Burt Institute, Lahore	4,000
2.	24.09.47	Balfour Muslim Community, Johannesburg	3,163
3.	08.11.47	Muslim Youth League, Kampala	7,465
4	07.11.47	Muslim Group, Kampala	7,500
5.	13.12.47	Muslim Committee, Transvaal	5,776
6.	21.10.47	Muslim Association, Witbank, S. Africa	5,908
			2,326
7	08.11.47	Kotli Young Association, Kampala	6,000
8.	20.02.48	Haji Dawood, Lydenburg	17,740
9.	14.04.48	Mehtar of Chitral	10,000
10.	16.04.48	Punjab Regiment, Bannu	5,134
11	15.04.48	Pakistan Women Voluntary Service, Peshawar	4,000
12.	16.04.48	Tochi Scouts, Miran Shah	8,000
13.	16.04.48	102 Brigade, Bannu	6,805
14.	18.04.48	6th Royal Battalion, F. F. Rifles, Peshawar	5,000
15.	20.04.48	Muslim League, Peshawar	15,000

[1]For donations received earlier, see Appendix II. 14, Vol. V and Appendix I. 41, Vol VI, 454-6 and 603-4, respectively.

APPENDIX II

SELECTION OF KARACHI AS PERMANENT CAPITAL OF PAKISTAN

II. 1

Note by S. Osman Ali

NDC, Q. 35/CN/47

[CABINET SECRETARIAT,
KARACHI,
29 December 1947]

SELECTION OF THE PERMANENT CAPITAL FOR PAKISTAN[1]

The question of determining where the capital of Pakistan shall be permanently located has assumed great urgency. A decision on this point will not only set at rest the present speculation on the point, but in view of the accommodation difficulties in Karachi, it would enable Government to push ahead at once with building operations, not only on Government buildings, but also on those for Diplomatic Missions and similar offices. Business firms, industry, and those concerned with private residential building enterprises will also know where exactly they stand once this decision is taken and be in a position to plan accordingly.

2. There are many criteria from which suitability of any particular place to be designated as capital can be judged. The more important of these are:

a. strategic location,
b. accessibility to the rest of the country and the world outside,
c. climatic conditions, and
d. availability of necessary facilities for expansion.

Judged by these criteria, Karachi suggests itself as the obvious choice for the location of the permanent capital of Pakistan. On strategic grounds, it is the opinion of the Commander-in-Chief that there is little to choose between Karachi and any other possible location of the capital city, such as Rawalpindi. Karachi is at the crossroads of the world so far as the international airways go and is also conveniently located for access to other parts of Pakistan. The climate is temperate for the most part of the year and not too hot during the summer to reduce the efficiency of work of Government servants. Sufficient land

is available for expansion, both within and outside the present boundary of the city, and it is understood that facilities are available for the extra accommodation that will be required.

3. Apart from these factors, it has to be borne in mind that a considerable amount of money has already been sunk in providing the minimum immediate accommodation and other facilities for the location of Central Government offices and quarters for staff. The expenditure on this head can be put at approximately Rs. two crore to date. Inevitably, further expenditure will have to be incurred whether Karachi is to be the ultimate choice for a permanent capital or continues to remain only as our temporary headquarters. If a decision is now taken to make Karachi the permanent capital of Pakistan, it will not only enable the Central Government to plan ahead, but will also encourage private industry to help to relieve the shortage of accommodation by private building, and foreign Missions are also likely to undertake their building programmes. In the absence of such a decision, however, the residential accommodation position and facilities for proper working of Government's activities will be severely hampered for years to come as our financial resources at present and in the foreseeable future will not enable us to commence building a capital city elsewhere for at least 15 to 20 years to come.

4. A section of the public is in favour of Rawalpindi being selected as the capital, mainly for the reason that it is more centrally situated from the point of view of communications and defence of western Pakistan than Karachi. It has not however got the other advantages of Karachi stated above.

5. It is, therefore, submitted for the approval of the Cabinet that a decision should be taken now to make Karachi the permanent capital of Pakistan....

This note was an enclosure to a circular of even number and date requesting all Ministers to attend a special meeting of the Cabinet on 30 December.

As early as in May 1947, Abdur Rab Nishtar, Member for Communications in the Interim Government, had visualised Rawalpindi as the likely future capital of Pakistan. See No. 519, *IP*, X, 961

II. 2

Extract from Minutes of the Meeting of the Cabinet

NDC, CF/232/48

Case No. Q. 3/1/48 [KARACHI, *1 January 1948*]

SELECTION OF THE PERMANENT CAPITAL FOR PAKISTAN

PRESENT

The Quaid-i-Azam
The Prime Minister
The Minister for Foreign Affairs & Commonwealth Relations
The Minister for Commerce, Industries & Works
The Minister for Finance
The Minister for Communications
The Minister for Refugees & Rehabilitation
The Minister for Law and Labour
The Minister for Interior, Information & Education
The Minister for Food, Agriculture & Health
The Secretary to the Cabinet
The Deputy Secretary to the Cabinet

In the course of discussion, the following points were made:

i. A Committee should be appointed to examine the whole question. In particular it should consider the strategic aspect. From this point of view, Rawalpindi appeared to be a better choice. The Prime Minister pointed out that he had already discussed this question with the Service Chiefs and their view was that even on the assumption that Kashmir would ultimately accede to Pakistan, there was little to choose on strategic grounds between Rawalpindi and Karachi.

ii. Our peculiar geographical position made Karachi the obvious choice because it was only by sea that communications could be maintained with East Bengal in an emergency such as might arise if India closed the land frontiers to us. In this connection, it was significant that India had already refused us transit facilities for the passage of our troops between East and West Pakistan.

iii. If Karachi were selected as the permanent capital it would have to be made a centrally administered area. This would raise numerous problems; for example, what should be done with Sind Government

institutions like colleges, hospitals, etc. A Cabinet committee should be appointed to examine the matter in detail.

DECISION

The Cabinet agreed:

i. that Karachi should be the permanent capital of Pakistan;
ii. that a resolution to this effect should be moved in the Constituent Assembly;
iii. that Karachi should be made a centrally administered area;
iv. that a Committee consisting of H. M. Commerce, Industries & Works, H. M. Finance, H. M. Communications and the H. M. Interior, Information & Education, should be constituted to work out details of the scheme to make Karachi a centrally administered area and place its conclusions before the Cabinet in due course.

II. 3

M. A. Khuhro to I. I. Chundrigar

NDC, F. 7 (2)-PMS

PREMIER'S SECRETARIAT,
BLOCK NO. 12, NAPIER BARRACKS,
KARACHI,
16 January 1948

My dear Chundrigar,

I received your letter dated the 11th instant[1] on the 12th morning in which you had asked me to see you and your colleagues on that very evening, which I did. I have been as you know pre-occupied with the problem of preserving law and order in Karachi, and, therefore, I could not bring the contents of your letter to the notice of my hon'ble colleagues earlier. I have since consulted them and the officers of my Government on a question of such momentous import for Sind as that of the permanent location of the capital of Pakistan at Karachi, and I would venture to draw your attention to the existence of certain decisive factors, which in my opinion seem to place this city in a position so unfavourable as to nullify its claims for being made into a permanent capital, despite such pre-disposing factors as an equable climate and great possibilities of industrial and commercial expansion.

The first important factor which militates against it is its extreme southern location in a remote corner of Western Pakistan, nearly a thousand miles from Peshawar and the Frontier Province. The North-West border of Pakistan, with its peculiarly difficult problems relating to the pacification and welfare of the tribes, would, in my own view, make it expedient for the seat of the Central Government to be at a place from which it could deal with all kinds of delicate and unpredictable situations, both effectively and with speed. Moreover, if eventually Kashmir is integrated with Pakistan, as we all fervently hope it will, a capital somewhere near Rawalpindi would be definitely more desirable, as apart from the apparent necessity of central location, our close proximity to Soviet Central Asia, China and Afghanistan would constitute a powerful argument against locating the capital of Pakistan more than a thousand miles away from the impact of foreign influences and the possible cockpit of international diplomacy. While it is not, I feel, absolutely necessary for a seat of Government to be in the heart of a region which may become a subject of attention to foreign powers, it is nevertheless undesirable that it should be in a state of complete and splendid isolation from all such influences.

For perhaps a period of the next five or ten years, the position of Karachi as the principal port of Pakistan on the littoral of the Arabian Sea may not expose it to the danger of a naval attack, as none of the Indian Ocean Powers are as yet equipped with formidable fleets, but having regard to the size and population, strategic position and the industrial resources of at least one of such powers, and our own negligible naval strength, we cannot totally ignore the vulnerability of Karachi to a naval attack in the event of hostilities in the area of the Indian Ocean. A choice of capital has to be made after taking into consideration the suitability of its geographical position, not only in times of peace but also in the event of war, the more so when perpetual peace can never be predicated [*sic*] in relations between Sovereign States. It was precisely because of its exposed geographical position on the Bosphorus that Kemal Ataturk abandoned Istanbul and moved his capital to Ankara, which was then only a big village in a howling wilderness but in the very heart of Anatolia. The fact that Washington and Canberra have been located more inland should also serve as a warning to us not to locate our capital on our sea-board. The U.S.A. and Australia could very easily have located their respective capitals in any of their great maritime ports, but New York, Boston or Baltimore, and Sydney, Melbourne or Adelaide, seem to have been deliberately rejected by these countries in choosing the seats of their Governments. If we do not profit by these precedents, time will most probably prove

that it was unwise on our part to have turned the very gateway of our State into a capital city –a gateway which would be the focus of attack not only by land and air but also by sea. I am not stating all this as a naval expert whose advice, I presume, will be sought in a matter like this, but as a layman who realizes the dangers to a capital exposed from all sides.

These are some of the broad and general adverse factors which should be given due weight in considering whether the permanent capital of Pakistan should be located at Karachi or not. The importance of the question is so great that in my opinion, no decision should be taken lightly or hurriedly. We have to remember that in laying the foundations of capitals, as in the case of States, we have to lay them so truly and so well that they endure not only for centuries but perhaps for ages to come. It would therefore be just as well to "hasten slowly" and to examine the question of locating a permanent capital in a committee of experts, who could be asked to present their report to Government within a specified period.

As for the interim arrangement, I do not see any reason why the status quo should not continue and the Provincial Government should not continue to be in charge of Karachi administration as heretofore. Although this city has now also become the seat of the Central Government, I do not see what inherent constitutional impropriety or administrative inconvenience can arise from this state of affairs for which precedents are by no means lacking. You will kindly recollect that Calcutta remained under the local government even up to the very end when it used to be the seat of the Imperial Government of India. The Punjab Government continued to exercise administrative control of Simla even though it used to be the summer capital of the Government of India for nearly seven months in the year. Hence I do not see what justification there can be for the Sind Government being forced to shift their century-old capital from this city. I may point out that at a time when the Government of Pakistan were anxiously looking round for a suitable interim capital and could find no suitable place, we unreservedly offered all the facilities which this city could offer, and we handed over our own Secretariat and Chief Court Buildings for the use of the Pakistan Government. We have even spent over 1.5 crores of rupees from our balances on constructing office and residential accommodation for the employees of Pakistan Government. This should go to prove that the Government of Sind have all along cooperated and helped your Government most sincerely and in a most unstinted and generous manner. Therefore, if we are turned out of our capital within six months of the advent of the Pakistan Government,

public opinion in Sind is bound to interpret it as an undeserved slur on the administration of the Provincial Government.

Before the Pakistan Government decide to embark upon any such course, I shall be grateful if you will let me know how the co-existence of the Provincial Government at Karachi is adversely affecting or embarrassing the Pakistan Government. I think the Sind Government can rightly claim to have kept the administration of the capital going on smoothly, and the present arrangement has worked in a manner fairly satisfactory to both the Governments.

As regards my conversation with you and some of your hon'ble colleagues on the 12th evening, regarding the proposed committee to consider the implications—financial, administrative, etc.—of constituting Karachi into a centrally administered area, I have now consulted my own hon'ble colleagues and the principal officers of my Government. They agree with what I have stated above, and they are strongly opposed to the idea of taking Karachi City away from the Sind Government. This city has been developed with Sind revenues for nearly a century, and the industrial development of the Province is more or less confined to it. It is the only port of the Province. The Sind revenues spent on it and on the Government buildings and works would amount to several crores of rupees. The present revenues of the Sind Government from the city (which have not yet been fully assessed) would run into a very large sum which could not be made up in other ways. Recently, the Sind Government have started the development of a huge estate in the immediate vicinity of Karachi City for encouraging and developing industries. If this city is taken away, the industrial development of Sind will be retarded seriously as the Pakistan Government have not got funds to do it; and there is no prospect of this development taking place elsewhere. Thus, the loss to the Sind Government and the Province would be incalculable.

My Government also feels that it can take no decision on so important an issue without consulting the Legislative Assembly. I am loath to bring this matter before the Assembly because of the violent repercussions which might take place in the House and outside. I am afraid that the Assembly might feel that this proposal is a mortal blow to the Province. Even in June last, when it was announced that the Pakistan Government proposed to make Karachi their temporary capital,[2] the apprehension was expressed in the local papers and among the public that the Pakistan Government would stay on permanently and that this proposal was merely the thin end of the wedge. It was further agitated that the location of the Pakistan Government in Karachi would mean the supremacy of non-Sindhis and the supersession of Sindhi

interests and welfare. The present proposal, not only to make Karachi the permanent capital of Pakistan but also to deprive the Sind Government and the Province of this most valuable city and port, is bound to cause a furore of resentment and anger in Sind. I, therefore, hope that the Pakistan Government will not pursue this proposal further, as otherwise I will have to place this matter before the Assembly for its verdict. In view of what I have stated above, there seems to be no advantage in appointing a committee of officers to investigate the proposal further. I and my colleagues will welcome an opportunity to discuss[3] this question further with you and your honourable colleagues if you consider such discussion to be still necessary.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. KHUHRO

The Hon'ble I. I. Chundrigar,
Minister for Commerce, Industries & Works,
Government of Pakistan, Karachi

Copy forwarded with compliments to the Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister, Pakistan, Karachi

Not traceable.
See Annex III to No. 158, Vol. II, 331.
Khuhro also informed Jinnah that he would discuss the issue after a detailed study of its administrative and financial aspects. See NDC, F. 80/CF/47. Not printed.

II. 4

Resolution by the Sind Provincial Muslim League Council [Extract][1]

[KARACHI,
8 February 1948]

"The Council of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, while placing on record its amazement and alarm at the persistent reports that Karachi City and its surrounding areas are to be taken away from the Sind Province to form a separate area to be centrally administered by the Pakistan Government, deems its sacred duty as the accredited mouthpiece of Sind Muslims and also a well-wisher of Pakistan, to place on record its emphatic protest against such a move, and in view of the following reasons and facts, earnestly urges upon Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, both as the constitutional Head of the State and as the chosen head of the Muslim League organization, to be pleased in the best interests of all concerned to disapprove such a

move, for the following reasons:

Firstly, Karachi has been a natural and a corporate part of Sind since centuries and is now the nerve-centre of the economic, commercial, industrial, educational and cultural entity of the Province and any attempt to deprive the Province of its nerve-centre will completely strangle the life and growth of the Province.

FLAGRANT VIOLATION

Secondly, such a move will not only be a flagrant violation of the express provisions of the Pakistan Resolution passed by the All India Muslim League at its Lahore Session in 1940, according to which the territorial integrity of every unit constituting Pakistan is guaranteed, but it will constitute a serious breach of faith with the people of the Province but for whose unequivocal and clear lead the ideal of Pakistan would have remained an empty dream.

Thirdly, such a move is fraught with grave consequences inasmuch as, on the one hand [*sic*], it will be an ill recompense for the spirit of Islamic brotherhood and generous hospitality shown by Sind people in welcoming Pakistan Government and doing everything possible in the cause of those lakhs of their Muslim brethren who have migrated to Sind not only from various areas of the Indian Dominion but also from several areas of Pakistan itself.

GRAVE MENACE

Fourthly, such a move is likely to prove a grave menace to the growing spirit of unity among Pakistan Muslims, as the natural and legitimate urge of the people of the Province to safeguard their vital interests will be exploited by those anti-Pakistan forces which have lain low on account of the sincere and solid support that Sind Muslims have hitherto unreservedly given to the cause of the Muslim unity above everything else.

This Council further calls upon all its accredited representatives and constituents, especially the Sind members of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, the Sind Ministers, and Members of the Sind Legislative Assembly, the district and primary branches of the Muslim League, and indeed every well-wisher of Sind and of Pakistan to do everything in their power to resist this unjust, impolitic and unwise move."

SUB-COMMITTEE

This Council further resolves that a sub-committee... be appointed and authorized to wait on the Quaid-i-Azam and contact other quarters concerned and carry out such other measures as may be necessary for the achievement of the object of this resolution.

> The Council resolved that a Committee... be formed to think over the refugee problem in Sind and submit a report on the same to the Council...

[1]The *Dawn*, 10 February 1948.

II. 5

M. A. Khuhro to I. I. Chundrigar

F. 285-GG/25

PREMIER'S SECRETARIAT,
KARACHI,
8 February 1948

My dear Chundrigar,

Two days ago, when I and my colleagues met you and the other Pakistan Ministers in the Prime Minister's room, you had suggested to us that we should send you the names of five officers of my Government to function on a Committee to be set up to examine the administrative, financial, and other implications of making Karachi the permanent seat of the Government of Pakistan, in addition to its remaining the Capital of Sind. Accepting your suggestion, we send you the names of the following officers:

J. Booth, Esquire,
Chief Secretary to Government
N. A. Faruqui, Esquire,
Home Secretary to Government
D. R. C. Halford, Esquire,
Finance Secretary to Government
S. G. Mustafa, Esquire,
Secretary to Government, P.W.D.
K. S. Yar Muhammad A. Memon,
Secretary to Government, L.S.G.

2. I shall be grateful if you will let me have the names of such of the officers of the Pakistan Government as you and your hon'ble colleagues choose to nominate to serve on the Committee.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. KHUHRO

II. 6

Resolution by the Sind Legislative Assembly

F. 285-GG/31

[KARACHI,
10 February 1948]

This Assembly records its apprehension and alarm at the contemplated move of the Pakistan Government to remove the city of Karachi from the control of Sind Administration and to place it under its own immediate jurisdiction as a centrally administrated area. This Assembly, therefore, resolves that Karachi must not be handed over to the Central Administration at any cost and further calls upon the Leader of the House and his Cabinet colleagues to bring home to the Government of Pakistan that such a step would not only cripple Sind economically and politically, but would also constitute a flagrant contravention of the Pakistan Resolution passed at Lahore in 1940,[1] which emphasizes the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the autonomous units constituting Pakistan, not to speak of the violence which it would inflict upon the loyal and patriotic sentiments of the people of the Province towards their own independent State (Pakistan).

[1]See Sharifuddin Pirzada, ed., *Foundations of Pakistan*, II, Karachi, 1970, 340-1.

II. 7

I. I. Chundrigar to M. A. Khuhro

F. 285-GG/26-9

MINISTRY OF COMMERCE, INDUSTRIES & WORKS,
KARACHI,
12 February [*1948*]

My dear Khuhro,

I am in receipt of your letter, dated the 8th instant,[1] and thank you for nominating five officers of your Government to the committee of ten members we propose to set up to examine the administrative, financial, and other implications of making Karachi the permanent seat of the Government of Pakistan.

2. I must, however, point out that the statement in your letter that Karachi is to remain, in addition, the Capital of Sind is not in accord with the decision of the joint meeting. The correct position is that it has been agreed in principle that Karachi should be the permanent seat of the Government of Pakistan. The questions whether Karachi should also continue as the Capital of Sind, or whether the Provincial Capital should be shifted to some other place and Karachi converted into a Centrally Administered Area, were left over for further consideration till the report of the official committee became available. It was also agreed that these two issues should be dealt with at a joint meeting of the Ministers of the Pakistan Government and the Government of Sind, and that in the event of disagreement, the matter should be placed before the Quaid-i-Azam for final decision.

3. The following officers will represent the Government of Pakistan on the official committee:

Mr. Amin-ud-Din, Chairman, [Karachi] Port Trust, Karachi
K. B. Ubaidullah, O. B. E., Financial Adviser, Communications
Mr. M. W. Abbasi, O. B. E., J[oin]t. Secretary, Ministry of Interior
Mr. Ali Amir, Chief Engineer, Central P.W.D.
Mr. M. Ayub, M.B.E., Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Commerce

I suggest that Mr. Amin-ud-Din, as the senior most of the ten officers nominated to the committee, should be the Chairman of the committee.

4. The official committee might be designated as "The Administration of Karachi Committee" with the following terms of reference:

I. Whether Karachi should continue as the Capital of Sind in addition to its being the permanent seat of the Government of Pakistan. If so:
   a. Should "Greater Karachi" remain undivided, or should it be divided between the Governments of Pakistan and Sind, and if so, in what manner?
   b. What should be the nature of the local administration in this area? In particular, what should be the arrangements with regard to finance, maintenance of law and order, supply of water and electricity, housing of Government servants, provision of medical and educational facilities, and movement of goods and supplies inland, etc., etc.
   c. The nature of legislation required to give effect to the arrangements mentioned in (a) and (b) above?
II. If the Capital of Sind has to be shifted to some [*sic*] and Karachi

is converted into a Centrally Administered Area:

a. What should be the limits of the Centrally Administered Area?
b. What should be the nature of the administration in this area?
c. What financial arrangements will be necessary for the Centrally Administered Area, and what will be the probable income and expenditure during the first few years?
d. What would be the arrangements for the supervision of the Centrally Administered Area by the Central Government?
e. What arrangements would have to be entered into with the Sind Government with regard to:
   i. the provision of officers and staff for the administration of the Centrally Administered Area;
   ii. the future operation and location of Provincial institutions, such as colleges, hospitals, etc.;
   iii. the temporary location in Karachi of the Sind Legislature, Chief Court, etc.;
   iv. the time required by the Sind Government to make arrangements for shifting its Secretariat, Chief Court, and other offices from Karachi;
   v. the financial arrangements between the Central Government and the Sind Government consequent on the taking over of the buildings of the Sind Government in Karachi by the Central Government;
   vi. the relationship between educational and other institutions of the Centrally Administered Area with the corresponding institutions of the Provincial Government; and
   vii. the nature of legislation required to give effect to the establishment of Karachi as the permanent Capital of Pakistan and its administration as a Centrally Administered Area.

5. As it is essential that a decision on these important matters should be arrived at as early as possible, I suggest "The Administration of Karachi Committee" should hold its first meeting on Monday, the 16th February, and should submit its report within a month. Immediately on receipt of your reply, I shall request Mr. Amin-ud-Din to fix the time and venue of the meeting and to inform the other members of the Committee.

Yours sincerely,
I. I. CHUNDRIGAR

[1]Appendix II. 5.

II. 8

M. A. Khuhro to I. I. Chundrigar

F. 285-GG/30

KARACHI,
14 February 1948

My dear Chundrigar,

Thanks for your letter, dated 12th February,[1] proposing terms of reference for "the Administration of Karachi Committee".

2. With reference to your second paragraph, I must point out that as far as I and my colleagues are concerned, there was no agreement on any of the points mentioned by you.

3. In view of the very clear mandate given by the Sind Legislative Assembly (a copy of the Resolution[2] is attached), I regret that I cannot agree to instruct the officers of this Government nominated on the Committee to discuss the shifting of the Capital of Sind to some other place. I hope, therefore, that discussion will be confined to the first of the two main terms of reference given in your letter.[3]

4. Mustafa, our Chief Engineer and Secretary, Public Works Department and one of the Sind members of the Official Committee, is out on tour and will not be back till the 18th February. I request that Mr. Amin-ud-Din be asked to fix the meeting after that date.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. KHUHRO

[1]Appendix II. 7.
[2]See Appendix II. 6.
[3]On 17 February, Chundrigar assured Khuhro that the report of the Committee would not commit either the Central or the Provincial Government to its recommendations. Khuhro, in his reply dated 19 February, suggested that discussion on the shifting of capital of Sind be deferred till the Committee had explored its implications. See F. 285-GG/32-3. Not printed.

II. 9

I. I. Chundrigar to M. A. Khuhro

F. 285-GG/34

KARACHI,
20 February 1948

My dear Khuhro,

I regret that your letter of the 19th February[1] goes back upon what you orally promised to me on the 17th instant: that the official committee will examine all the points covered by the terms of reference shown to you. It is impossible to make any progress in this matter unless you stand by the agreement arrived at. As explained by me to you, unless the question is fully examined, we shall not be able to know the difficulties which, according to you, will be experienced by the Sind Government if they have to shift their Capital from Karachi. Will you now confirm in writing what you told me on the 17th instant: that the Committee may examine all the terms of reference and give a fact-finding report?

Yours sincerely,
I. I. CHUNDRIGAR

[1]See Appendix II. 8, note 3.

II. 10

M. A. Khuhro to I. I.Chundrigar

F. 285-GG/35-6

KARACHI,
24 February 1948

My dear Chundrigar,

Thank you for your letter of the 20th February.[1] I am sorry if I gave you a wrong impression in our personal conversation on the 17th. I have already made it clear in my letters of the 14th[2] and 19th February,[3] which were written in consultation with my Cabinet colleagues, that my Government is definitely opposed to any discussion of the proposal to shift the capital of Sind from Karachi. Unless detailed discussion in

the Official Committee on the first of the issues proposed by you leads to the conclusion that Karachi should not continue as the capital of Sind, and the reasons in support of that conclusion are fully weighed by my Government, such discussion is premature and unnecessary. I must observe that no reasons for the proposal to compel us to shift our capital have yet been advanced in any quarter.

2. Moreover, discussion on the proposal would further exacerbate public feeling in the Province, which has already unfortunately worsened owing to loose talk about the amputation of our capital. This would render more difficult the establishment of friendly relations between the local population and the immigrants, refugees and others —a problem which is already a source of anxiety to my Government.

3. Assuming that it is finally decided that the permanent capital of Pakistan should be in Karachi, the Sind Government will co-operate most willingly to remove any difficulties there may be in the way of free operation of the sovereign Government here, as soon as such difficulties are pointed out. The Official Committee will go into this in detail. I see no reason to suppose that the removal of such difficulties will entail shifting the provincial capital elsewhere. It must be obvious, without my going into any detail, that the practical difficulties of such a move would be enormous and its permanent results on the life of the Province catastrophic.

4. I would earnestly request you to appreciate the position of my colleagues and myself, as Ministers responsible to an Assembly which has so recently given its unanimous vote[4] against the proposal. If you will approach the matter in a generous and accommodating spirit, I am convinced that a solution of all difficulties can be found, which will provide for both Governments exercising full authority in their respective spheres in Karachi, and will avoid the wound to the feelings of the people of Sind which amputation of Karachi would inflict.

5. Lastly, in order to put a stop to the unfortunate and damaging public agitation which has arisen, I would appeal to the Pakistan Government to issue a statement that while consideration is being given to the measures necessary to define the special relationship between the Central and Provincial Governments in respect of the administration of the city which is the capital of both, there is no intention of compelling the Sind Government to move elsewhere. This

step will do something to counter the bad feeling which has arisen, and which may, if not checked, seriously affect the orderly resettlement of refugees in this Province.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. KHUHRO

'Appendix II. 9.
'Appendix II. 8.
'See ibid., note 3.
'See Appendix II. 6

II. 11

Note by J. Booth

F. 285-GG/23-4

[GOVERNMENT OF SIND,
KARACHI,
24 February 1948]

[*Para 1 omitted*]

2. It will be seen that a serious difference of opinion has arisen regarding the terms of reference of the Official Committee. Mr Chundrigar desires that it should examine in detail a proposal to shift the capital of Sind from Karachi. The Government of Sind, with the full support of the Assembly, is entirely opposed to this course and sees no reason why it should be considered.

3. As His Excellency will see from reading through the correspondence, the opposition of views has grown somewhat acute. It has, in fact, reached a stage where a deadlock is feared—which will certainly not be in the interests of either Government. It is, therefore, proposed that His Excellency should use his good offices with the Quaid-i-Azam to persuade the Pakistan Government to drop the proposal to shift the capital of Sind and to limit consideration—at any rate for the present—to the steps necessary to accommodate both Governments in Karachi.

J. BOOTH
Chief Secretary

I might add that all the letters from me have been sent with the concurrence and approval of my Cabinet colleagues.

M. A. KHUHRO
Premier, Sind

His Excellency (S.G.)

II. 12

Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 335/286

KARACHI,
18 May 1948

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am herewith enclosing a copy of a resolution regarding capital of Pakistan, notice of which I have arranged to be given for the next meeting of the Constituent Assembly which it is intended to hold on the 22nd of this month or some subsequent date as may be decided upon. I discussed this matter with the Governor and Premier of Sind last evening and told them that this matter would not be delayed any further and the Constituent Assembly must decide about the capital of Pakistan in this session. I asked them to let me have any comments that the Sind Government may like to offer on this resolution by this evening. On receiving the comments of the Sind Government, I shall come and see you and discuss the matter further. If any amendments are to be made in this resolution, they can be made and which we can discuss when we meet. I shall try to fix up some time tomorrow which will be convenient to you.

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

Enclosure to Appendix II. 12

F. 335/287

[RESOLUTION][1]

The Constituent Assembly resolves that the capital of Pakistan shall be located at Karachi; that all executive and administrative authority in respect of Karachi and such neighbouring areas which in the opinion of the Central Government may be required for the purposes of the capital of Pakistan shall vest in and shall be exercised by or on behalf of the Government of Pakistan and the legislative power shall vest in the Federal Legislature; and that notwithstanding anything in any law for the time being in force, the Government of Pakistan shall proceed forthwith to take such steps and adopt such measures as may

be necessary to give effect to the purposes of this resolution.

[1]Adopted on 22 May 1948. Also see Appendix II. 16.

II. 13

Resolution by the Sind Muslim League Assembly Party

F. 285-GG/47-8

[KARACHI,]
12 June 1948

This meeting of the Sind Muslim League Assembly Party, while confirming their previous resolution of the 2nd February 1948[1] about the proposal of the separation of Karachi from the Province of Sind, and reiterating the resolution of the Sind Legislative Assembly of the 10th February 1948[2] regarding the same matter, most emphatically records its disapproval of the resolution[3] of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly who, in utter disregard of the wishes and sentiments of the people of Sind expressed through the above–mentioned two representative bodies, carried the resolution and thus banged the door of amicable settlement between the representatives of Sind and Pakistan Governments, disregarding the historical, geographical and social links between Karachi and rest of Sind, and has thus paved ground for unrest and dissatisfaction among the people of Sind which this Party considers impolitic and inopportune.

Further, this meeting, conscious of dire necessity of strengthening and building up Pakistan and securing solidarity of all Provinces for this purpose at this most critical period, notes with painful regrets that the action of the Constituent Assembly is sure to weaken Pakistan's solidarity by creating discontent in entire Province of Sind.

In view of the above, this Party earnestly appeals to the Pakistan Constituent Assembly through the Government of Pakistan to revise their decision and allow the administration of Karachi to remain in the hands of the Provincial Government to whom the territorial integrity and provincial autonomy was guaranteed by the Lahore Resolution as well as by the Pakistan Constitutional Amendment Act. In order to implement this Resolution this Party nominates the following Committee from amongst themselves to wait on the Quaid-i-Azam,[4] the Prime Minister of Pakistan, and the Minister of Interior, in this connection, and report to the Party the result of their negotiations whereupon the

Party will decide its future course of action:

1. Haji Ali Akbar Shah
2. Haji Ali Mohammad Mari
3. Mr. Ghulam Nabi Khan Pathan
4. Kazi Fazalullah
5. Kazi Mohammad Akbar
6. Mr. M. H. Gazder

Meanwhile, this Muslim League Assembly Party directs Sind Government not to hand over any of its administrative powers and functions over the City of Karachi to the Central Pakistan Government under any circumstances.

M. H. GAZDER
Secretary,
Sind Muslim League Assembly Party

According to a press report, the resolution was passed on 8 February. See Appendix II. 4.
Appendix II. 6.
Enclosure to Appendix II. 12.
'M. H. Gazder sent a telegram to S. M. Yusuf requesting interview of Party nominees with Jinnah, followed by a copy of the resolution. See F. 285-GG/41-3&45. Not printed.

II. 14

S. M. Yusuf to M. H. Gazder

Telegram, F. 285-GG/44

[QUETTA,]
16 June 1948

M. H. Gazder, Secretary, Sind Muslim League Assembly Party, Karachi.

Quaid-i-Azam will be glad to receive deputation[1] appointed by Sind Muslim League Assembly Party. Please come to Ziarat immediately. Wire date arrival.

[S. M. YUSUF]
Private Secretary

See Appendix II. 13, note 4.

II. 15

M. H. Gazder to S. M. Yusuf

Telegram, F. 285-GG/49

SIND SECRETARIAT,
KARACHI,
18 June 1948

Private Secretary [to] Quaid-i-Azam, Ziarat

Thanks telegram sixteenth.[1] Deputation reaching Quetta Sunday next [June 20]. Propose meeting Quaid-i-Azam Monday June [21].

GAZDER
Secretary,
Muslim League Assembly Party

[1]Appendix II.14.

II. 16

Note by M. W. Abbasi

F. 285-GG/55-8

MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR,
[KARACHI,]
19 June 1948

The Constituent Assembly passed the following Resolution on the 22nd May, 1948:

[*Sub-paras (a)-(c) omitted*][1]

2. In order to give effect to this Resolution two possibilities were considered:

(1). An Act of the Legislature creating a Centrally Administered Area. (This is not feasible at present as the Legislature is not sitting; and it is considered that the passing of the necessary legislation is likely to take time, in any case).

(2). An Order under Section 290 of the Government of India Act creating a Chief Commissioner's Province. (It was, however, considered by the Cabinet Committee that it would be sufficient, for

purposes of administration, to establish something less than a Chief Commissioner's Province.

(3). It was, therefore, decided that the Government of India Act should be amended or adapted to enable the Governor-General to take the necessary measures to implement the Resolution. Two [*sic* for three] draft Orders were prepared and they are briefly discussed below.

[*Sub-paras relating to Drafts I, II & III omitted*]

(4). These three drafts[2] have been checked up by the Law Ministry, Mr. Kotwal, and the Cabinet Committee. They have also been approved by the Cabinet, and are now submitted for the final approval of the Governor-General.[3]

M. W. ABBASI
Joint Secretary

[1]See Enclosure to Appendix II. 12.
[2]Enclosure not printed. See F. 285-GG/59-68.
[3]Three Governor-General's Orders were authenticated by Jinnah on 16 July 1948. G G.O. 13 related to The Pakistan Provisional Constitution (Third Amendment) Order which provided for insertion of Section 92-A in the Schedule to the main Order. G.G.O. 14 related to The Pakistan Provisional Constitution (Fourth Amendment) Order which provided for insertion of Section 290-A—Establishment of the Capital of the Federation—in the Schedule to the main Order. G.G.O. 15 related to the Pakistan (Establishment of the Federal Capital) Order. Also see the *Dawn,* 19 & 23 July 1948.

II. 17

Mohammed Shafi Ansari to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 285-GG/53

KARACHI,
21 June 1948

Quaid-i-Azam, Ziarat

Humbly submitted [that] Sind MLAs will never accept compromise or arbitration over Karachi's separation. Kindly reject Constituent Assembly's Resolution[1] as opposed to united will and opinion of Sind

and its Representatives.[2] Will welcome building new Karachi outside municipal limits.

MOHAMMED SHAFI ANSARI
Sind Muslim Students Federation

Enclosure to Appendix II. 11.
[2]See Appendices II. 6 & 13.

II. 18

Press Note by Governor-General's Camp Office

F. 285-GG/50-2

ZIARAT,
21 June 1948

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah received this morning the deputation appointed by the Sind Assembly Muslim League Party to discuss the question of establishment of the Capital of Pakistan. The deputation submitted that they were anxious to know his views not so much as Governor-General but as "Quaid-i-Azam." Quaid-i-Azam appreciated this mark of regard on their part and was thankful to them for coming all the way to Ziarat for knowing his views. A full, free and frank discussion took place for about two and a half hours during which the deputation explained their objection against [*sic*] making Karachi the Capital of Pakistan and taking over its administration and put forward various proposals, but the Quaid-i-Azam remained unconvinced of the stand taken by them. There was a great deal of confusion of thought and it was obvious that the real facts, condition and the situation was not fully appreciated or grasped. It was made out that there was a great deal of sentiment, emotion and apprehension amongst the people of Sind at the proposed change-over of Karachi; because they feared that it would be detrimental to their interest, but the Quaid-i-Azam found no reason or ground for those feelings. On the contrary, he felt that if the true facts were properly analysed and the question was approached from the point of view of foresightedness, it would immensely benefit the people of Sind.

He added that if the Sind Government and the leaders would not fight for the shadow but the substance—namely to secure from the Pakistan Government fullest compensation by financial adjustment—and from now onwards fix upon a suitable place for their own capital,

prepare a proper scheme and plan, and build it up, it would be the best and the most beneficial course for them to adopt.

Neither the Pakistan Government nor the Sind Government can immediately quit Karachi. The Pakistan Government will undoubtedly define and demarcate immediately an area which they think should be centrally administered in all its aspects—executive, administrative and legislative—but there will be no immediate dislocation. The Pakistan Government will have to have its own scheme and plan of building Pakistan Capital having regard to the long-sighted view and statesmanship. But both the Central and the Sind Governments will take considerable time, at least some years, to complete this task; it will have to be done gradually.

Quaid-i-Azam's view was that if Sind Government or the leaders merely wanted face-saving arrangement, as it was hinted during the interview, it would be most unwise, and it would be highly detrimental to the interest of the people of Sind and the future of the Province, because after some years they would find themselves neither here nor there. Therefore, on the whole Quaid-i-Azam's advice and counsel to them finally was that they should willingly accept the proposal of the Central Government which had now been adopted by the Constitutent Assembly—the highest and the supreme body in Pakistan—and make the people understand that this bogey which had unfortunately been raised by some mischievous people had no real justification, and they should boldly and clearly explain to the people that far from its being prejudicial or harmful, it was going to be a boon to the people of Sind if only they would take the fullest advantage of it.

Financially, the building up of the capital would cost not lakhs but crores of rupees, and the Sind Government had neither the finance nor the machinery to undertake the administration of Karachi in all its various aspects. That is why the only practical solution was that this question should be tackled by the Central Government and it should have vested in it all executive, administrative and legislative authority.

The Quaid-i-Azam hoped therefore that the Sind Government, its leaders and the people would try to examine this question dispassionately and understand the true situation, and would willingly come forward and help Pakistan Government in arranging matters smoothly and in a friendly manner, instead of putting obstacles and creating obstruction in its way, which is bound to lead to a feeling of hostility and show want of goodwill and, above all, want of discipline to defy the decision of the highest and the supreme body of their own, namely the Constituent Assembly.

II. 19

Charles W. Lewis, Jr. to George Marshall[1]
[*Extract*]

US National Archives, 845 F. 00/6-2548

AMERICAN EMBASSY,
KARACHI,
25 June 1948

SUBJECT: REVOLT IN SIND MUSLIM LEAGUE AGAINST SEPARATION OF KARACHI

I have the honor to inform the Department that the Sind political scene has during the past two weeks been considerably agitated through the action of local Muslim League circles in registering publicly vigorous disapproval of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly's action in voting a resolution to separate the city of Karachi from Sind and to transfer its control to the Central Government.

On June 11, at meeting of the Sind Provincial League Council open action was taken for the first time, bringing to a head the discontent simmering since the separation resolution of the Constituent Assembly on May 22, as shown by editorials of the vernacular papers, soothing statements issued by the Sind Premier, Pir Illahi Bakhsh, students' meetings, etc. The Council voted a resolution requesting the Sind Cabinet to convene immediately a special session of the Sind Legislative Assembly in order to "record once again its denunciation" of the separation plan, and to engage a constitutional expert from England to file an appeal on behalf of the Province before the Federal Court challenging the legality of the resolution. The Cabinet was instructed to make clear to the Pakistan Government that the control of Karachi should always remain with Sind. In addition, the resolution indicates the Council's own "dissatisfaction in the present Government of Pakistan which has forfeited all its claim to high statesmanship and responsibility by initiating a move that at the very outset eliminates the respect and loyal feelings of the entire people of the Province", and the Sind Government is advised to withdraw all funds invested in Pakistan securities if there is no amicable settlement with the Pakistan Government to recover expenses incurred by the Province in supplying the Center with offices and living quarters. The Council appointed two committees: one, a deputation to wait on the Premier of Pakistan and if necessary on the Governor-General in order to place before them the

feelings of the people of Sind, and a second group to formulate a plan of action. The Council also criticized the Cabinet status of the recently established Sind-Pakistan Joint Refugee Council, terming it an infringement of provincial autonomy. The Council further asked that the Ministers and Members of the Sind Legislative Assembly should be prepared to resign their seats and to stand for re-election with a mandate from the electorate on the issue of Karachi. The ban currently imposed upon the Sindhi (and Khuhro-owned) daily *Al-Waheed* was deplored and action requested for its rescinding.

The Action Committee's plan for public protests to express Sindhi dissatisfaction over the separation scheme was shortly implemented by announcing June 25 as a day of prayer on which all Sindhi Muslims should congregate in mosques and pray that the Province be spared the loss of Karachi, by the calling of a "Sind National Convention" at Hyderabad (Sind), and the selection of July 2nd as "Karachi Day". The leader of the committee assured the press, however, that the plan of "Direct Action" would employ only peaceful and constitutional means. Significant perhaps of the character of the forces guiding the committee was its leader's admission that no refugee organizations would be invited to the proposed Sind Convention.

After this brave beginning, the Sind League Council's aggressiveness seems to have collapsed since according to the *Dawn*, at the next meeting which was scheduled for June 13, only one or two members appeared. This was probably due to the fact that the press and probably also the Pakistan Muslim League leader, Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman, pointed out that the Council no longer had any legal standing in Muslim League affairs since in accordance with the new constitution[2] adopted February 26, 1948, for the Pakistan League the old provincial organizations were dissolved. Local League affairs were then to be turned over to personal appointees of Khaliq-uz-Zaman. The Provincial Council had thus presumably no power since that time, although at the Council's first meeting three incumbent Cabinet ministers appeared and even voted in favor of certain of the resolutions.

However, the protest movement commenced by the 'Council' has been carried on by subsequent action of the members of the Muslim League Party in the Sind Legislative Assembly, a group whose authority could hardly be questioned. A meeting on June 12, presided over by the Sind Premier, had as its special guest Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan. After hearing the Prime Minister's arguments in favor of separation and his assurances that Sind would suffer in no way either as to loss of revenue or prestige, yet the meeting reaffirmed the resolution opposing the separation which was passed on February 2[3]

and formally ratified by the Sind Legislative Assembly on February 17. The Party resumed its meeting on Sunday morning, June 13, and as its first step resolved "that the decisions of the Pakistan—Sind Joint Refugee Council shall not be treated as Cabinet decisions and shall not be given effect unless discussed by the Sind Cabinet". This resolution was voted by the narrow margin of 15 to 12, with only 27 out of the 37 members of the League Party in attendance. Proponents were, as might be expected, led by M. A. Khuhro and the move was opposed by all incumbent Cabinet members. Further action of the party included appointment of a six-man committee to meet the Prime Minister of Pakistan for a further discussion of the party's view-point and receipt of assurances from the Sind Premier that no further expenditure would be incurred upon the development of Karachi until the results of negotiations with the Central Government were known.

That these actions and the state of public sentiment might lead to more serious developments was apparently the view-point of the Karachi District Magistrate who on June 12 issued an order prohibiting "public meetings, processions, assembly of five or more persons, and carrying of arms in public places". The order was to remain in force for seven days but was subsequently extended for another week in spite of the announcement by the Sind Provincial Muslim League Council of its abandonment of the proposed "Direct Action" schemes of protest. Although his direct connection with the current outburst of feeling in Sind is not known, G. M. Syed, long a controversial figure in Sind politics and currently leader with Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan of the oppositionist Peoples' Organization, has been ordered confined to his native village for an indefinite period. Syed had been on a tour of Sind Province and was reported in the *Dawn* to have stated in a speech at Sukkur that the Karachi separation would mean a large cut in the income of the Province (contrary to assurances by Liaquat Ali Khan) and that some day "Punjabis would rule in Sind".

Although it seems more than likely that much leadership for the current rash of resolutions and deputations has come from M. A. Khuhro and his disgruntled supporters, yet Pir Illahi Bakhsh, present Sind Premier, indicated in a statement on June 16 that he was far from happy over the loss of Karachi. Acknowledging his desire that the Center should maintain its seat in Karachi, he yet suggested that consideration should be given to the erection of a "New Karachi" on the lines of New Delhi as a center for the Pakistan Government's new public buildings and accommodation for personnel. He maintained, however, that it was in the interest of both refugees and natives that the administration of the present city should remain with the Sind

Government though reaffirming that "everything of ours is at the service of Pakistan: our life, our property, our riches". Until such time as "New Karachi" might be built, Bakhsh assured the Pakistan Government of a warm welcome in accordance with the many promises given by the former Premier Khuhro and Sind Governor Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah.

On June 22,[4] five members of the Sind Muslim League party travelled to Quetta to present their case to Governor-General Mohammad Ali Jinnah. The Governor-General's arguments in favor of separation appeared to be much the same as those which had appeared previously in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly and in statements by the Prime Minister. Mr. Jinnah said that the choice of Karachi as capital of Pakistan must be considered as a great boon to the people of Sind. He recommended that the Sind Government and its leaders concentrate on securing the fullest compensation for loss of properties in Karachi and that they should make every effort to find a suitable place for the new capital for Sind with preparation of a thorough plan for its development. However, the Governor-General felt that neither the Pakistan Government nor the Sind Government could immediately quit Karachi. The Pakistan Government would have to define an area which they believed should be subject to administration by the Center and should also work out a scheme for building the Pakistan capital in as far-sighted a fashion as possible. This, however, he envisaged as a task extending over some years. Possibly, this may be taken as a hint that the Center does not wish to assume control of the entire present city. Mr. Jinnah announced his opposition to any sort of face-saving arrangement which was presumably proposed by the Sind leaders in an effort to maintain a standing with their constituents. Finally, the Quaid-i-Azam urged that Sind should willingly accept the proposal of the Central Government which had been adopted by the Constituent Assembly and that Sind leaders should make every effort to allay the suspicions which had been raised by "some mischievous people" and for which there was no real justification.

Following their meeting with the Governor-General, the group of five Sind leaders acknowledged receipt of the Governor-General's viewpoint, but as far as accepting it, they stated that they felt they could only agree to joint accommodation of both Central and Provincial capitals in Karachi, a plan not at all acceptable to Mr. Jinnah. It is perhaps significant that after a long publicly reported discussion with the Quaid-i-Azam, a group of Muslim League political leaders are returning to their supporters without any submissive recommendation for immediate acceptance of the Jinnah viewpoint but rather "are returning to Karachi to apprise the Sind Muslim League Assembly

Party of the trend of these discussions, and it will be up to the party to decide their future course of action in the matter".

The Embassy feels that this outbreak must be deemed as something more than the mere political maneuverings of a displaced and resentful political leader bidding for re-establishment of his power, although, undoubtedly, the precipitate action of the Constituent Assembly has provided Mr. Khuhro with an excellent "cause" with which to bid for re-establishment of his power and prestige. Resentment between the Center and Sind Provincial Government has been steadily on the increase ever since the first clash of jurisdiction occurred shortly after August 15, 1947. The longest continuing and probably the most irritating of these has been the battle for office and residential accommodations. On numerous occasions, officials of the Central Government have mentioned to members of the Embassy the constant difficulties thrown in the path of the Pakistan Government by the Provincial Government in its efforts to block requisitioning of vitally needed buildings and houses. In justification of the Center's recent action, it may be said that the resolution to assume control of Karachi constituted probably the last resort to force the hand of the Sind Government.

From the point of view of the Sind Government it must be admitted that the arrival of the Pakistan Government has been in nature of a catastrophe, which, added to the departure of hundreds of Hindu staff members, has left it severely handicapped. Pakistan has taken possession of many of the offices formerly used by Sind and the latter was obliged to move to "Napier Barracks", a series of aged and cavernous structures located on the outskirts of Karachi. Even school buildings have been requisitioned. Moreover, the Central Government is still dependent for various governmental services upon the provincial administration. Any citizen desiring a passport must make application to Sind authorities, most of the work of border control is handled by Sind and Karachi police, and all visas for re-entry, except diplomatic, are issued by Sind officers. The Pakistan Government is not in a position to banish tomorrow to the hinterland the capital of Sind.

Respectfully yours,
CHARLES W. LEWIS, JR.
Counselor

US Secretary of State, 1947-49
'See No. 99
The resolution was passed on 8 February. See Appendix II. 4.
*The event took place on 20 June. See Appendix II. 15.

II. 20

M. A. Jinnah to Khwaja Shahabuddin

F. 216 (V)-GG/62

THE RESIDENCY,
QUETTA,
4 July 1948

Dear Mr. Shahabuddin,

With reference to our conversation and the arrangements made with you, I hope you will come to Ziarat, without delay, where the question of Karachi Capital, and your suggestion on the lines of Section 93 of the Government of India Act, as adapted, and other matters, can be discussed.[1] I shall be very glad indeed to put you up, and Mrs. Shahabuddin, if she would like to accompany you, at my house during your stay in Ziarat. Please wire the date of your arrival.

Further, I want you to get in writing the views of members of the Cabinet, including the Prime Minister, on these questions, so that when you come, they can be finally considered and decided and will not be open to further revision or alternative suggestions.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

K. Shahabuddin, Esq.,
Minister for the Interior,
Pakistan Secretariat,
Karachi

See Appendix II. 15, note 3.

II. 21

Resolution by Sind Muslim League Assembly Party[1]

6 July 1948

The Sind Legislative Assembly and the Sind Muslim League Assembly Party have, from time to time, expressed their unwillingness over the question of separation of Karachi from Sind. The general Sind Muslim opinion has all along been against the separation.

The Sind Government and the Sind Muslim League Assembly Party have been trying to persuade the Pakistan Government that Karachi should not be separated. In pursuance of this, a deputation saw the

Premier of Pakistan and the Quaid-i-Azam.

The Sind Muslim League Assembly Party, after having heard the account of the interviews of the deputationists, having considered the result of their efforts, and having considered the statement of the Quaid-i-Azam on the question of separation, and further in view of the external difficulties and internal problems with which our newly born State is faced, and since it appears that the Government of Pakistan are determined to bring into effect the Resolution of the Constituent Assembly by taking over Karachi as centrally administered area against the wishes of the people of Sind, resolves that as it will be detrimental to the interest of both Pakistan and Sind to carry on the struggle any further against the taking over of Karachi administration by the Central Government, there is no other alternative but to gracefully accept the advice of the Quaid-i-Azam.

COMPENSATION

To effect this change, the Premier of Sind is authorised to negotiate and settle compensation etc. and the points mentioned below with the Government of Pakistan:

1. Fair compensation for all the buildings and other assets which are at present the property of the Sind Government, be determined immediately by a Committee on which the Pakistan and Sind Governments are equally represented.

2. That the annual loss of revenue be determined by the same body and counted for a period of 50 years and capitalised, and paid along with the compensation mentioned in (1) above.

3 a. That half of the amount accruing under (1) and (2) should be paid to Sind Government now to enable them to start with the construction of their new capital forthwith.

b. That the remaining half of the amount to be paid in two equal installments, each within 2 years and 3 years, respectively, of the agreement between the two Governments within which period it is proposed to finish the construction of the capital.

c. That the Sind Government should get 3 per cent interest on the balance of the amount due, until it is fully paid.

d. That the Sind Cabinet should appoint its representatives consisting of officials as well as non-officials, to serve on the above-mentioned Committee.

The Party further resolves that in the event of Pakistan Government again deciding to shift their capital from Karachi, the administration of the town of Karachi and the surrounding areas taken over be returned to Sind Government and the question of the repayment of compensation

to Pakistan Government be determined by a Committee consisting of equal representatives of the two Governments.

SHIFTING OF CAPITAL

4. It is further resolved that the Government of Sind should remain in Karachi until they could make arrangements to shift to their new capital, which arrangement should start as soon as the half of the compensation mentioned in 2 and 3 (a) above is paid.

5. That the present Sindhi staff employed in the different departments of the administration of Karachi be retained and in future at least 50 per cent of the appointments be given to Sindhis in consultation with the Government of Sind.

6. That the existing educational institutions of the Government of Sind, viz. the Dow Medical College, the N.E.D. Engineering College, and D.J. Sind College and its allied institutions, the B.T. College, N.J.V. High School, the University of Sind, and other similar institutions should continue to remain under the control and administration of the Government of Sind.

CHIEF COURT

7. That the Chief Court of Sindh should remain under the control and administration of the Sindh Government.

8. That no further portion of the Sindh Province would be transferred or added to any other Province or centrally administered area and its present position would be retained.

9. That the Government of Pakistan should render all possible help in procuring building material and other articles necessary for the construction of the new capital, on the same priority, as if they were constructing the central capital.

EXPORTS AND IMPORTS

10. That in view of the assurance given by the Quaid-i-Azam that Sindh would benefit by the location of the Pakistan capital at Karachi, import and export trade in articles consumed in Sindh and exported from Sindh should not be taken out of the hands of Sindhis and in no case should it be reduced below 50 per cent in case of imports and 100 per cent in case of exports of products of Sindh and permits for such articles be issued on the recommendation of the Sindh Government.

11. That in the matter of rehabilitation of refugees, only as many refugees should be settled in Sindh as could be accommodated in the places vacated by different categories of Hindus.

12. That the existing *haris* on the lands of non-Muslim evacuee *zamindars* should not be disturbed, and further the present rights of Sindhi Muslim *zamindars* and *jagirdars* shall be fully protected and not

interfered with.

13. That the cultivator and *hari* refugees would be settled on the lands of Hindu *hari* evacuees as *haris* or cultivators to the extent that such Hindu cultivators have left.

14. In case of other class of refugees, they shall be rehabilitated on properties or businesses left over by Hindu evacuees and not taken over by Sindhi Muslims, but they shall be entitled to that much interest only as the Hindu evacuees possessed.

15. In case of purchases of an evacuee's property, Sindhi capitalists will be treated equally with the refugee capitalists, and they would be free to purchase any property from the Custodian.

16. The Sindhi Muslim residents, whether owners or tenants of Karachi, will not be disturbed.

17. The Pakistan Federal Government should take over only the minimum area for administration, as is the practice all over the world. The area so taken over by the Centre shall not extend beyond Drigh Road.

18. The agreements on the above lines, when made, should be reduced into writing and signed by the two Governments.

The *Dawn*, 7 July 1948.

II. 22

Charles W. Lewis, Jr. to George Marshall

US National Archives, 845 F. 00/7-1948
[Extract]

RESTRICTED
No. A-285

AMERICAN EMBASSY,
KARACHI,
19 July 1948

SIND MUSLIM LEAGUE ACCEPTANCE OF KARACHI SEPARATION

A statement[1] issued July 6 by the Sind Muslim League Assembly Party, advising the people of Sind to cease further opposition to the separation of Karachi, signalled the collapse of organized resistance to the Central Government's plan to assume control of the city. In the course of a resolution which was opposed only by ex-Premier Khuhro and two of his supporters, the League Party instructed the Premier of Sind to "negotiate" with the Center relative to "fair compensation" for Sind property taken over by the Pakistan Government and contained

some 18 detailed directions constituting a series of demands to be made on the Center for protection of Sind interests. These demands reflect the fears of Sindhi Muslims that, having had their political power in Sind reduced, they will now face gradual exclusion in economic matters. For example, one part of the resolution demands that at least 50 per cent of the Province's import business should be made to remain in the hands of Sindhis while another insists that Sindhi Muslim *zamindars* be fully protected. Facing threats of an enactment of Section 93 (a provision in the Government of India Act of 1935 which allowed Provincial Governors to rule by fiat in times of emergency—the Section is omitted from the Pakistan draft of the Act) and without any real means or intention of seriously defying the Central Government, the Sind leaders had little choice but to capitulate. The Sind Premier has, however, announced that the Sind Government will remain in Karachi indefinitely stating that no decision as to a new capital for Sind would be made until the Center had indicated how much of Karachi it wished to take over.

CHARLES W. LEWIS, JR.
Counselor

[1]Appendix II. 21.

II. 23

Charles W. Lewis, Jr. to George Marshall

US National Archives, 845 F. 00/8-448
[Extract]

RESTRICTED
No. A-314

AMERICAN EMBASSY,
KARACHI,
4 August 1948

CENTER TAKES OVER KARACHI

Troubled since the establishment of the nation by conflicts with the Sind provincial government over housing, refugee rehabilitation and corrupt officials, the Center has taken a step toward efficient administration as well as enhancing its own prestige by taking control of Karachi. In two special orders[1] Jinnah has decreed the establishment of a Federal district of 566 square miles including all of the present city and 54 surrounding villages. A resolution[2] authorizing the Center to take over the city was passed by the Constituent Assembly at its last

meeting in May. The executive (headed by Jinnah) will have control of the city through the Ministry of Interior and its deputy, a city Administrator. S[yed] H[ashim] Raza, former I.C.S officer with considerable experience in Sind, has been appointed to this position. Provincial leaders in other parts of the country may well take warning from the quiet but determined fashion in which the Central government overcame the opposition of rebellious Sind Muslim League. The unhappy Sindhis were given two months in which to hold meetings, make resolutions and finally to approach the Quaid-i-Azam himself, who informed them that the city must be given up but that the change would benefit Sind in the long run. Sure of strength in its own capital at least, the Government found it could afford to act with restraint in the face of "Direct Action" threats by Sind politicians. Sind must move its capital from Karachi but to what new site or when remains to be decided.

CHARLES W. LEWIS, JR.
Counselor

[1] See Appendix II. 16, note 3.
[2] Enclosure to Appendix II. 12.

APPENDIX III

CORRESPONDENCE ON SUHRAWARDY'S PLAN FOR MINORITIES' PROTECTION

III. 1

H. S. Suhrawardy to Liaquat Ali Khan

F. 23 (21)-PMS

40 THEATRE ROAD,
CALCUTTA,
8 April 1948

My dear Nawabzada Sahib,

Encouraged by your reply in the Pakistan Legislative Assembly that you were prepared to discuss with Pandit Nehru the minorities problem, I am presuming to send you some suggestions and observations in the hope that they will find favour with you and you will make an effort to arrive at some mutual and reciprocal understanding with Nehru on the minorities question.

I am annexing to this letter a handout of mine to the press conference on the subject of communal harmony. I could expand it and give reasons for my conclusions, but the handout will probably suffice.

I wish to impress on you that the situation in West Bengal is dangerous for Muslims, and will become uncontrollable if the tide of Hindu migration is not checked. I am sorry that the East Bengal Government has misinformed the Quaid-i-Azam as to the extent of the migration; the figure of ten lakh is much nearer the truth than the figure of two lakh, as is proved by the pressure of refugees in Calcutta, Navadwip, Nadia and 24 Parganas generally. The refugees that have come here have created a serious situation for the Muslims; they retell tales of oppression and hostility aggravated by most harassing searches and restrictions as regards movement of goods, on the Pakistan border. That there are similar restrictions and harassment on the Indian border are beside the point for the purpose of inflaming public opinion. The situation, therefore, in Calcutta is deteriorating rapidly and if the inflow is not checked, will force the Muslims to vacate West Bengal. The Hindus cannot all be accommodated in West Bengal, hence the inflow will throw out the Muslims population in Assam, Orissa, Bihar and even U.P. with disastrous results. Hence, today for the sake of Pakistan itself and for the sake of the Muslims of the Indian Union it is essential

that the Hindus should be kept in East Bengal. On the one side I have warned them that it is not to their interest to migrate. I am glad that they are beginning to realize this and there is a general feeling now that I am right (Please read my statement).[1] On the other hand, it is essential that something must be done in East Bengal to make them feel that there is a genuine desire on the part of the Government and the Muslim population of East Bengal that they should stay. Hence to me practical steps must be taken and we must have a new orientation of ideas and methods.

The complacency and self-assurance of the Government of East Bengal on the communal situation is alarming, and Muslims of West Bengal are feeling greatly perturbed at the utter immobility of the East Bengal Government. It is no use adopting the attitude that everything is all right in East Bengal; that there is no reason for the Hindus to migrate; that it is everybody else's fault but your own. They make no attempt to find out if anything is wrong with them, and are not prepared to listen to the grievances of the Hindus or to remedy them. To them, the position is that everything being all right here, why communal harmony and peace missions? This attitude is most alarming, for it is clear that they are not in a mood to do anything to tackle the situation. People do not run away from their homes for nothing, leaving behind them belongings, their wealth, their livelihood. The reasons for running away may not be adequate; where they are not, there is much greater chance of success of their return if attempts are made to create the necessary atmosphere.

I have outlined the fundamentals of the propaganda—no talk of union; loyalty to the State, no migration and a trek back.

Next, there should be propaganda for active goodwill by the majority community, the propaganda being conducted by Muslims chiefly in East Bengal and by Hindus chiefly in West Bengal. A number of Hindu leaders in West Bengal are prepared to carry on the necessary propaganda here and to address meetings generally, and particularly where there has been tension.

Next, Government must patronise this movement. It should, therefore, be mainly in the hands of those in whom Government has confidence that they will not be subversive or let the Government of the day down. Hence, I have suggested that non-politicals should take up the matter. Government servants must also preach communal harmony, and Government should commend those who do so and take to task those that are partial and discriminatory.

I would like you please to look at that paragraph of my statement and hope you approve of it. I obviously proceeded on the basis that your Government desires that minorities should stay in Pakistan—any

government with a different policy will stand condemned at the bar of international opinion.

Next, when the minorities have drafted their humble prayer for relief, the Muslims of West Bengal and of the Indian Union should wait on you, and the Hindus of East Bengal and of Pakistan wait on Nehru—after they have each waited on their own Governments, I hope you will agree to accept a deputation of Muslims of the Indian Union. A line in reply will oblige.

Next, a minorities' protection or security or communal harmony council should be established to receive the complaints of the minorities and take steps to redress them. This Council should be mostly composed of the majority community and have the support of Government. This organization will have workers and volunteers.

THIS FOR THE PEOPLE

The two Dominion Governments must do all in their power and take steps to give assurances to the minorities. There should be more officers of the minority community; hence a fresh opportunity for "options" should be given; but there will not be any great degree of success in this unless the minority officials are given positions of responsibility and minorities are welcomed in the ministries, so that all should feel that the land and government belong to all parties, and not to any major communal party. There should also be a department or ministry to protect the minorities; today the *Statesman* has supported this idea.

Lastly, can nothing be done to settle the difference between the Dominions? There are constant pin-pricks going on to obstruct the development of the other government. Surely these could be tabulated regularly and considered, apart from the major settlements that sometimes fail for want of implementation. The restrictions on movement of articles, the searches, the harassment to individuals and families, the absolutely reckless manner of confiscation, the refusal even to transport articles of everyday use are causing exasperation all round. There are searches everywhere on the border between European countries, there are customs regulations everywhere, but nowhere do the passengers are subjected to all the harassment as here. Could nothing be done to remedy this?

Then again, trade is practically at a standstill. Goods that used to go from Calcutta to East Bengal are not allowed to move, and this is one of the reasons why the Hindu population of the trader and middle-class status are migrating from Pakistan, quite apart from the liability due to boycott. Trade must be restored between the two, otherwise, long before Eastern Pakistan will be in a position to import its necessities through its

own ports and distribute things from the other end, the entire economy of East Bengal will be upset, giving rise to serious political and communal and law and order problems.

May I earnestly hope once more that you will read my blueprint for communal harmony with some care. I am writing a similar letter to Pandit Nehru.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
H. S. SUHRAWARDY

[1]Not traceable.

Enclosure to Appendix III. 1

F. 23 (21)-PMS

40 THEATRE ROAD,
CALCUTTA,
3 April 1948

Gandhiji, a few days before his assassination told me that it was essential for the peace of India that there should be no disturbances or ill-will or panic in the two Bengals, that the minorities in the two Bengals must stay in their respective homes, that interchange of population must be avoided and people who had migrated from one side to the other must be sent back to their original homes. There is profound foresight in these observations. Nobody seems to have the courage to tell the East Bengal Hindus clearly and unequivocally that they must stay back and must not migrate. Those who have come here are passing through untold miseries and any further influx will increase the complications to such an extent that it will be beyond the power of any Government to deal with the problem.

The Government must be aware that if there is a general influx of Hindus from East Bengal there would not be enough accommodation for them in West Bengal, even though all the Muslims were eliminated from here, and yet it hesitates to tell them so. There will even be lesser room for the classes that will migrate first. There is bound to be pressure and overflow of the population to Assam, Bihar, Orissa and beyond and Bengalis will perhaps not be welcomed in these provinces. Further, the problem of settlement and adjustment and exodus and exchange of population will bring about a general chaos which will involve the whole of India in flames. It, therefore, behoves that everyone interested in communal harmony, in the peace and prosperity of the two Dominions

and in the welfare of the Hindus of East Bengal themselves, should unequivocally point out to them that they must stay within their province. They deprecate all statements that may encourage the Hindus of East Bengal to migrate to West Bengal and the less the spokesmen of Government make statements which will arouse false hopes in the hearts of the people of East Bengal, the better. Undoubtedly, these unfortunate people who have come here deserve relief and the situation arising out of their migration has to be tackled. But this is no solution; the problem has to be attacked at the source, i.e. that there must exist such cordial and active goodwill between the communities and people of all classes, creeds and religions, that there should be peace, unity and a feeling of common citizenship. The Muslims of the Indian Union have made India their home and are determined to stay as loyal citizens. They will not go unless they are driven out by force by the people and by the Government, and even then they will not go without a struggle. I wish that the Hindus of East Bengal would similarly adopt the attitude of loyalty and determination.

I do not want that there should be any misunderstanding regarding the fundamental bases of our propaganda in the promotion of communal harmony. Firstly, there can be no talk of union of East Bengal and West Bengal or Pakistan and the Indian Union. But there can be and must be expression of the general feeling that exists amongst the masses for closer co-operation and friendliness between the two Dominions. The myth of war and of enemies, etc., must be exploded. The constant parrying for position, the attempts to obstruct and to retaliate are becoming childish and I feel that the peoples of both the Dominions are resenting them.

Secondly, the minority communities must unreservedly swear loyalty, allegiance, fealty, whatever you like to call it, to the Dominion in which they reside. I do not wish to deal here with the controversy as to the extent of the responsibility of Pakistan for the Muslim nationals of the Indian Union, and the Indian Union for the non-Muslim nationals of Pakistan, and at what point of time they can intervene. I am dealing with the psychology of the minority and here I have no hesitation in saying that if we want to establish communal harmony which is dependent upon the goodwill of the majority, there must be unreserved allegiance to the Dominion where they reside.

Thirdly, the minorities must be induced to stay where they are, they must not migrate. All exchange of population shall be tabooed.

Fourthly, the minorities that have migrated must return to their homes. There must be a flow back. At this point the minorities can well say: what is our security and our future if we return. My answer is: have courage, you will carve your own security and your own future. But I know that

they would want something more; hence I make the following suggestions which I commend for the consideration and adoption of all men of goodwill. An individual can only have a limited scope, but if everywhere men of goodwill were to arise and spontaneously adopt and carry out the suggestions that I am making we shall have gone some distance in achieving our objective.

To achieve success we must have the co-operation of Government and of the majority community. Active goodwill must flow from the majority to the minority community, the minority community, will not only welcome it, but will respond to it. The majority community therefore be educated and organised to safeguard the interests of the minority community and to act with consideration and toleration. Therefore, the first thing that we need is propaganda on the above lines in both the Bengals; in East Bengal conducted mostly by East Bengal Muslim leaders with a sprinkling of East Bengal Hindus and West Bengal Muslims, in West Bengal, mostly by West Bengal Hindus with a sprinkling of East Bengal Muslims and East Bengal Hindus.

Everyone within his own sphere of influence should organise such propaganda meetings as his holy duty and must not leave it to the initiative of a few. Let it be realized that not only would they be promoting the cause of humanity and peace, of good feeling and toleration, but they could also be promoting the cause of their own country. If the minorities of the Indian Union were forced to migrate to Pakistan, Pakistan will be swept away in the flood of disgruntled and distressed humanity. If the Hindus of Pakistan, particularly of East Bengal, migrate to the Indian Union there will be such disorders and misery within the Indian Union that it will be destroyed. Next, it is the duty of a civilized Government, that hopes to keep its prestige in international circles, to assist in the work of promoting communal harmony. They should extend their sympathy and co-operation to communal harmony organizations, they should direct Government servants to encourage and assist such organisations and to give them all facilities in every possible manner; they should call upon Government servants themselves to promote communal harmony by their own conduct and speeches and propaganda, they should make it clear as well that such Government servants as do not promote communal harmony or act in a discriminatory manner against the minorities will be severely taken to task; those that do act fairly will receive commendation. Government have the courage also to make it clearly known to the minorities that not only do they deprecate exodus and interchange of population but with all the earnestness at their command they warn those bent upon exodus that they will not find a haven of refuge in the other Dominion in spite of the efforts of Government to relieve their

sufferings. Further, and this is very important, the Government must extend a cordial welcome to those who have left to return to their homes and guarantee them protection and normal life. I will refer later on the further steps that Government should take to promote a better atmosphere.

Thirdly, the representatives of minorities of both the Dominions would do well to get together and exchange views and place before their respective Governments their suggestions for the amelioration of their condition. This course can be challenged on two grounds. (1) that the minorities by themselves may not have sufficient influence with their Government and (2) minorities of each Government must look to its [*sic*] own Government and not contact any outside body even though this outside body may be a similarly oppressed minority in the other Dominion. But there does not seem to be any other alternative. For, in the first place, it is the minorities alone that know where the shoe pinches. Statements made by the majorities on either side, their complacency, their unwillingness even to introspect in order to ascertain their own failings, their inability [to] appreciate the reasons advanced by the minorities for their panic and want of confidence, have come as a shock to the minorities. Hence, a Minorities Conference a lone [*sic*] formulate the grievances.

In the second place, although retaliation on innocent minorities for the misdeeds of the majority elsewhere is by all canons of justice beastly, the feeling of reciprocity and retaliation still persists, and it would be right on the part of a minority to approach their co-religionists, for a fair deal for the minorities. My suggestion, therefore, is that the leaders of the minorities of the two Bengals, to start with, and, if necessary, of the Dominions later on, should meet at once to draft their proposals for the considerations of their respective Governments. These proposals will not be identical; they will differ according to special conditions.

My fourth proposal is that after the proposals have been drafted, the minorities of the Indian Union should approach the heads of their Governments as well as the Ministers of Pakistan, and the minorities of Pakistan should approach the heads of their Governments as well as the Ministers of the Indian Union to place before them their proposals.

My fifth suggestion is that a Minorities' Security Council should be established in all the provinces and States of both the Dominions. Let us start with Bengal first and see how it works. We may call it by any name. Some have suggested the name of Gandhi Samity, some Communal Harmony Organization, some Minorities' Security Council. To show that we are not necessarily interlinked, we may have different names in the two Dominions. For the Indian Union, I prefer the first name as it directs our attention towards the ideals for which Mahatma Gandhi

lived and died and the name will also show its social service aspect. Such an organization must not be a party organization in the sense of promotion of the interests of any party in the game of power-politics, and must not be utilised for the purpose of securing seats in the legislature or local bodies. One fundamental point, however, must not be lost sight of. This organization must be sponsored by earnest God-fearing and peace-loving members of the majority community. The organization of such a body therefore is essential in every nook and corner and in every sub-division and district and every municipal town of the two Bengals and of the Indian Union and of Pakistan.

The organization will receive the complaints of the minorities, and, adjust differences that may arise between the majority and minority communities and represent to government such matters as need Government intervention. This will be the greatest safeguard for the minorities, and, when they are set up, the minorities will be able to return to their homes with a cheerful heart and with confidence. Such an organization will need workers and I can think of no better workers' group than the Shanti Sena Organization which has rendered such signal service in both parts of Bengal and in Calcutta particularly.

I have hitherto dwelt on the aspect of what the people can do to promote communal harmony. But the two governments must come to an agreement amongst themselves in the administrative sphere. Settlement of problems arising out of sadistic searches of belongings, of restraint on movements, of harassment to minorities need urgent solution. These, however, only are excrescences thrown out by the fundamental differences. Therefore, I repeat what I have suggested elsewhere. There should be:

i. Opportunity must be given for the reconsideration of options by officials.
ii. Minorities should be freely recruited in Government services, so that the minorities may have confidence in the impartial conduct of government, and the majority may be made to feel that the land belongs to both the majority and minority communities.
iii. Officials of the minority communities are to be given position of responsibility.
iv. Minorities should be represented in the Ministries through accredited representatives.
v. Minorities should be associated with and given positions of responsibility in all national militias and defence organizations and all government-sponsored organisations.
vi. Departments or ministries to protect minorities should be set up.
vii. Fundamentally, the minorities must be trusted in every possible

way and treated as equal citizens. I would beg to the two Prime Ministers of the two Dominions to take these matters in their consideration and take practical steps to set at rest the apprehensions of the minorities regarding their future status in the Dominions. Mere statements by responsible leaders, or Ministers of the two Dominions, mere declarations in the constitution of those general principles of rights and liberties, whose reiteration without any practical basis has become nauseating and too familiar, will not do. Something practical on the lines I have with great humility suggested has to be adopted if the danger which we see looming ahead of us in Bengal itself has to be averted.

One last observation. I see in the papers, statements and counter-statements that the minorities of the other Dominion are being treated worse than the minorities of one's own Dominion. What consolation is this to the minority that is suffering; how does this help to remove their apprehension? [Words missing] them confidence to say, if at all, such statements merely increase their apprehension for fear of retaliation. So, I would beg that each Dominion might set its own house in order, should investigate why the minorities are apprehensive, should take steps to ensure them and their children security, self-respect, cultural continuity, cease to think the other as its enemy; cease to think in terms of aggression. While each Dominion claims friendliness with Great Britain, U.S.A., Russia, China or Indonesia it considers its sister Dominion to be its enemy. Let us adopt a mental attitude that we have got to be friendly with each other, and God willing, we shall be friendly.

H. S. SUHRAWARDY

III. 2

H. S. Suhrawardy to Liaquat Ali Khan

F. 23 (21)-PMS

40 THEATRE ROAD,
CALCUTTA,
27 May 1948

My dear Liaquat Ali Sahib,

I am taking the liberty of mentioning a few more points which I forgot to place before you when I saw you last. I have not yet seen Pandit Nehru, but I hope to be able to contact him within the next few days.

[*Para 2 omitted*]

3. May I request you to consider appointing a Hindu Minister in Sind. I have been probing the possibility of keeping these Hindus back in Sind and preventing further exodus. As you know, I feel that no efforts should be spared to keep your minorities if you really want the Muslims of India to get a fair deal. If your minorities disappear, it will be a bad day for Muslims of India, and we shall all have to migrate to Pakistan, whether you like it or not. It will also make Pakistan very vulnerable. So in my opinion, drastic steps will have to be taken to keep your minorities. In conclusion, I feel that the authorities in Pakistan consider that the migration of Hindus from Sind is so inevitable that nothing can check it. This is accepting defeat at the hands of those who are exciting the Hindus to go. It could have been met by intensive propaganda, not with stray speeches but by a regular campaign. Now it can only be met if you show your confidence in the minorities by appointing a Minister from amongst those Hindu members of the Legislative Assembly, about 9/10 in number, who are still in Sind (leaving the choice to them). If you can appoint also a Parliamentary Secretary so much the better, and if you also show your broadmindedness in appointing a Hindu District Magistrate and a Hindu Superintendent of Police, I think you would be exhibiting a statesmanship which will place Pakistan at once high in International eyes. I have talked to several Hindu leaders who are still in Sind, and I find that there is still time to check the activities of those who are trying their best to get the Hindus out. This is to be done as soon as possible, any further delay would be fatal. I feel if you could do this you would arrest further exodus and you could even succeed in getting some of them back into Sind. I earnestly request you to consider this proposal. On a previous occasion, I was told that the difficulty was that the Sind Congress Committee was affiliated to the All-India Congress Committee. Now the tie has been severed and this difficulty does not any more stand in the way.

4. If you want the Sind Hindus to stay, the Govt. must go slow with its requisitioning policy. Indeed I go so far as to hold that now all efforts must be made to build houses or hutments for refugees so that they may vacate the requisitioned houses of those Hindus who want to return. In Delhi, I am told, there are 3000 houses kept vacant for the Muslims to return. They had been forcibly occupied by the refugees and have been forcibly emptied. If you can adopt such a policy, it would be advisable to publicise that you have adopted the policy of de-requisitioning the houses of those Hindus who wish to return; that alternative accommodation will be given to those who have been allotted or are occupying the requisitioned

houses of those Hindus who wish to return, and for this purpose, you may suggest that those Hindus who wish to return might address the Chief Secretary or some special officer appointed for the purpose of dealing with such applications. Apart from this, the policy of requisition must now be slowed down. I have in mind a house of one Khem Chand known as 'Rock House'. This man has built the house with great deal of affection and care. I have held peace meetings in this house and the owner of this house is determined not to leave. He is living there himself with his children and womenfolk. It is against the principle of all requisitioning to requisition the house of an owner who is living in his house with his family, still notice has been served on this unfortunate person. It is not fair that whenever there is a good house in the possession of a Hindu it should be requisitioned. I would earnestly request you to intervene in this matter. I have written to the Premier of Sind and to the Hon'ble Syed Miran Moh[amma]d Shah. I hope that the notice will be withdrawn. If this Hindu gentleman is thrown out with his family, it will provide another very strong argument in the hands of Hindus for leaving Sind. In fact, I feel that this is a critical case, and if the owner is thrown out it will be impossible to make the Hindus believe in the sincerity of the Pakistan Government that they want the Hindus to stay.

5. Is it proposed to set up a Minority Board as it is proposed to be done in Bengal. I am informed that small committees are being formed in the Districts of Sind, but I do not remember to have seen anywhere that it is proposed to set up a Provincial Committee in Sind.

6. I met some Lahore officers here. Although they say that some Hindus are moving about in Lahore, their number is negligible and they have no heart in their business. In fact, they are all biding their time to close down, except a handful who will stay under all circumstances. Now if you want the Hindus back there, and I believe that it is in consonance with the general idea of the Muslims of Lahore, then something should surely be done; and some steps have to be taken in pursuance of this objective. What they are, I leave it to you to consider. Perhaps the Punjab Government will be able to suggest.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
H. S. SUHRAWARDY

III. 3

H. S. Suhrawardy to Liaquat Ali Khan

F. 23 (21)-PMS

40 THEATRE ROAD,
CALCUTTA,
30 May 1948

My dear Liaquat Ali Sahib,

I thank you for giving me an opportunity to talk to you at lunch. Had I had previous such opportunities I might not have found it necessary to speak in public. You said you did not like my criticising Pakistan in public. I am prepared to conform to your wishes. I only request you to pay some consideration to my views.

2. I am very apprehensive regarding the communal situation in the Indian Union—the fate of the Muslims here. The position is unstable—feelings of hostility are kept up by the refugees. The position can be eased only if the Hindus here feel that Pakistan is dealing generouly with the non-Muslims in Pakistan. There is no question of reciprocity and reciprocal treatment. That will come as a matter of course. But Pakistan must act irrespective of this. The reasons are as follows:

i. What takes place in Pakistan will have its repercussions here. Hence for the sake of the Muslims here, Pakistan's treatment of its minorities must be generous.

ii. The minorities are fleeing—for good reasons or ill—from Pakistan, and creating problems for the Indian Muslims. Hence Pakistan must act to keep its minorities.

3. Minorities within Pakistan are the only insurance for fair dealing of minorities in the Indian Union. Hence Pakistan must make the effort to keep the minorities. The converse is not applicable to the Indian Union.

4. If Pakistan's minorities leave, Indian Muslims must leave the Indian Union, and you cannot absorb them. Hence Pakistan must keep its minorities. The problems are in Sind and East Bengal.

i. In Sind the problem is acute—a very early action must be taken to prevent further exodus and bring the Sindhi Hindus back (such as will come). I am confident that exodus can be prevented if a Hindu Minister from among those who have stayed back is appointed. He will do his level best to see that exodus is stopped. In any event it is worth trying—it is certainly better than saying that nothing is possible. You cannot say you have taken all steps until you have taken this. Add to this a Parliamentary Secretary;

appoint a Hindu District Magistrate and S.P. and you will give them the necessary confidence. I consider this imperative. You will to some extent tone down the apprehensions which have justifiably been aroused by the continued insistence on the Islamic nature of the State which has been interpreted as keeping the Hindus in subjection and denying them citizen rights. You will also be giving them some political rights which you are denying them through the Muslim League. Give this to them. I beg of you, and you will never repent this.

ii. The next problem is that of the Bengalis. You should agree with Pandit Nehru to accept Hindu (ex-Congress) Ministers in E.P. [East Pakistan] (with Parliamentary Secretary and Officers) in return for Muslims (ex-Muslim League Ministers W.B. [West Bengal] Govt. with Parliamentary Secretary and Officers). Reasons are as above. The exodus will be stopped.

5. I am making some suggestions, a copy of which I am sending to Pandit Nehru. A regular charter of minorities will take long to draft—it will have to be examined at all levels—but some action can be taken now:

i. Sind—as above.
ii. Bengal—as above.
iii. Enunciation of a general principal [*sic*] of giving representation to the principal [*sic*] mentioned in the Cabinet and responsible posts in the administration.
iv. Further opportunities to officers to revise their options.
v. Intensive recruitment from the minorities so as to bring up their numbers in the various branches of the administration to the proportion of population which existed at the time of partition (Punjab can be excluded; this matter can be examined in detail; but some indication of encouragement to the recruitment of minorities should be given).
vi. As minorities, whose houses have been requisitioned or occupied by refugees or by government, cannot return unless they get their home it should be announced that efforts will be made to derequisition houses as soon as possible to facilitate the return of the members of the minority community that desire to return. Government propose to build houses to accommodate persons who may be evicted from the houses now occupied by them. The two Dominion Governments will help each other with materials (e.g. cement, iron and steel) to enable them to build these houses.
vii. In many cases the minorities may not like to go back to the localities which they previously occupied (Delhi, Karachi). (It

will be noticed I am leaving out the Punjab as [being] outside practical consideration. If the return of refugees succeeds elsewhere, Punjab can be considered later on a reciprocal basis). To enable minorities to return to specific localities for their residence, their shops should be set apart.

viii. The educational institutions of the minorities should be restored to them for purpose of their education (when the refugees begin to return).

ix. Minorities Boards to be set up in each province with all its branches on the lines of the Boards suggested for Bengal at the Inter-Dominion Conference in Calcutta.

x. Officers of Government to be instructed to hold and to promote communal harmony meetings—and special note to be taken of such work.

xi. Both the Governments will take active steps to promote communal harmony. Details to be worked out by an Inter-Dominion Communal Harmony Organization.

6. I would like the Governments to help in sponsoring and setting up Communal Harmony Organization in each province and in each Dominion, and have an Inter-Dominion Communal Harmony Organization. This will see that necessary propaganda is being conducted to promote communal harmony and will be in a position to make suggestions to Government as to what steps can be taken from time to time to sweeten the relationship between the inhabitants of each Dominion.

7. The passions are merely slumbering. I beg you not to be complacent about it and let not each majority community and each Government think that all is well and there is nothing to fear because perhaps no major communal incident has occurred recently.

8. Please forgive me for this letter—you were good enough to ask me to make some suggestions and I have done so.

Yours sincerely,
H. S. SUHRAWARDY

III. 4

H. S. Suhrawardy to Liaquat Ali Khan

F. 23 (21)-PMS

40 THEATRE ROAD,
CALCUTTA,
11 June 1948

My dear Liaquat Ali Sahib,

I am making a fervent appeal to you to do justice and to undo the great wrong which has been done to me by the East Bengal Government. I can only hope that you do not support it.

You will pardon me if I protest against what I consider to be a deliberate policy to malign me and to exclude me from Pakistan even when I am doing something in the cause of humanity. I can understand the move to exclude me from the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, but there was no justification for stopping me from carrying on my communal harmony movement in East Bengal which I had hoped to extend to other parts of the Indian Union and Pakistan. I assure you that I would never have undertaken this task if the Ministers themselves had toured within the province, reassured the minorities, made it clear to their officers on the spot that they had to do justice to the minorities, and had rectified local grievances. I had suggested this in one of my statements but no Minister moved out. Mr. Nazimuddin's first point is that my touring in East Bengal directs the attention of the people and of the world outside to East Bengal and gives them a wrong impression that something is wrong in East Bengal and that the minorities are oppressed there and that I should work in West Bengal. I think this is very unfair. A person moves in the area in which he thinks he can do some good work and where he can be useful. I, as a Muslim and as one who has moved in East Bengal, could render more service to the minorities by working in East Bengal among Muslims, than by working in West Bengal among Hindus. For my work essentially consists of appealing to the majority community for consideration and co-operation with the minorities for the welfare of the State. Far from lowering the prestige of East Bengal, I have stabilized it. Before I went, the Hindus were fleeing from East Bengal; exaggerated reports of incidents of oppression and communal lawlessness were being published and believed, and the explanations and denials of the East Bengal Government were discounted as emanating from an accused party; the refugees that came from East Bengal—and that they

do not number two lakh but twelve lakh—were exciting Hindu opinion against the Muslims and a very serious situation for the Muslims was developing in Calcutta and in the border districts. The Government of East Bengal was taking no steps to stop the Hindus from going out other than the issue [*sic*] of weak statements that there was no reason for the exodus. I could see that if the Hindus continued to leave, the Muslims of Calcutta and of West Bengal, and of all the adjacent provinces upto U.P. and thereafter, once mass exodus of Muslims began, all the four crore Muslims of the Indian Union would be doomed—they were doomed to annihilation, subservience, conversion or total migration, in the process of which, they would become sub-human.

My propaganda in East Bengal reassured the Hindus. I pointed out that there was really nothing seriously wrong in East Bengal; that Government have given them security and the majority population were well inclined towards them. I pointed out to them that if they wanted communal harmony, and the goodwill of the Muslims, they must accept the division of India and the partition of Bengal; and proceed to mould their policy on that basis, and that they must be loyal to Pakistan. This was prominently brought out in my Blue Print Scheme of the communal harmony movement, which is the foundation and basis of the work I am doing. I do not know whether you, or the Ministers of the East Bengal Government even read it, although it was given publicity in the press. In order that the Government of East Bengal should know my policy, I even personally presented a copy to Khwaja Nazimuddin who had not read my statement. I doubt very much whether he read it thereafter. I really put the Government of East Bengal on the map and discounted all propaganda against it and this is what I get in return. Moreover, I feel that I can best serve the Muslims of the Indian Union not by carrying on propaganda in West Bengal and in the Indian Union, but by looking after the interests of the Hindu minority in Pakistan, which would have its repercussions on this side and which would lead to better consideration for the Muslims of the Indian Union both by the Government here and by the majority population. I know that I am right in this, as many events have proved. I feel that the problem is to get the majority population educated. It can be done by the Muslims and not by Hindus in Pakistan; in the Indian Union it can be done by Hindus and not by Muslims. A voice raised by the minorities will cut no ice with the majority population. Inspite of this, however, I had arranged after the first portion of my tour in East Bengal, and after fortifying myself with the right to appeal to Hindus to go out in West Bengal with Dr. P.C. Ghosh[1] and

other Hindu leaders. I had also arranged with them that while I was touring in East Bengal they would tour in West Bengal and they have actually visited some areas. So, I was not unmindful of this side of the work as well. The Inter-Dominion Board, which I hope will be useful, still remains to function; it has been heralded with great optimism and we can only trust it will not disappoint the minorities of Pakistan and the Indian Union, who will be compelled to lodge their grievances with their Government, sometimes against the majority population, sometimes against the officials, high and low, and sometimes against the Ministry or the Government itself. It cannot adequately deal with the creation of active goodwill and co-operation which is the purpose of my movement.

After giving me this advice, which I sincerely believe is based on an incomplete understanding of the problems, Nazimuddin proceeds to make charges against me of being the centre of a secret conspiracy with the enemies of the State—of all kinds of horrible, treacherous conduct which appal me not only by their repetition, but by the magnitude of the lies and of the riotousness of the imagination. He appears to think that by laying it on thick and repeating lie after lie, a falsehood can become truth and will be accepted as such by at least some people prepared to believe anything appearing in the name of Pakistan. I appeal to you who know me. Do you think it is possible that I can carry on secret conspiracies with anyone to upset Pakistan, or for the matter of that conspire secretly with anybody for any nefarious purpose? Let us examine the position a little.

I consider the pursuit of communal harmony and promotion of goodwill to be a holy duty. I feel that people have suffered too much and everyone should do what he can to ease the burden of that suffering. I have refused all those tempting offers which you have been kind enough to bestow upon me—why? That I should wander about leaving all the comforts of home for the purpose of conspiring secretly with a mere handful of people? Can anything be more ridiculous? I made it clear in statement after statement issued by me from the time I started the peace movement on 12th August'47, that there can be no communal harmony, no peace and goodwill in Pakistan, unless the division is accepted. I had called upon the Hindus to be loyal to Pakistan as a fundamental of their own security and safety. This was uttered in the presence of lakhs upon lakhs of people and here I am accused of talking secretly with a few people to bring about a United Bengal. In his letter written on the 2nd June[2] he charged me with encouraging those who wanted United Bengal; in the communique of the Govt of East Bengal issued on the 3rd June,[3] I am charged with conspiring

secretly to unite the two Bengals with the intention of including Bengal in the Indian Union. That this has been done with a foul purpose and crooked intent is clear to everybody. Can anything be more preposterous than this and thank God, that no one who knows me believes it. But it provides a handle to Government to hound me; and undoubtedly has been manufactured to provide the Government with some excuse. When I first went to Jessore, where certain incidents had occurred and from where the Hindus were fleeing in large numbers and creating a serious situation in Calcutta and other border areas, the police officers of the Intelligence Branch took the queue from somebody high up that the East Bengal Government wanted reports of such propaganda. I have never had secret meetings with anyone wherever I have been—there can be no question of secrecy with me, because at all my meetings and talks whether with Muslims or Hindus, anybody could come in if they wanted to. I have been meeting Hindus in order to find out what their grievances were, then with the Muslims to discuss their grievances, then with both to bring about a settlement. I have spoken to people who like to call themselves 'workers' that they should work themselves for communal harmony. Have I not intelligence enough to know that if I work for United Bengal, I shall not be able to carry on any kind of work in East Bengal, communal harmony or otherwise? Why should Muslims consider such a proposition after having obtained Pakistan where they are reaping the fruits of an overwhelming majority? There are three alternatives: (i) to unite, and then become a part of the Indian Union, Pakistan can never agree, (ii) to unite, and then become a part of Pakistan, the Indian Union can never agree, (iii) to unite and become sovereign, neither will agree.

I suppose the Nazimuddin Government has had to invent these lies and accept these inspired police reports with alacrity, supposed to be from independent sources, as he has no other weapon with which he can malign me or blacken my face, or justify the action of exclusion. Even you asked me whether I had carried on such propaganda—such is the effect of slander. I was thunder-struck when you asked me that question, that anyone in his senses could possibly believe that I was a secret conspirator. But still I suppose you had to go by the reports supplied by the underlings, who know what kind of reports their overlords want. I am afraid that all this is due to the perverted imagination of some of the Ministers of East Bengal Govt. who think that every calumny or slander is justified to achieve their purposes and some of whom have a personal vendetta against me. I appeal to your sense of justice and honesty and decency in the name of the high office

that you occupy and your responsibility to God and man to see that so much wrong is not done to me in your State.

Then comes the passage of loyalty to the State, etc., etc., and how a citizen of the Indian Union should not interfere in the internal politics of Pakistan. I still maintain that the question of citizenship has not yet been concluded or decided, and I still maintain that it should not be decided unless and until the minorities in both the Dominions have become sufficiently stabilized; that is to say, that they know for certain what their future is going to be, and migrations backwards and forwards, after the position has crystallised, cease. But even if I was a citizen of the Indian Union exclusively, has the Muslim of the Indian Union no right to appeal to the Muslims in Pakistan in such a way and in such a manner that it will have a salutary repercussion on the future of the Muslims of the Indian Union?

Pakistan was formed to save not only the Muslims of the majority areas but also of the minority areas. On this basis, Muslims of the minority areas contended for Pakistan. Please do not break their hearts by such statements that they can have no voice or should not be heard even within Pakistan; that they cannot address meetings of their own brethren within Pakistan.

As regards internal politics; if by that is meant the Ministry, you must know that I have deliberately refrained from even entering East Bengal, lest there should be any idea anywhere that I was seeking to come in. Even when the majority of the members were against Nazimuddin, I refused even to set foot in Dacca, although I was begged to do so; and I only went there after the Quaid-i-Azam had fixed the Ministry firm in the saddle, and the party that was supporting me had accepted my advice to support the Nazimuddin Ministry and even to join it, if offered.

There is so much more that I could write, but my heart is overburdened with sorrow. I never expected so much vindictiveness and falsehood and deliberate oppression. Are these the fruits of independence? Does independence give rights to Governments to ride roughshod over the liberty of the individual, and to heap such serious charges and insults on his head, in the plenitude of its power? I am sure that in the time of the British Government, such an action could never have been taken on such flimsy grounds, and for the personal aggrandisement of the Ministry, and if taken, would never have been tolerated, and public opinion would never have been suppressed.

If you will allow me, I would like to see you personally in this connection. You are, I believe, going to Delhi on the 15th. I shall be glad to come up to Delhi to meet you even in this heat if you will give

me an opportunity to place my case before you. Otherwise, I hope, you will give me an interview at Karachi.

Yours sincerely,
H. S. SUHRAWARDY

[1]A leader of West Bengal Congress Party.
[2]Enclosure 2 to No. 416.
[3]Enclosure 1 to No. 416.

III. 5

H. S. Suhrawardy to Liaquat Ali Khan

F. 23 (21)-PMS

13-A KUTCHERY ROAD,
KARACHI,
8 July 1948

My dear Liaquat Ali Sahib,

I thank you for promising to look into my matter and to call for the paper. I had hoped that you would have called for the paper on receipt of my letter but apparently you have not had time to go through its contents. I shall be grateful if you will peruse it as it substantially sets out my view of the case. Any points left out in the letter are covered by my press statement.

I would like to reiterate that the best service that I can render to the minorities in the Indian Union is by helping the minorities in Pakistan and educating the majority here. Nazimuddin's point of view that I should carry out my work in the Indian Union is meaningless as I can cut no ice in the Indian Union and I am still regarded with distrust by the militant Hindu section. Moreover, it is only a Muslim who can appeal to the majority in Pakistan, and a Hindu who can appeal to the majority in the Indian Union. I would like to direct your attention pointedly to the manner in which the charges have been strengthened in the communique of the 3rd June[1] as compared to the charges in the letter of Nazimuddin of the 2nd June.[2] It is obvious that evidence to which he paid little credence on the 2nd had become sacrosanct on the 3rd. The charges against me are so obviously false and stupid that I would earnestly press you to scrutinize the papers and come to a decision at an early date. I think it is entirely wrong on the part of Nazimuddin to be complacent about the position of the Hindu minorities in Eastern Pakistan. Such action as he has taken will be construed

by the Hindus that he does not want communal harmony and is prepared to make the baseless and most stupid charges against a person who has dedicated himself to that cause, and it will be construed by the Muslims of the Indian Union that Pakistan is in no way concerned with their fate.

An early decision will oblige. If you like I can send copies of (i) Nazimddun's letter to me dated the 2nd June 1948; (ii) communique of the Government of East Bengal dated the 3rd June; (iii) my statements to the press and (iv) my letter to you dated 11 June[3] in case you have mislaid the letter.

It may interest you to know that the East Bengal Government actually passed an Ordinance overnight in order to serve the order upon me.

Yours sincerely,
H. S. SUHRAWARDY

[1]Enclosure 2 to No. 416.
[2]Enclosure 1 to No. 416.
[3]Appendix III. 4.

III. 6

Liaquat Ali Khan to H. S. Suhrawardy

F. 23 (21)-PMS

KARACHI,
13 July 1948

I am in receipt of your letter of the 8th July.[1] When you met me the other day you told me that there was no truth in the allegations made by the East Bengal Government against you and that a great injustice had been done to you. You requested me to intervene in the matter. I told you that I was not in possession of the material on which action had been taken against you and therefore I could express no opinion. I further explained that it was a matter entirely for the Provincial Government and I could not interfere in their administration. I however told you that I shall convey to the Premier of East Bengal all that you had told me.

I am afraid I cannot agree with you that Khwaja Nazimuddin is complacent about the position of the Hindu minority in East Bengal. His Government has been doing everything possible to give protection to and safeguard the legitimate rights of the Hindu minority in East Bengal. If the Muslims in the Indian Union received the same treatment

as the Hindus are receiving in East Bengal there would be no cause for complaint.

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

[1]Appendix III. 5.

III. 7

Charles H. Derry to George Marshall

US National Archives, 845 F. 009-1448

AIR MAIL/CONFIDENTIAL
No. 426

AMERICAN CONSULATE-GENERAL,
CALCUTTA,
14 September 1948

SUBJECT: TRANSMITTING MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION WITH MR. H. S. SUHRAWARDY CONCERNING THE POLITICAL REPERCUSSIONS OF THE DEATH OF MR. M. A. JINNAH

Sir,

I have the honor to transmit herewith a memorandum of conversation which Consul Gilmore and I had with Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy on September 13th in which we sought his opinion as to the probable political consequences of Mr. Jinnah's death.

Mr. Suhrawardy betrayed no great concern as to the effect of Mr. Jinnah's death on the future of Pakistan, and it appears that he had little loyalty to Mr. Jinnah. He stated that in view of the external dangers confronting Pakistan, he did not anticipate any serious overt struggle among the Muslim leaders for leadership. In his opinion they must necessarily work together until the Kashmir and Hyderabad questions are settled. He disclaimed any intention of taking an active part in the political reshuffling that is likely to ensue, and in fact stated that it is his desire to retire from politics. The Consulate-General is inclined to doubt, however, that his protestations can be taken entirely at their face value.

Respectfully yours,
CHARLES H. DERRY
American Consul-General

The Honorable the Secretary of State,
Washington

Enclosure to No. III. 7

CONFIDENTIAL

AMERICAN CONSULATE-GENERAL,
CALCUTTA,
13 September 1948

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

Conversation with Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, concerning political consequences of the death of Mr. M. A. Jinnah.

Participants:
Mr. Suhrawardy
Mr. Derry
Mr. Gilmore

Mr. Suhrawardy called at the Consulate-General this afternoon in response to a request by Consul E. A. Gilmore for an interview. This interview was sought in the belief that Mr. Suhrawardy's views concerning the probable political consequences of the death of Mr. Jinnah would be of interest to the Department.

Mr. Suhrawardy was asked to comment upon the circumstances which in his opinion led to the appointment of Khwaja Nazimuddin as Governor-General to succeed Mr. Jinnah. He stated that in his opinion the division in the Pakistan Cabinet was such that the Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan, was not able to put forward his own claim for the post. He said that Liaquat Ali Khan and Ghulam Mohammed normally stand together on most issues against Zafrulla Khan and a number of the other members of the Cabinet. In his opinion the appointment, if confirmed, will help to preserve the solidarity of Pakistan because it recognizes a prominent East Bengal leader, but he also feels that Nazimuddin will be completely under the domination of Liaquat Ali Khan.

He was also asked to comment upon the probable changes that will occur in East Bengal as a consequence of Mr. Nazimuddin's appointment as Governor-General. He stated that there are two chief contenders for the job of Premier of East Bengal, namely, Mr. Hamidul Huq Chowdhury, present Minister of Finance and Commerce, and Mr. Nurul Amin, Minister of Civil Supplies and Education. He said that he expected Mr. Amin to return to Dacca immediately in order to work for his own selection. (Since the foregoing conversation with Mr. Suhrawardy, a Reuter's despatch has been received announcing that Nurul Amin, who is presently in Karachi on his way to the UNO General Assembly meeting in Paris, has been selected as Premier of East Bengal. Presumably, however, this advice must be ratified by the East Bengal Cabinet).

Asked about the probable future plans of Mr. Mohamed Ali, present Pakistan Ambassador to Burma, and Mr. Fazlul Huq, Mr. Suhrawardy stated that he believed the latter would make strenuous efforts to secure the premiership, but in his opinion had little chance of doing so. He was vague concerning the possible future plans of Mr. Mohamed Ali.

The conversation turned to the question of the impetus which Mr. Jinnah's death might have on the movement for a reunited Bengal. Mr. Suhrawardy stated that he did not anticipate any spontaneous revival of such agitation at this time. He said also that a good deal would depend upon what he himself decided to do and that his present inclination was to remain completely aloof from politics. He said, however, that he had just come from an interview with Mr. Kiran Sankar Roy, Home Minister of the Government of West Bengal, and that the latter had urged him most strongly to go to Pakistan and assume the premiership of East Bengal. Mr. Suhrawardy remarked that he could say without vanity that if he were to appear in Dacca at the present time, there would be a virtual uprising against the present Ministry, but he reiterated that he does not wish to take advantage of the situation. He expressed a very low opinion of the present Cabinet and said that he did not want to become involved in the political intrigue at present rife in Dacca. Asked whether he believed that he would be detained by the present Government if he made another effort to go to Dacca, he replied that they would no doubt insist that he eschew all political activity, but that if he should decide to go up there for business reasons they could not prevent him.

The conversation turned to the Hyderabad issue, and in connection with the speculation which has been recently heard concerning the length of time that the Nizam's forces are likely to hold out against the Indian army, Mr. Suhrawardy stated that many people believed the campaign would be over in two weeks, but that he personally considered that the strength and determination of the Hyderabad State forces had been underestimated. He said that he anticipated no trouble in Calcutta.

He volunteered the information that Mr. Kiran Sankar Roy has under consideration a plan to arrest leading Muslims in the Calcutta area as a means of forestalling possible public demonstrations against Muslims. Mr. Suhrawardy stated that he is protesting this proposed plan vigorously to Pandit Nehru.

Glossary

Aameen	So be it (said at end of a prayer)
Abwab	Chapters
Achkan	A long coat with buttons in front, usually in India
Ahura Mazda	The creator of the universe and source of light in Zoroastrian religion
A'la Hazrat	Most revered
Alhaaj/Haji	A person who has performed pilgrimage to Makkah
Amirul Millat	Ruler of nation
Anna	A coin of the value of 1/16th of a rupee (no more in circulation)
Ansar	A helper, especially of refugees
Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu	Peace, mercy and blessings of God be upon you
Atta	Flour
Azad	Independent; free
Badshah	King
Bahadur	Brave
Baisakhi Purnima	The full moon on the first of *Baisakh* (May) ; observed as day of birth, enlightenment, and death of Buddha
Bait al-Maal	Treasury
Bajra	Millet
Bania	Hindu shopkeeper or money-lender
Barani	Rain-irrigated (land)
Batai	Share-cropping
Bhishti	Water-carrier
Bismillah ir Rahman ir Rahim	In the name of *Allah,* the Beneficent, the Merciful
Bradari	Small community; group
Channa/chhana	Gram; chick-pea
Chinar	Maple
Chugha	A cloak
Copra	Kernel of coconut
Darban	Door-keeper; concierge
Darbar	Court

Darul Awam	House of people
Darul Harb	Land of war; a country of infidels on which war can be made
Darul Umra	House of elders
Daulat-i-Khudadad	State granted by God
Dhobi	Washerman
Ek ho	Be united
Fauj	Army
Ghat	Wharf; bathing place on the river-bank
Ghazi	A veteran of war against infidels
Ghee	Butter oil
Goala	Milkman
Gur	A lump of unrefined sugar
Gurdwara	Sikh place of worship
Guzara	Subsistence
Halqa	A circle; an assembly
Hari	Cultivator
Hazrat Khalifa	Venerable caliph
Hazrat Khalifatul Masih	Venerable caliph of the Messiah (Mirza Ghulam Ahmad)
Hundi	A bill of exchange
'Id	Muslim festival
'Id al-Fitr	Muslim festival observed at end of *Ramadan*
Ihtisab	Accountablity
Insha Allah	God willing
Ilaqa	Area
'Isai	Christian
Ittehad	Unity
Jagirdar	Holder of substantial land
Jai	Victory
Jai Hind	Victory for India
Jam'ia Masjid	Principal mosque
Jannat al-Firdous	A garden in Paradise
Jami'yyat	An organization
Jawab-i-Shikwa	Reply to the complaint
Jawar	A kind of millet
Janab-i-Ali/'Ali Janab	Most respected
Jehad/Jihad	Struggle for a just cause; crusade
Jirga	Council of tribal elders
Jum	Practice of clearing land for cultivation by slashing and burning vegetation

Ka'ba	The House of *Allah* in Makkah
Kalima	Affirmation of Muslim faith
Karakuli	Cap made of lamb skin
Khadimul Mulk	A servant of country
Khassadar	Tribal police
Khassadri	Payment made to a *Khassadar*
Khata	Account book
Kheer	Rice cooked with milk and sugar
Khilafat	Caliphate
Khilafat-i-Rashida	Righteous caliphate
Khirsha	Condensed milk
Khuda Hafiz	May God protect you; Good-bye
Khutba	Sermon
Kitabistan	Library
Lathi	Stick
Madrassa	A school; academy
Maghrabi	Western
Maktab	School
Malai/Balai	Milk cream
Mali	Gardener
Malik	Tribal elder
Maliki	Allowance paid to a tribal *Malik*
Masalchi	Mixer of spices; a helper of the cook
Masha Allah	By the grace of *Allah*
Maulana	An honorific; title given to a person for his erudition
Mawajib	Allowance paid in recognition of services rendered or for collecting revenue
Maulvi	Religious scholar
Mazar	Shrine
Millat	Nation
Millat-i-Islamia	Muslim nation
Mofussil	Countryside; rural area
Momin	A true Muslim
Mughribi	Western; occidental
Mujahideen	Muslim warrior
Muhajir	A refugee
Muhajireen	Refugees (plural of *Muhajir*)
Mujahid	Muslim warrior in defence of faith
Mujahid-i-Millat-i-Islamia	One who wages *Jihad* (crusade) for the Islamic nation

Mukhtiarkar	A revenue official
Mulkie	Resident / local
Muqaddam	Respectable person
Musafirkhana	Inn
Naib Salar-e-Suba	Assistant Provincial Commander
Na-Kabuli	Land in a certain area of Sindh under adverse possession of influential persons
Naqqara	A kettle-drum
Naserul Millat	A defender, friend or helper of nation
Naserul Mulk	A defenter, friend or helper of country
Nash ho	Be destroyed
Nawab	Title denoting a Muslim ruler / noble
Paak	Holy; pure
Padas	Poems
Paindabad	May live for ever
Peers of Sarhad	Religious guides of the Frontier
Pie	1 / 12th of an *anna* (no more in circulation)
Pindal	A temporary rostrum
Puja	Worship
Qaumi Razakar	National volunteer
Rabi	Spring harvest
Rais al-Muhajireen	Leader of refugees
Raj	Rule, especially British colonial rule in India prior to the partition
Ramazan	Ninth month of Islamic calender; a month of fasting
Salaam	Greeting; salutation (peace be upon you)
Sadhu	An ascetic; a Hindu monk
Saheb Bahadur	Respectful form of address for a dignitary
Salar	Commander
Salar-i-Suba	Provincial Commander
Sarbarah	Chief; Head
Sardar	Chieftain
Sardari	Chieftainship
Sanad	Certificate
Sari	Unstitched cloth draped round the body as main garment
Seer	Measure of weight equal to about two pounds
Shahi Darbar	Royal Court (supreme court of tribal elders)
Shahi Jirga	Supreme council of tribal elders

Shamiana	Canopy
Shari'at	Code of Islamic Law
Shikwa	Complaint
Sinni	Sweets offered on a religious occasion
Sovran	Supreme ruler or head
Shukrana	Expression of gratitude
Surah	Chapter or section of *Qur'an*
Swami	A Hindu religious instructor
Tabligh	Preaching
Taluka	Unit of a subdivision of a district in Sindh
Taslim	Salutation
Tehsil	Subdivision of a district
Thana	Police station
Tonga	Two wheeled horse-driven carriage
'Ulama	Muslim religious scholars
'Ushr	A tenth part
Vazir	Minister
Wadera	Feudal lord
Wassalam	And peace be upon you
Wazir-i-Azam	Prime Minister
Zakat	A fixed rate of obligatory payment by a Muslim possessing assets of a specified value
Zamindar	A landholder; a landlord
Zamindari	Landed property; land held by a zamindar; landlordship
Ziarat	Visiting a shrine
Zilhaj	Last month of Islamic calender in which pilgrimage to Makkah is performed
Zindabad	Live long

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